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VOLUME XXXIV

BIMONTHLY

JULY 1928—MAY 1929

39.1  
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

P15075

Published  
July, September, November, 1928  
January, March, May, 1929

Composed and Printed By  
The University of Chicago Press  
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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NUMBER 1

## FOREWORD

Readers of the *American Journal of Sociology* will find the contents of this issue somewhat different from those of other issues. Indeed, this issue is a special one devoted to the recent social changes occurring in the United States. A few words of explanation therefore seem desirable.

That the social changes in modern society are an important subject of research does not need to be argued. Records and analyses of these changes during the decade since the close of the war, and particularly during the past year, it was thought, would be valuable and interesting. Accordingly, the assistance of experienced research workers from the different fields was sought. The result is a score of studies that present major sociological changes of the past few years in American culture.

The purpose was to present records of fact rather than speculative or exhortative articles. While the body of the contributions is factual, they are not merely a record of fact. They present facts selected, analyzed, and ordered with such generalizations and conclusions as flow from the data. So, also, such interpretations as the materials justify are presented. In addition, the different writers have described such new methods of collecting or dealing with the phenomena as may have been discovered.

The topics chosen comprise, as will be noted, a wide range; but sociology deals with many aspects of society. Each topic is also broad; and the limitations of space make them brief. The result is a selection of only the most important changes.

The results, however, will enable the readers to get a general picture of a great many significant changes that have recently occurred in our civilization. And the reader who is a specialist or particularly interested in a special subject will also find a condensed presentation of carefully selected data treated scientifically by a competent expert.

It is truly an impressive record, which one is enabled to see, of the yearly social changes that are occurring in our time.

This record is especially significant also because we need very much to take stock of how our culture is changing and where it is moving to. Science means knowledge, but in a very definite and exact sense of the word. Hence the first step is measurement. Therefore analyses of the trends of our moving society, studies of rate of change, and comparisons of one year with another are the sort of science wanted by social science as a basis for any social policy that may be taken. Such a knowledge will come nearest to bringing the security that should exist in the uncertain time of change. The best prediction in social changes is usually that based on a projection of past trends.

THE EDITORS

## POPULATION

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WARREN S. THOMPSON

Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems,  
Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

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### ABSTRACT

The data on the movement of our population during 1927 are of great interest in several respects. New low birth-rates have been achieved, the rate for the registration area being 20.4. This is kept from resulting in the lowest natural increase we have ever had by the very low death-rate of 11.4 (the lowest in our history). The infant mortality rate has also fallen to a new low level at 64.3. One of the most interesting facts, however, is that the total number of births in 1927 is about 63,000 less than the total for 1926, although the population is over 12,000,000 greater. Our birth-rate is certainly on the toboggan. Our new immigration restriction has shut out eastern and southern Europeans, but it has not insured immigration of Germanic stock, as Mexicans and Celts are now over 40 per cent of the total. We face new problems in the United States in having a natural increase around 9 or 10 per 1,000. These need our careful study.

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Perhaps the most interesting facts regarding the population of any country in a normal non-census year are its birth-rates and death-rates. This is particularly true at the present time, when apparently new low death-rates and birth-rates are being achieved almost every year by many of the countries in the Western world. Unfortunately, even today a number of our states do not have adequate birth and death registration.<sup>1</sup> The consequence is that for 14.3 per cent of our population it is necessary to estimate the number of births and deaths in order to arrive at reasonably accurate totals for 1927.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following states are not included in the comparisons made in this paper for 1927 and 1926, as they either had failed to report complete data for 1927 at the time the preliminary report was issued (Massachusetts and Utah), or were only admitted to the registration area in 1927 (Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and Tennessee), or had not yet been admitted in 1927 (Colorado, Georgia, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Texas).

<sup>2</sup> The 14.3 per cent of the population mentioned above for which it is necessary to estimate births and deaths does not include the population of Alabama, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Massachusetts, and Utah. The first four have reports for 1927, but not for 1926. The reports of Massachusetts and Utah for 1927 were not complete when provisional data were issued; hence 1926 figures were used for 1927 also. The death registration area included more states than the birth registration area, but only data on states in the latter area are available now (June, 1928).

Owing to the date at which it was necessary to prepare this paper, only the preliminary results of registration were available. Judging by the situation in previous years, the use of these preliminary reports will not result in any considerable error, though the final tabulations may change the rates by two- or three-tenths of a point. These early results indicated that the rates for both births and deaths had fallen a little during 1927 compared with 1926. The birth-rate for 1927 was 20.4, while that for 1926 was 20.6. The death-rate in 1927 was 11.4, as compared with 12.1 in 1926. Thus the natural increase was 9.0 per 1,000 in 1927, and 8.5 in 1926. These rates apply only to a group of thirty-three states for which data were available at the time the preliminary report was issued, and which are listed in Table I. An estimate of the total number of births and deaths in the United States in 1927 will be made later.

It may be interesting to note that the rates for the registration states of 1920 were 23.7 and 13.1 for births and deaths respectively. This left a natural increase of 10.6, as compared with 9.0 for 1927. The birth-rate has been falling faster than the death-rate since 1920.

Perhaps of even more interest than the comparison for these two years is the comparison between the first half of the intercensal decade 1920-29 and the three years 1925-27 of the second half that have already elapsed. During the period 1920-24, for the birth registration area of 1920, the birth-rate was 23.3 and the death-rate 12.3, leaving a natural increase of 11.0. For the three years 1925-27, the rates for the registration area of 1925 are 20.8 and 11.8 respectively. This leaves a natural increase of 9.0. This rate is 2.0 points or 18.2 per cent below that for the first half of the decade. If the birth-rate should fall in the entire country as it has in the registration area, the rate of natural increase in 1930 will be scarcely three-fourths of what it was in 1920.

There have been some changes in the registration area between 1920 and 1925, but the net effect of these on the rate of natural increase is negligible, as both death-rates and birth-rates are raised a little over one-tenth of a point by the omission of the added states. It so happens, however, that the states to be added to the area after 1925 are those having the highest birth-rates in the nation—chiefly southern and mountain states (see Table II);

# POPULATION

5

TABLE I

PROVISIONAL DATA ON BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND INFANT MORTALITY IN THE  
BIRTH REGISTRATION AREA, 1927

AREA	NUMBER (1927)			RATE PER 1,000 ESTIMATED POPULATION				INFANT MORTALITY (DEATHS UNDER 1 YEAR PER 1,000 BIRTHS)	
	Births	Deaths		Births		Deaths		1927	1926
		All Ages	Under 1 Year	1927	1926	1927	1926		
Birthregistration area*	1,763,035	981,725	113,391	20.4	20.6	11.4	12.1	64.3	73.3
Alabama†	65,853	27,061	4,343	25.8	...	10.6	11.8	65.9	...
Arizona	8,529	5,770	1,073	18.6	18.9	12.6	12.5	125.8	121.2
Arkansas†	38,686	17,826	2,374	20.1	...	9.3	...	61.4	...
California	83,727	61,351	5,247	18.9	19.2	13.8	13.7	62.7	62.7
Connecticut	28,859	16,755	1,702	17.6	18.2	10.2	11.4	59.0	72.1
Delaware	4,255	2,999	294	17.5	17.5	12.3	14.4	69.1	93.4
Florida	34,126	18,175	2,304	25.0	26.4	13.3	15.2	67.5	74.8
Idaho	9,173	3,785	459	17.2	17.8	7.1	7.4	50.0	63.0
Illinois	133,663	82,841	8,604	18.3	18.6	11.4	11.8	64.4	69.4
Indiana	62,298	37,678	3,665	19.8	20.1	12.0	12.8	58.8	72.4
Iowa	44,296	24,471	2,467	18.3	18.9	10.1	10.5	55.7	58.7
Kansas	34,645	18,561	1,918	19.0	19.3	10.2	10.5	55.4	65.3
Kentucky	61,517	26,918	3,755	24.2	24.0	10.6	11.9	61.0	75.5
Maine	16,300	10,879	1,305	20.6	20.8	13.7	14.4	80.1	80.0
Maryland	32,418	21,102	2,645	20.3	20.8	13.2	14.3	81.6	87.1
Michigan	99,945	50,606	6,773	22.3	22.5	11.3	12.3	67.8	77.2
Minnesota	50,813	24,700	2,646	18.9	19.8	9.2	9.7	52.1	57.6
Mississippi	49,181	22,938	3,232	27.5	28.4	12.8	13.3	65.7	70.0
Missouri†	66,431	40,699	3,953	18.9	...	11.6	12.2	59.5	...
Montana	9,730	5,314	650	13.6	14.2	7.4	7.8	66.8	76.9
Nebraska	27,863	12,243	1,403	20.0	20.4	8.8	9.1	50.4	59.2
New Hampshire	8,776	6,295	593	19.3	19.2	13.8	14.8	67.6	78.7
New Jersey	72,814	42,131	4,470	19.4	19.7	11.2	12.2	61.4	70.1
New York	227,546	140,905	13,526	19.9	19.7	12.3	13.4	59.4	70.5
North Carolina	83,334	32,764	6,516	28.8	28.8	11.3	12.1	78.2	82.3
North Dakota	13,825	4,896	878	21.6	23.2	7.6	8.3	63.5	69.2
Ohio	122,911	73,471	7,636	18.3	18.8	10.9	11.9	62.1	75.9
Oregon	14,620	10,184	695	16.4	16.8	11.4	11.2	47.5	52.5
Pennsylvania	210,018	111,257	14,491	21.6	21.6	11.4	12.5	60.0	82.4
Rhode Island	13,726	7,899	912	19.5	19.6	11.2	12.7	66.4	82.0
Tennessee†	54,407	28,998	3,886	21.9	...	11.7	12.7	71.4	...
Vermont	7,022	4,883	490	19.9	20.3	13.9	14.8	69.8	72.0
Virginia	58,193	28,553	4,343	22.9	22.9	11.2	12.2	74.6	83.7
Washington	23,308	15,929	1,159	14.9	15.6	10.2	10.2	49.7	56.4
West Virginia	44,857	16,990	3,227	26.4	26.3	10.0	10.9	71.9	81.8
Wisconsin	57,232	29,519	3,394	19.6	19.3	10.1	10.5	59.3	69.1
Wyoming	4,472	1,976	308	18.6	18.6	8.2	8.1	68.9	75.9

\* Exclusive of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Tennessee, Massachusetts, and Utah for both years. The first five of these states were not in the registration area in 1926. The 1927 data for Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Utah are incomplete (June, 1928).

† Not in the registration area in 1926.

hence the real fall of the birth-rate may be masked somewhat for a few years by changes in the birth registration area. But there is no reason to suppose that the fall in the birth-rate in the registration states between 1920-24 and 1925-27 referred to before, namely, from 23.3 to 20.8, or 2.5 points, equivalent to 10.7 per cent of the 1920-24 rate, has not been equaled in the non-registration states during this same period. Indeed, there is pretty good reason to suppose that it has been greater in the non-registration states because the birth-control movement was late in making its appearance in them and consequently is likely to have more influence in lowering the birth-rate there than in any other part of the nation in recent years. But even so, the birth-rate in these states remains considerably higher than in most registration states. It is, therefore, probably stating the matter conservatively to say that for 1925-27 there has been a general decline in the birth-rate of the United States of 12-14 per cent from the 1920-24 average.

- The decline in the death-rate, on the other hand, is only from 12.3 to 11.8, or 4.0 per cent. Hence the large decline in the rate of natural increase referred to before. Clearly the death-rate in its crude form as used here and as used generally in vital statistics has nearly reached its lowest level for the United States. The specific death-rate for age and sex groups will no doubt decline still more. But it is quite likely that before long, due to the less favorable age groups in our population, the crude death-rate will not only cease to decline, but will begin to rise. The same phenomenon, namely, the less favorable age constitution of our population, will also lead to a further decline in the birth-rate even if a large proportion of women of each age bear children in the future and on the average bear as many as at the present time. It is, of course, by no means improbable that the average number of children per woman will still further decline, so that before long we may expect to see the rate of natural increase still more deeply cut into by a continued
- decline in the births.

Still another way to make clear what is happening in the matter of births in the United States is to compare the total number of births in the groups of states in the birth registration area in 1920 with the same states in 1927. In spite of a population some 8,000,-

000 larger in 1927 than in 1920, the total number of births in these states in 1927 was 44,070 less than in 1920.<sup>3</sup> In other words, the birth-rate has fallen so fast in the registration area in the last seven years that the loss in numbers is 44,070 greater than all the children born to 8,000,000 people in 1920. Truly a rapid decline.

Furthermore, these last three years, 1925-27, have been exceptionally prosperous years for the country as a whole. Certainly they have been more prosperous than 1920-22, especially in the more highly industrialized states which constitute the larger part of the registration area. The generally supposed connection between prosperity and a high birth-rate does not seem to hold in this instance, although this prosperity does seem to have had some effect in lowering the death-rate.

This same rather rapid decline in the birth-rate is taking place in several of the countries of Western Europe, only it seems to have set in there two or three years earlier than here—indeed, almost at once after the effects of demobilization had worn off.

In estimating the total natural increase of population in the United States in 1927 we must make due allowance for the fact that 14.3 per cent of our population having a relatively high birth-rate is not included in the available data. Thus to 931,000,<sup>4</sup> the excess of births over deaths given in the 1927 registration reports, must be added about 260,000 for the states not included, or a rate of natural increase of 15.3 for these non-registration states as compared with a rate of 9.1 in the registration area. Thus the 16,970,000 people not included in the registration reports add to the population at a rate about two-thirds greater than the 101,658,000 people in the area. This is a very interesting situation, because, to repeat, the following states are not included in the registration area as referred to here: Colorado, Georgia, Louisiana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Texas. About one-third of our Negro population (35.2 per cent) is found

<sup>3</sup> Because of incomplete reports it was necessary to use 1926 data for Massachusetts and Utah and to exclude South Carolina in both years. The District of Columbia is included in both years.

<sup>4</sup> Including all states reporting for 1927, also the District of Columbia and the estimated excess for Massachusetts and Utah. This is not the same area referred to on p. 3.

in these states. This Negro population, in contrast to that in the northern states, is a rural population and has a fairly large rate of increase. The white population in these states is almost entirely of old Anglo-Saxon stock, very few immigrants ever having settled in this general region. Thus the highest rate of natural increase found in the United States at the present time appears to be among the rather pure Anglo-Saxon stock and the Negroes in the South and Southwest. This is also attested by the data for such states as belong to the registration area from these regions (see Table II).

TABLE II  
BIRTH-RATES, DEATH-RATES, AND RATES OF NATURAL INCREASE  
FOR THE SOUTHERN STATES IN THE REGISTRATION  
AREA, 1927

	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase
Alabama.....	25.8	10.6	14.2
Virginia.....	22.9	11.2	11.7
West Virginia.....	26.4	10.0	16.4
North Carolina.....	28.8	11.3	17.5
Mississippi.....	27.5	12.8	14.7
Kentucky.....	24.2	10.6	13.6
Tennessee.....	21.9	11.7	10.2

It appears, then, that a very large proportion of our natural increase at the present time comes from the South and Southwest. Furthermore, it seems not unlikely that with the slowing up of the stream of immigration and the confining of its sources largely to Northern and Western Europe, a still larger proportion of our natural increase will come from these sections of the country. A large part of the immigrant women from Northern and Western Europe already know the methods of birth control and raise comparatively small families, while those from Eastern Europe apparently do not practice birth control to any great extent and hence raise very large families. Naturally, shutting off the stream of immigrants from this latter region will very materially affect the rate of natural increase in our large northern cities where these immigrants generally settled.

In order to get the total increase in population during 1927 it will be necessary to add our net immigration to the nature increase. The total recorded immigration for this year was 323,885, while

the number of emigrants was 75,122. The net gain was 248,763. This, added to 1,191,000 (the 1927 natural increase), gives 1,439,000, in round numbers, the total gain for 1927 that can be accounted for on the basis of data available. Unfortunately, because of the lack of data for certain states, as was pointed out before, the figure for natural increase is probably somewhat too low, but just how much one cannot say. The number of immigrants is also a minimum and is probably too low. For it is very generally believed that there is considerable unrecorded immigration, especially across our Mexican border and from certain of the West Indies to various parts of our southern coast. The total population on July 1, 1927, according to the estimates of the Bureau of the Census, was 118,628,000.

It may be interesting in this connection to note that the total number of births (2,543,000, partially estimated) for 1927 is less by 63,000 than that for 1920 (2,606,000, also partially estimated) in spite of a mid-year population over 12,000,000 greater in the latter year. This is conclusive evidence that the practice of birth control is making rapid headway in the United States since the war, as it is all over Western Europe and the European settlements elsewhere.

As a consequence of the fall in the birth-rate and the more rigid restriction of immigration, the increase of population in the United States which averaged 1,800,000 each year from July 1, 1920, to July 1, 1925, averaged only 1,545,000 a year from July 1, 1925 to July 1, 1928 according to census estimates. When account is taken of the fact that the population was practically 9,000,000 greater at the beginning of the second period than at the beginning of the first, this represents a very significant decline.

We have shown that the falling off in our rate of natural increase is due to the decline in the birth-rate rather than to any increase in the death-rate, but it may be of interest to know that infant mortality is still on the decline. The rate in 1927 was 64.3, while it was 86.0 in 1920, which was the lowest rate up to that time. A still further saving of infant lives is no doubt possible if we may judge from what has already happened in New Zealand, where a rate of 39.76 obtained in 1926. But without question each

decrease in the infant mortality rate will be increasingly difficult to achieve, and we cannot reasonably expect within the same length of time another such proportional fall as has taken place since 1915, when the rate stood at 100. Besides, the very low rate in New Zealand can scarcely be hoped for in this country with our growing urban-industrialism. New Zealand is an agricultural country with comparatively few and small cities. And in spite of poor medical care and lack of good sanitation in many rural communities, our infant death-rate is lower in our rural communities than in our urban communities. The latest data available on this point are for 1925, when the rural rate was 70.3 as compared with 73.0 in urban communities. It should be noted that "rural" in this case includes all towns and cities up to 10,000, as well as the open country.

The year 1927 as shown above had a very low death-rate, due apparently to the falling off in the rate for pneumonia and influenza, if we may accept the reports of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company as typical for the United States as a whole. The rate for tuberculosis was also low. The chief degenerative diseases, however, showed little or no improvement, and cancer established a new high record. In general it seems that this evidence clearly supports the opinion expressed before, to the effect that the crude death-rate has nearly reached a minimum, and that before long death-rates around 12 will be a thing of the past in this country.

With the certain prospect of increasing crude death-rates and with the well-established decline in the crude birth-rate, we are without doubt entering a period of much slower natural increase than we have been accustomed to. This, together with the slowing up of immigration, should make us realize that we are facing a new situation in America. A population that has a natural increase of 9 per 1,000 per annum and a still lower rate in near prospect is something new in our experience and will require many adjustments both economically and socially, which we must begin to consider carefully. We are no longer as young as we once were.

#### IMMIGRATION DURING 1927

The results of our recent immigration legislation are extremely interesting. It appears that the stream of Southern and Eastern Europeans has been practically stopped. The excess of arrivals

over departures from this area in 1927 was only 2,671. For a number of countries, indeed, the departures exceeded the arrivals, and the following countries were the only ones having an excess of immigrants worth mentioning: Poland 6,374; Italy, 916; Russia, 933; and Czechoslovakia, 1,443. This certainly represents a great change from the years immediately preceding the Great War, when 80-85 per cent of our immigrants came from these Southern and Eastern European countries.

TABLE III  
LEADING IMMIGRANT STOCKS CLASSIFIED BY  
RACE OR PEOPLE (1927)

Race or People	Net Immigration	Percentage of Total Net Immigration
Mexican.....	63,308	25.4
German.....	47,054	18.9
Irish.....	38,666	15.5
English.....	28,272	11.4
Scotch.....	22,055	8.9
French.....	17,159	6.9
Scandinavians.....	14,599	5.9
Hebrew.....	11,844	4.8
Total.....	242,957	97.7
Total net immigration...	248,763	.....

A classification of our immigrants by "race or people" shows that eight "peoples" furnished almost all of our net gain. In Table III these eight peoples are listed with their net immigration and the percentage this forms of our total net immigration. It will be observed that the leading "people," according to this classification, is Mexican; that the Germans are a long second, and the Irish are in third place. The fact that the Hebrews appear in eighth place with 4.8 per cent of the total makes it seem a little doubtful whether the stream from Southern and Eastern Europe has been as completely checked as appears on the surface. If these same eight "peoples" are grouped in four stocks, we find that Germanic leads, with Amerind in second place, Celtic in third rank, and Hebrew in fourth place. Thus it appears that even if the Southern and Eastern Europeans no longer come to us in very considerable numbers it would be a mistake to suppose that the Northwest Europeans of

Germanic stock make up the great bulk of our immigrants. It is impossible to tell, even with the race classification given, just how many Northwest Europeans are of Germanic stock, how many are of Celtic stock, or even of Slavic stock, but one can safely say that less than one-half of our net immigration in 1927 was of Germanic stock. This will probably be a sore disappointment to those who hold to the belief in "Nordic" superiority. They can, however, console themselves that things are better than they were in the old days even if there are large "leaks" in the dikes thus far erected.

TABLE IV  
COUNTRIES CONTRIBUTING 5,000 OR MORE NET  
IMMIGRANTS, 1927

Country	Net Immigration	Percentage of Total Net Immigration
Canada.....	74,396	29.91
Mexico.....	64,183	25.80
Germany.....	40,199	16.16
Irish Free State.....	24,212	9.73
Scotland.....	10,602	4.26
Sweden.....	6,428	2.58
Poland.....	6,374	2.56
Total.....	226,394	91.00

In Table IV the seven countries contributing a net immigration of over 5,000 are listed with the number of immigrants and the percentage of the total contributed by each country. The two leading countries are our neighbors on the north and the south, and together they contribute almost 56 per cent of the total. Poland is the only Eastern European country in this group. Since there was a net gain of only 1,327 Poles entering in 1927, the larger part of the immigrants from there must have been Jews. This is also probably the case in nearly all of these eastern and southern countries except Italy.

The demand for cheap unskilled labor is still apparently the attractive force for a majority of immigrants, as there were 111,667 (net 77,543) who reported themselves as unskilled against 72,164 (net 58,320) who reported themselves skilled or belonging to the professions. The proportion of skilled workers, however, is now much larger than it was in pre-war days when only about 20 per

cent of our immigrants reported themselves as belonging to the professions or the skilled occupations.

In Table V we have the ten states most frequently given as their destination by immigrants. Of course New York leads, but it will probably surprise a good many people to learn that Texas is second and California is fourth, while Arizona is tenth. Clearly Mexican immigration is largely that of agricultural laborers, for these three states which have but little manufacturing receive al-

TABLE V  
SHOWING THE NET IMMIGRATION INTO THE TEN LEADING  
STATES OF DESTINATION

State	Net Immigration	Percentage of Total Net Immigration
New York .....	50,076	20.13
Texas .....	40,168	16.15
Michigan .....	22,449	9.02
California .....	21,023	8.45
Massachusetts .....	19,059	7.66
Illinois .....	15,860	6.38
New Jersey .....	13,925	5.60
Pennsylvania .....	13,856	5.57
Ohio .....	6,218	2.50
Arizona .....	5,393	2.17
Total .....	208,027	83.63

most 30 per cent of our net immigration today. Again this is quite a change from pre-war days when these same states received only about 5 per cent of our net immigration. Immigrants apparently expect to remain fairly close to point of entry for some time after arrival.

#### RURAL-URBAN MOVEMENT

During 1927 the movement of population from the farms to cities and towns continued as in preceding years but at a somewhat slower rate. According to the estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, 1,978,000 people moved from the farms to towns and cities during this period, while 1,374,000 returned to farms from cities and towns. The net cityward movement was 604,000. This compares with 1,020,000 leaving in 1926. In order to secure the net decrease in farm population during the year it is necessary to take

account of births and deaths among the farm population. When this is done the Bureau concludes that there was a net loss to the farms of 193,000 persons during 1927. This is much less than the estimated net decrease in 1926, which was 649,000.

As a result of steady losses in farm population since the last census the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates the total farm population at 27,892,000 on January 1, 1927, and 27,699,000 on January 1, 1928. The July 1, 1927, farm population would then be 27,795,000, or 23.4 per cent of our total population of 118,628,000 at that time. In 1920 the farm population was 31,614,269, or 29.9 per cent of the total population. These two percentages may not be comparable in all respects because the 1927 figures are estimates, but there seems little doubt that they are substantially accurate and indicate reasonably well the tendency in the movement of farm population.

It is certainly significant that a decline of 6.5 per cent in the proportion of the total population on farms has been accompanied by such an abundant production that prices have remained very low for farm products. Perhaps the situation will be even more striking if we realize that practically 3,800,000 fewer people on the farms today than in 1920 are furnishing the agricultural produce needed by a population about 12,000,000 greater than in 1920. Truly agriculture as well as manufacturing has improved in efficiency in these later years; for it is not true, as is so often said, that our exports of agricultural products have fallen off greatly of late as compared with pre-war years. Our farmers are producing considerably more now for a given amount of labor than they did a few years ago.

Some estimates of rural and urban population in the United States in 1927 which were made by the Scripps Foundation in the course of estimating the population of the United States may be of interest here. "Urban" here means, as in the census, all places having 2,500 or more population; "rural" is all other places. It should also be mentioned that the totals here do not agree exactly with the estimates of the Bureau of the Census. The reasons for this cannot be explained here, but when these reasons are taken into account the two estimates agree very closely.

Two events of interest to students of population occurred during 1927 which may be worth mentioning here although they do not have any relation to population movements in the United States. One was the holding of a world-population conference at Geneva in August. The other was the reorganization of the Committee of the Social Science Research Council on the Scientific Aspects of Human Migration into an Advisory Committee on Population.

TABLE VI  
URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
1927,\* BY RACE AND NATIVITY GROUPS (000 OMITTED)

	Urban	Rural
Native white.....	49,868	42,206
Foreign-born white.....	11,220	3,298
Negro.....	4,932	6,742
Total.....	66,020	52,246
Grand total.....	118,266	

\* As of January 1.

The first of these events was significant as bringing together a considerable number of men and women from all parts of the world for the discussion of problems of population. The discussion was kept on a scientific footing, with biologists and statisticians in the leading rôles. It is hoped that out of this conference will develop some kind of permanent organization for the scientific study of population problems. Dr. Pearl, of Johns Hopkins, and Dr. Crew, of Edinburgh, are the chairman and secretary of the committee engaged in the work of effecting a permanent organization.

The reorganization of the Migration Committee into a Population Committee is significant as indicating the growing feeling among students of the social sciences that population as a field of study is worthy of recognition regardless of the way the projects in this domain may cut across the traditionally recognized boundaries of the different sciences. It seems to be an indication of a growing disposition to disregard compartmentalized research and center attention upon large problems regardless of their ramifications.

## NATURAL RESOURCES

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GEORGE OTIS SMITH

Director of the U.S. Geological Survey and President of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers

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### ABSTRACT

*American well-being on secure foundations.*—In natural wealth this country is unrivaled. With one-twentieth of the world's area and population, we produce one-fourth to three-fourths of the world's annual supply of grain, cotton, coal, zinc, lead, copper, iron ore, and oil. *Dependence of civilization on mineral resources increasing.*—Since 1918 our mineral output has increased 40 per cent. Agriculture grows only as fast as population, but the demand for minerals changes with every discovery and invention. *The "American secret" lies in mechanical energy.*—The American wage-earner has more power at his elbow than any other worker in the world. Twenty years ago one family in ten bought electric current; now it is two out of three. *River problems.*—The Muscle Shoals and Colorado power projects have attracted more public attention than their economic importance warrants, but the problem of the Mississippi River floods is one calling for the best of American engineering. *Mineral estate of the American people.*—Nearly 200 million acres of public land is still unappropriated, and the mineral deposits in public ownership constitute a large share of our national wealth. The mineral-leasing law recognizes community of interest between private operator and public landlord.

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Social advance, industrial progress, national prosperity have their material basis in natural resources. This relationship is fundamental, although to say that natural resources make up the true foundations of prosperity might suggest a merely static connection. In reality it is a far more active relationship, constantly changing in nature of manifestation and in degree of influence. Man's dependence upon nature is conditioned by evolutionary processes sometimes so rapid in action as to be measured by a few years.

Viewed in the large, American well-being stands on secure foundations. Our country is blessed with an abundance of resources of soil, climate, water, mineral fuels, and ores of essential metals; and in natural wealth it is unrivaled by any other member of the family of nations. With hardly more than one-twentieth of the world's area and population, the United States has more than one-eighth of the live stock of the world and grows more than one-fourth of the world's supply of grain, nearly two-thirds of its cotton, and one-tenth of its wool. Our mines produce one-half of the

world's annual output of coal, one-half of the zinc, nearly one-half of the lead, more than one-half of the copper, more than two-thirds of the iron ore, and almost three-fourths of the oil. Its energy resources are unequaled: already utilizing over one-third of the water power developed in the world and consuming more than one-half the annual supply of fuels, the United States is fortunate in the possession of unmined reserves of coal and lignite nearly equal to those of all the rest of the world and also has more undeveloped water power than any other country except Siberia and the Congo region.

Too often this fundamental relationship between resources and progress is overlooked. A New York banker,<sup>1</sup> in seeking the solution of what he calls the "puzzle of prosperity," finds the cause of America's happy freedom from the economic woes that beset Europe in the manifestations of our unsurpassed business vitality, which he lists as a productive capacity beyond all previous records, a selling efficiency under higher pressure and with new tactics, an advertising activity on a nation-wide scale never before approached, and a competitive appeal for the consumer's dollar approaching the intensity of a free-for-all fight. Nowhere in this lively and thoughtful description of what makes America rich and great is there any consideration of the *materials* on which the alchemy of America's business has worked its magic. Obviously, what, in our self-satisfied way, we call the works of man require some raw materials; it takes something besides inventive genius, managerial ability, or even intensive salesmanship to keep the wheels of industry turning year after year.

The dependence of our American civilization upon natural resources is an increasing dependence. Man is never weaned from Mother Nature. The growth of the mining industry furnishes a quantitative demonstration of this vital connection between mineral wealth and human progress. Nearly fifty years ago Clarence King, the first director of the United States Geological Survey, made a forecast that the annual yield of the mineral industry of the United States would reach a money value of a billion dollars. His prophesy came true in less than twenty years; and before an-

<sup>1</sup> Paul M. Mazur, *American Prosperity, Its Causes and Consequences* (New York, 1928).

other decade had passed, the two billion total had been reached. Progress was even more rapid in the last twenty years, during which we have watched the annual total mount from two to six billions—yes, and almost top seven billions of dollars in 1920.

Volume of output, however, is a far more significant measure than value of output, for it is the tons of raw material shipped, not the dollars collected, that affords the true measure of service rendered by the mines of the country. The Harvard index of physical volume of production fairly well expresses what the mines contribute to the country's growth. Beginning with 1879, this index records a steady growth until in the war years the mineral output reached a maximum of nearly twelve times that of 1879, although in those four decades the population had only a little more than doubled. Nor did the phenomenal development of this country's mines stop with the letting down of the special war demand. In the eight years immediately following the war the mining industry increased its volume of output nearly 40 per cent, a rate almost equal to that for the same number of years culminating with the war peak.

It is this ever mounting curve of mineral consumption that may be interpreted as peculiarly expressive of increments in civilization. The contrast between mining and agriculture is significant in two respects. In the first place, with reference to demand, one generation requires about as much food per capita as another, and so agriculture grows only about as fast as population; but our requirements in the amount of stuff that civilization feeds on—metals, fuels, and building materials—change with every discovery and invention that science contributes to civilization. In the second place, with reference to supply, mining is a process of depletion, whereas agriculture harvests annual crops, or, as Professor Day puts it in describing his index of mining output, "Mining typically lives upon its capital; agriculture, upon its income." This increasing draft upon irreplaceable mineral deposits, this depletion of a fixed reserve, creates the problem of the mining engineer. The solution can be simply stated: there are two ways and only two ways of adding to the country's available mineral assets—by getting a larger recovery from known deposits and by finding new deposits.

Industry has long sought and won its raw materials from forest and farm and mine. The textile and paper industries get their needed fibers from the cotton and flax fields, the sheep range, and the spruce forest. But of far greater bulk are the ores beneath the earth's surface, from which have come the metals used in fabricating all those symbols of the twentieth-century civilization—the engines and motors and tools that strengthen and lengthen the human arm. These metals likewise furnish an increasing percentage of our structural materials, although by actual weight a modern building with its skeleton of steel contains in its outer skin and inner sinews ten times as much of stone and brick and gravel and cement as it does of metal. And to such a building the forest now contributes hardly more than ornament.

Unlike the foodstuffs and the water power, the metals are wasting assets; but they are wasting assets in a far different sense from the mineral fuels, for the metals are only in part consumed in the using. Whether originally used in a battleship now condemned or a flivver now obsolescent, they experience a constant reincarnation—a cycle of turnover of varying periodicity, let us say, by way of the junk pile. In this way the world is slowly accumulating an above-ground reserve of iron and copper and lead and zinc that far outweighs, both in tonnage and in real worth to the world, the huge gold reserve in the United States treasury. The value of the metals, other than iron and the precious metals, reclaimed each year and put back into use now exceeds the value of the same metals mined each year only a quarter of a century ago. And each year we remelt more tons of scrap iron than we produced from the ore thirty years ago. Such are a few of the facts of supply and demand in this continent-wide country of ours. We are building and adding to our industrial and business structure at such a rate that it is foolhardy not to take account of stock and to keep current our inventory of raw materials.

Broadly viewed, natural resources are of two great classes—the sources of energy and the raw materials of industry; and the greater of the two are the energy resources, for these include the soils that furnish the foodstuffs that in turn are fuel for the human engine, the living waters that help to support life as well as run

motors of another kind, and the great deposits of coal, oil, and gas that together contribute 87 per cent of the energy we use in our daily life here in the United States—heat energy as well as mechanical energy. It is interesting to note that water power yields only 4 per cent of the whole energy supply, while the soil yields us 6 per cent in firewood and 3 per cent through the medium of work animals.

It is when we thus view our farms and ranches as perennial reservoirs of energy that the question of maintaining soil fertility takes on proper proportions and we realize that provision for restoring depleted soils with mineral fertilizer is far more than a local or class issue. The nation's strength comes from its farms in a material as well as in a spiritual sense.

How great are these stores of energy? Compared with other nations, we have more than one-quarter of the tilled land of the world, nearly one-twelfth of the world's potential water power, perhaps one-eighth of the world's petroleum, and a good half of the coal. Or, to use the human measuring stick, our total water-power reserve is about half a horse-power for each man, woman, and child of our present population—and only one-seventh of that is already put to use. Of coal, the per capita reserve is not less than 23,000 tons, which we are now using up at the rate of 6 tons a year. As to petroleum, there is quite another story to tell. The most wildly optimistic estimate of both known and unknown pools would give us a reserve equivalent to less than 1 per cent of the coal reserve, or, say, a few hundred barrels for each of us, and of this small supply we used about 8 barrels apiece last year. Whether we like to believe it or not, our oil is not a national asset of at all the same order of magnitude as our coal.

Of greatest social significance, from the point of view both of present performance and of future promise, is our large use of power. Unlike the banker who credits present prosperity to the human factor, an engineer<sup>2</sup> finds "the American secret" in the "work done by mechanical energy, multiplying the useful efforts of man." Two facts stand out: the American wage-earner has more power at his elbow than any other worker in the world; and the

<sup>2</sup> Thomas T. Read, "The American Secret," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1927.

power equipment in the factory, in the mine, on the farm, and in the home continues to increase. We Americans are using energy on a magnificent scale, a scale possible nowhere else in the world. Whoever compares the social and economic problems confronting European nations with the conditions on this side of the Atlantic should keep in mind the fact that North America has the advantage of the cheapest, most abundant, and most serviceable power in the world. A single sample of American practice will serve to contrast modern with primitive methods. At the San Francisco water front 16 men can unload a cargo of copra in one-quarter the time it took from 200 to 300 coolies to load the same cargo in the Philippines. Machinery at the San Francisco docks and unaided human labor in the Orient—this difference explains the 50:1 ratio of efficiency. Plainly a higher wage scale and a better standard of living are possible for the machine-aided worker. The American workman is a better consumer because he is a better producer.

In comparing output of workmen in different countries, the average American has been rated as thirty times as effective as the Chinese, two and a half times as effective as the German, and almost twice as effective as the British. In certain industries, such as coal- and metal-mining or automobile-manufacture, and on the railroads, the efficiency of the American employee makes an even better relative showing, largely by reason of the improved equipment with which generous capitalization has made man power so much more efficient.

Most significant is the progress being made each year in harnessing power in aid of labor. Complete statistics for the public-utility power plants are available and show that in the last eight years the electric current generated each year for sale as power, light, and heat has more than doubled. During 1927 the generating capacity of these plants was increased 9 per cent, and for the year the output was 8.7 per cent larger than in 1926. Of this total of 80 billion kilowatt-hours in 1927, nearly two-thirds was generated by fuel power plants. By way of contrasting the present with the past, it may be noted that one-third of a billion kilowatt-hours of last year's output came from wood-burning plants in twenty states, chief of which is Oregon; whereas fifty years ago firewood furnished more service to man than the mineral fuels.

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Viewed in a large way, the power equipment of the United States, not including pleasure automobiles, has quadrupled since this century began, and the use of power by the average working-man has increased from somewhat over 2 horse-power to more than 6 horse-power. Even on the railroads, where the use of power has always been most manifest to the observer, the ratio of steam power to man power has nearly doubled in a quarter of a century.

Nor is the larger use of the energy from waterfall, oil well, and coal mine confined to industry. More folks are using more electric current. Twenty years ago one family in ten was a customer of the power plant; now it is two out of three. A million and a quarter farms have radio outfits, and more than one-third of a million farms are connected with central power stations. Not only the farm but also the small town is being benefited by long-distance electrification. The large, central power houses can now serve outlying districts with cheap power, so that diversified industries can thrive in garden communities where living costs are lower and living conditions better than in the old-style congested factory towns. Thus, whereas water power and steam power once centralized industry, now with the magic help of electricity these same sources of power can serve decentralized industry.

Three river problems held the attention of the American public in 1927—the Muscle Shoals and Colorado power projects, by reason of the emphasis of political discussion; and the control of the Mississippi River, by reason of widespread disaster through an unprecedented flood. The final disposition of a power development on the Tennessee, incident to a war-time provision for nitrate manufacture on a scale paralleling other eleventh-hour war measures, has provoked country-wide discussion quite out of proportion to its economic importance. The Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals develops 100,000 horse-power of continuous power. This is only one-tenth of the similar primary power now developed at Niagara and is equaled or exceeded by the installed capacity of at least ten other water-power plants and more than fifty steam-power plants. With storage on the upper Tennessee, an ultimate development of perhaps 250,000 horse-power is possible at this site. Yet the creation of a great industrial center here, as pictured by the real estate pro-

motors, is hardly to be expected when, under the American plan of equipping each workman with machine helpers, there are not several workmen to the horse-power but from 5 to 10 horse-power to the workman. In a nitrate plant, indeed, the power consumption is from 25 to 70 horse-power to the worker.

The proposal to harness the Colorado River similarly grips the imagination, in part by reason of the vast interstate area of which it is the master stream, and perhaps in large part because of the Grand Canyon this river has carved. Yet, as rivers are measured, the Colorado has only about one-tenth larger flow than the Hudson, even though the western river has a drainage area eighteen times that of the eastern river. Nevertheless, power development on the Colorado would take on large dimensions by reason of a series of possible power sites along its lower course. For the present, however, the 3,500,000 horse-power potentially available there has little significance because it is so far in excess of any possible market demand. The utilization of a small fraction of this power would serve to stimulate mining operations in Arizona and Nevada as well as other development in Arizona, where there is a well-organized trend toward industrial independence to overcome the handicap of distance from the manufacturing centers of the East.

The Mississippi River problem presented itself in 1927 with an emphasis that commanded nation-wide attention. Floods are recurrent natural phenomena, but settlement and internal development of a country serve to intensify their potential capacity for causing damage to property and loss of life. The lower Mississippi derives its water from 40 per cent of the area of the United States and has a quantity of flood discharge hard to conceive. Estimates indicate that the run-off in a great flood of the Mississippi, covering a period of six months or more, may exceed 500 million acre-feet, or the equivalent of three years' average run-off for either the Columbia or the St. Lawrence or of more than 30 years' run-off for the Colorado.

Regulation of the Mississippi's flow by any reversion of its great drainage area to a state of nature is both impracticable and impossible. Floods were a prehistoric habit of the Father of Waters—indeed, the great alluvial area between Cairo and the Gulf

had its origin in recurrent floods and seasonal overflow. Obviously, not the prevention of floods but rather the prevention of the loss of life and damage to property resulting from floods is all that man can seek to bring about. This, however, is a task worthy of the best of American engineering.

One outlook upon national progress is afforded by mention of the public domain and its administration. The nearly 200 million acres of public land even now unappropriated is more than equivalent to the area of all the Atlantic states from New England to Virginia. Last year title passed to entrymen for nearly 4.5 million acres, even though of late the effort has been to provide not so much more homes on the land as better homes. The government reclamation of arid lands has passed from the spectacular stage to a period of business administration.

The mineral estate of the American people is one of the chief guaranties of our future prosperity. In most of the patents issued for agricultural lands the mineral rights are now reserved, and the oil, coal, oil shale, phosphate, and potash deposits in public ownership constitute not only a large item in any inventory of our national wealth but also the sure foundation for future development. The mineral-leasing law of 1920 has proved its practical worth, both locally and nationally. Last year over 5 per cent of the oil output of the country came from wells on government leases, while the tonnage of coal mined from government lands showed a marked increase over that of previous years and will continue to increase. The administrative policy is broad-gauged and includes a constant effort to promote the interests of the lessee as well as to protect the public interest; more and more the private operator and the public official have come to realize that community of interest is a fact.

The rest of the country needs to count as national assets these resources of the great western states. Those long and heavily loaded eastbound trains bring to the consumer the stock of foodstuffs, minerals, and other raw materials that are so essential to prosperity; and it is the sane and safe development of our great natural resources that constitutes building for the future.

## INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES

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WILLIAM F. OGBURN

Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

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### ABSTRACT

Many social changes are occasioned by mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries. Although the reporting of discoveries is not well developed, and although it is difficult to forecast their significance, an attempt is made to select 100 inventions and discoveries, largely in applied science, for 1927, and mainly from the United States, which may be socially significant. The list is from the fields of medicine (with 13 listed), vitamins and ultra-violet light (7), medical instruments (4), biology (11), agriculture (9), chemistry (9), metals and mechanical devices (5), engineering (8), physics (4), electricity (3), radio (7), aviation (6), geology (3), safety devices (6), and from miscellaneous fields (7).

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It may appear strange to the reader that an article on inventions and discoveries in 1927, which are reported largely in the mechanical and non-social field, should be included in a collection dealing with social changes. It is the belief of the writer, however, that such an inclusion is not only permissible but obligatory. For have not the inventions of the automobile, the steam engine, and correlated mechanical developments been responsible for profound social changes in such social institutions as the community and the family, as well as for far-reaching changes in social customs? It is also obvious that such mechanical changes very seriously affect the social welfare of human beings, for good or bad. Indeed, it may be argued with some success that the origins of most of the innumerable social changes occurring today lie in new inventions of a mechanical nature and in the scientific discoveries of natural science, though we cannot always foretell from the new inventions or discoveries what specific social changes will be precipitated. No apology on this score, therefore, seems necessary.

Apology is necessary, however, for the doubtful success with which a list of significant new developments has been compiled. In the first place the list is a selected list. There were 41,731 patents granted in the United States alone in 1927, and there were reported many scientific discoveries that were not patented, while the limits

of space restrict this article to about one hundred such. The reporting of discoveries and inventions is far from having been perfected. Discoveries in the fields of education, psychology, statistics, business, and government are hardly collected at all. On the other hand, researches in medicine are often quickly reported and collected, perhaps too quickly; so also are many engineering projects and many new practical applications in applied chemistry. The great number of patents on mechanical devices are published each week, but the nature of the material, their great number, and the descriptions adopted make it almost impossible to select the significant ones. The sources of the following list are the compilation made by the National Geographic Society, the reports printed in the weekly *News Letter of Science Service*, in the *Scientific American*, and in the *Literary Digest*, and a few reports in answer to letters sent to a number of large research laboratories. It is also apparent that the year 1927 is too close for a full reporting even in those fields where reporting is done.

But from these reported lists, which are themselves a selection, a still further selection is made for this article. The basis of selection is, roughly, the importance for social change and for human welfare. Thus are omitted the many discoveries in pure science, in astronomy, physics, archaeology, paleontology, and similar fields. Since the social and human significance of researches in pure science cannot be predicted, the list is limited essentially to applied science and mechanical development.

Quite serious is the difficulty of selecting from such limits a very few discoveries that are significant for social change and human welfare. It cannot always be told what is important or practicable. Is the discovery of a new metallic substance to be significant or not? Will the new synthetic rubber made from coal be commercially practicable, as is claimed? If a half-dozen sociologists selected from the foregoing sources the one hundred most important inventions and discoveries on the basis of the aforementioned criteria, there would undoubtedly be wide variation.

Another difficulty lies in the nature of invention. Invention is really a step in a process. The process of invention may be divided, for the purpose of this article, into four stages: First is the origin

of the idea; second is the attempt to formulate it in such a way as to make it possible to test or verify; third is the scientific verification or test; and fourth is its development for practical or commercial use. The lists which follow are confined to the third and fourth stages. But it cannot always be told whether the third stage has been successfully passed. Thus, synthalin, reported as a substitute for insulin, was later found not to be effective. Naturally it was impossible for the writer of this article to check up on the reported discoveries. However, reasonable skepticism and criticism may be counted on in the reporting and collecting of discoveries.

There is also often a considerable lapse of time between the discovery and the attainment of commercial usage. For instance, in 1915 one talked by radio telephone from Washington to Paris for a very few words, but not until 1927 was regular commercial service inaugurated. The practical use of an invention depends on many factors, often upon many other minor inventions yet to be made, and which are made only by collective co-operative effort. Not too great attention should therefore be paid to the limits of the year 1927 in this collection.

Despite the difficulties of conception, of reporting, of selecting, of estimating the significance, a compilation is ventured because the importance of these new developments is so great. The list is accurate in a certain historical sense, but as a selected representative sample it yields a none too precise picture. Yet it does give the reader a knowledge of some very important events of 1927 that probably in general are of significance for social change.

#### MEDICINE

Dr. N. S. Ferry announced the isolation of the bacillus of measles (G).<sup>1</sup>

The inoculation of children with the blood of their parents produced immunity from measles and whooping cough for several months in 50 per cent of the inoculations and resulted in slight attacks in the other 50 per cent of the cases; studied by Professor

<sup>1</sup> Letters in parentheses refer to sources, as follows:

A—*Scientific American*; S—*News Letter of Science Service*; G—compilation of the National Geographic Society; D—*Literary Digest*; R—reports of certain research laboratories.

Rudolph Degkwitz, of Germany. Not enough serum is on hand when an epidemic breaks out, however (S).<sup>2</sup>

Cancer in chickens can be rendered inactive by small quantities of aluminum and calcium salts, Drs. Andervont and Lewis discovered. New direction is thus given to cancer research (S).

The 1927 Nobel Prize for medicine was awarded Professor Julius Wagner-Jauregg, of Vienna, for his treatment of paresis by inoculation with malaria (S).

Plasmochin, produced in the laboratories of the Elberfelder Farbenfabriken, is a synthetic drug effective in the treatment of malaria and is said to be a specific for that disease (G).

That horses are carriers of human diphtheria bacilli was found by Professor Panisset. Naturally immunized horses are frequent as well as horses carrying the germ in their nostrils and in wounds (G).

Epileptic children showed marked decrease in attacks when on a diet high in fats but low in protein and carbohydrates, a diet that increases uric acid but lowers the sugar in the blood, according to observations in the Massachusetts General Hospital. Dr. Peterman, of Milwaukee, confirms results with cases free from attack from six months to three years, being able to return to normal diet (S).

Liver extract can be used to cure pernicious anemia, Drs. Minot, Murphy, and Cohn, of Harvard University, announced; also the latter extracted from liver an extract which produces red corpuscles and probably is the active ingredient (S).

A curative antitoxin for erysipelas, first developed by Dr. Birkhang, of Rochester, New York, has been tried out with highly successful results in the large clinic at the Bellevue Hospital in New York (S).

Poisonous bites of snakes and scorpions are counteracted by the serum from immunized horses, even after the victim has developed alarming symptoms, a discovery which is the culmination of the work of various investigators over a number of years (S).

Epinephrin is used to treat eyes of patients suffering with progressive myopia by Dr. Wiener, of St. Louis, with encouraging results (S).

<sup>22</sup> See footnote 1, p. 27.

A new, highly efficient mosquito poison, a light dust, based on formaldehyde, and non-poisonous to warm-blooded animals and aquatic plants, was announced by E. Bouband, of the Pasteur Institute of Paris. It costs about 8 cents an acre (S).

Six cases of low blood pressure (close to 100) in one family, hard workers and of good physique, were reported by Dr. Garvin. Relatively low blood pressure, unless accompanied by other symptoms, may not be of disquieting significance. It seems to be hereditary (A).<sup>3</sup>

#### VITAMINES AND ULTRA-VIOLET LIGHT

The development of types of glass and glass substitutes which admit ultra-violet rays cut out by ordinary window glass, permitting the sun cure indoors, was announced by the American Medical Association (G).

Success in filtering out the irritant rays in the treatment of tuberculosis, malnutrition, and diseases of the skin by the sunlight method was reported by the Ontario Health Board (G).

Dr. Alfred F. Hess reported that dried milk which has been treated with ultra-violet light is the most practical of the irradiated foods that have been used to prevent rickets in babies (S).

European chemists isolated a substance called ergosterol, which is believed to be the anti-rachitic element of cholesterol, found in Vitamin D. It may replace the use of cod liver oil (S).

Extensive experiments in Japan show that animals kept for a long time on a diet deficient in Vitamin A or in A and C develop gall or kidney stones. Diets rich in Vitamin A made stones disappear (A).

When rats are fed foods deficient in Vitamin A, they gradually develop infections of the nose and throat, with bacteria similar to those of a common cold, while increased amounts of Vitamin A make symptoms disappear, according to experiments of Dr. Davids, of the University of Iowa (A).

Vitamin C, the substance that wards off scurvy, is present in milk as well as in fresh vegetables, is the report of Professor L. F. Meyer, of Berlin (S).

<sup>3</sup> See footnote 1, p. 27.

## MEDICAL INSTRUMENTS

The Kahn test is shown to be more sensitive both for the blood and for the spinal fluid than the Wasserman, as a result of 175,000 comparisons. The Kahn test is said to be cheaper and quicker (A).

For testing sinus disease, a double stethoscope with valve was perfected (S).

An electric stethoscope attached to a radio loud speaker was shown at the Bell Telephone Laboratories to amplify human heartbeats 10,000,000,000 times (D).<sup>4</sup>

Professor Howell, of Johns Hopkins University, developed an anti-coagulant from the livers of dogs which will keep blood in a practically normal condition for 24 hours; useful in blood transfusions and in the making of many kinds of blood tests (G).

## BIOLOGY

Dr. H. J. Muller, University of Texas, announced that he was able to speed up the evolutionary process in fruit flies a hundred fold by the application of X-rays. He was able to affect the "genes" responsible for heredity and was able to produce new unsuspected mutations, as well as mutations that had occurred before (G).

Two active principles of the pituitary gland are reported from the research laboratories of Parke, Davis and Company at Detroit. One gives rapid rise in blood pressure and constricts the arteries; the other excites violent contractions in the uterus (S).

Synthetic thyroxin, readily standardized and cheap, was produced by English doctors working along lines developed at the Mayo clinic in 1917 (S).

The female sex hormone or gland essence that causes typically feminine reactions and development in animals was discovered in male animals as well as female by Dr. Fellner, of Vienna (S).

Female animals rendered sexually inactive by surgical operations have certain sexual characteristics restored by extracts from the female organs of the pistillate catkins of willows and of water lilies, as shown in the work of Professor Zondek, of Berlin (G).

The isolation of a hormone responsible for the action of the heart from the hearts of frogs was announced by Professor Haber-

<sup>4</sup> See footnote 1, p. 27.

laust, of Innsbruck. It accelerates the pulse and lowers blood pressure (G).

Dr. Barnett Sure, of the University of Arkansas, has shown by experiments with rats that a poorly nourished mother whose bodily stock of Vitamin B is subnormal becomes unable to pass along this necessary food element to her nursing offspring (G).

The absence of thyroid substance caused a mouse to shed all its hair, and the administration of thyroid extract restored the original hairiness in experiments of Dr. Crew, of Great Britain (S).

A new type of ultra-microscope was demonstrated by F. F. Lucas, of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, which in ordinary light is able to make visible particles only one five-millionth of an inch in diameter. With ultra-violet light the definition can be carried considerably farther (S).

The extract or hormone of the parathyroid gland discovered by Professor Collip to cause rise of calcium and phosphate content of the blood when injected or given by the mouth, and to cure tetany, caused the broken bones of rats to produce bone growth twice as rapidly in experiments of Dr. Ogawa, of Japan (D).

Statistical evidence that the first-born child is more likely to have certain malformations of mind and body than later children was presented by Dr. Still, of Kings College, London (S).


#### AGRICULTURE

The toxic property of cotton-seed meal, harmful to animals, can be eliminated, as shown by experiments of Dr. Gallup, of the Oklahoma Experimental Station, by steaming for a long time in oil mills, leaving a meal of high food value (A).

Ladybugs of Australia were imported into California to fight the mealy-bugs attacking the orange trees (D).

Artificial ripening of fruits and vegetables was achieved by Dr. Harvey, of the Minnesota College of Agriculture, through the action of ethylene and propylene. The former is more practical because it is commercially available. Propylene produces better flavors. Fruit can be placed as needed in airtight room, temperature 65°, and treated with gas for a few hours. The process is not expensive. The effect upon the vitamins is not yet determined (A).

Wheat "forcibly fed" with nitrate fertilizer gives better yield,



and 100 pounds of sodium nitrate per acre increased protein content of wheat 27 per cent, announced Dr. Davidson, of the United States Bureau of Agriculture (S).

Bright illumination 24 hours a day, high temperature, and increased amounts of carbon dioxide in atmosphere speed up plant growth, reports the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research. Large heads of lettuce were grown in 3 weeks and wheat harvested 35 days after sowing. The process may be valuable in time of sudden need (S).

Unproductive muck lands were improved in response to copper treatment, producing normal vegetables, by experiments at Cornell University. Poor lettuce sprayed with copper soon became healthy plants (S).

Applying American methods of bud grafting to the rubber trees of the Dutch East Indies has increased the crude rubber production per acre from around 200 pounds to 800 pounds. It is believed that this may finally cut the price of rubber to about 10 cents per pound delivered in New York (G).

To supply paper-industry demands a large quick-growing tree, through hybrid vigor, has been developed. A yield of 100 cords to the acre is expected in 18 years (S).

The German chemical trust reports the development of an all-round fertilizer made of chemically treated mixtures rich in nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and potash (G).

#### CHEMISTRY

Progress in plans to manufacture synthetic petroleum by the Bergius process are announced from Germany. A ton of coal treated by this process yields around 200 pounds of gasoline, 440 pounds of lubricating oil, 132 pounds of grease, and 176 pounds of kerosene. It is claimed also that pulverized coal will compete in the future with gasoline as a fuel (G).

• Making of synthetic rubber on a commercial basis was again announced. The achievement is reported by the German Chemical Trust, the rubber being made from coal (S).

Cornstalks were used experimentally as a source of cellulose for paper and artificial silk (S).

• A patent has been obtained for re-refining naphtha after it has

been used for dry-cleaning purposes. About 30,000,000 gallons of naphtha is used for dry-cleaning yearly (A).

Artificial wool was made from cellulose or wood fiber, a by-product of the artificial silk industry. This has the soft, warm feel of lambs' wool plus a pleasing luster. The price is said to be between 50 cents and \$1.00 per pound, as compared to \$2.00 for real wool yarn (D).

Professor Von Weiman has worked out a method of reclaiming silk waste. Treatment by chemical salts produces a material which can be spun into artificial silk (S).

At a European coal and wood chemistry congress it was announced that a method had been worked out for the conversion of sawdust into sugar, 100 pounds of sawdust producing 60 pounds of sugar (G).

Diphenal oxide, a white chemical with a powerful odor like geraniums, was experimented with as a substitute for water in steam boilers in an endeavor to increase their efficiency (S).

Solid carbon dioxide was used as a refrigerant in transportation. It serves the same purpose as fifteen times as much ice and costs only ten times as much (S).

#### METALS AND MECHANICAL DEVICES

More resistant than steel by four to nine times is stellite, an alloy of chromium, cobalt, and tungsten. To be used for drill bits, dentists' instruments, dies, knives, and machine tools. It is unaffected by most acids (A).

The Ludlum Steel Company demonstrated a steel perfected in the Krupp laboratories which is eight times harder and more durable than the best American steel (G).

British bottle-blowing machine, entirely automatic, can make 5,400 bottles per hour, or a million per week. Bottles of fifteen different shapes and ten different capacities can be blown (S).

Experiments by H. S. Cooper, of Cleveland, Ohio, showed that the light-weight metal beryllium, or its alloys, is especially suitable for airship frames and light-weight pistons. It is one-third lighter than aluminum, harder, and four times as elastic. Ore is plentiful, and its cost moderate (S).

A very thick film of rust is required to decrease appreciably

the corrosion rate of the copper steels, and the more easily corroded steels have a much longer life when protected by even a thin film of corrosion product, according to Professor Chappell, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (A).

#### ENGINEERING

C. A. Campbell has figured a way of placing culverts under roads without cutting the pavement: a motor with a drive-shaft extended to the length of pipe to be installed, with cutting blades attached to the end. A shaft carries away dirt to rear of hole being dug (A).

A new tunneling machine is equipped with pneumatic tools for tunneling without explosives. There are eighteen pneumatic chisels which make a clean cut as the machine slowly advances into the rock that is being drilled (A).

Huge magnets suspended under trucks were used by the highway department of Nevada to clean roads of nails, tacks, and particles injurious to automobile tires. In a 100-mile trip 1,370 pounds of scrap iron were collected (G).

The Institute of Makers of Explosives announce a new method of locating oil which does away with the old-time hit-or-miss drilling. Dynamite is detonated on the ground, and seismographs placed certain distances away register the earth shock created. The readings give a definite clue to the absence or presence of oil domes and their position with reference to the seismograph stations (G).

A method of converting iron ore into pig iron by the use of rotary kilns like those used in cement manufacture was announced by Mr. Roberts, of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. It may lower costs of production one-fourth (G).

Non-corrosive metal railroad ties were made of steel containing an alloy of copper. Non-conducting plates and bolt caps are placed between the tie and rail for insulation. A rigid locking system makes fewer ties necessary per mile. Greater safety and smoothness of running is insured (A).

Automatic lighthouses are operated at Burnham, England, so that if one electric bulb breaks another comes into operation, and

if the current fails, an acetylene lamp assumes responsibility automatically (A).

An auto without gears was constructed by Dr. Constantinesco, of London. By means of an oscillating weight, which vibrates like the pendulum of a clock, the engine goes at even speed, but the speed of the car can be controlled by the driver. This uses a principle new to mechanics (D).

#### PHYSICS

Dr. Herbert E. Ives and his associates of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, with the television apparatus in Washington, demonstrated that it is possible to see by wire. The process involved the transmission of dots of light at the rate of 45,000 a second and the amplification of electric current 5,000,000,000,000,000 times. Mr. Francis Jenkins conducted a number of television demonstrations in Washington, D.C., using radio rather than wires as the transmitting agency. Dr. Alexanderson, for the General Electric Company and the Radio Corporation of America, demonstrated still another type (G).

A new type of loud speaker giving out sounds 300 times as loud as the older type was invented by Drs. Wente and Thuras, of the Bell Telephone Laboratories (S).


An "Exponential Horn," said to hurl the natural voice or tones of music across a distance of a mile without distortion, was developed in part by Mr. C. R. Hanna at the Westinghouse Laboratories (A).

The talking news reel has been greatly developed. An apparatus was constructed for moving picture taking and recording of speeches so compact that it can be transported in a truck to the site. Talking movies were produced (A).

#### ELECTRICITY

Electric power was interchanged between Boston and Chicago in a hook-up of the major companies between the two cities, in which it was sought to demonstrate the feasibility of super-power (G).

United States Army engineers developed a type of electric drive for the propulsion of river craft which they think will produce tremendous changes in rail and water transportation.



Discovery of a new electrical insulator of considerable practical value was announced by Dr. Abram Joffe, a Russian scientist visiting the United States (S).

#### RADIO

The General Electric Company developed at Station WGY in Schenectady a 100-kilowatt radio tube, five feet tall and weighing 100 pounds (G).

Incandescent lamps, held or suspended in the air without any connection to electric-power wires, were made to glow brightly when high-frequency waves were directed upon them in a demonstration of power transmission by radio by two Westinghouse engineers, Dr. Phillips Thomas and Dr. Harvey C. Reutschler, before the New York Electrical Society. Dr. Reutschler displayed a radio furnace in which chemical reactions were caused by radio waves. Metallic tungsten, among the most infusible of metals, was heated white hot in an instant by the invisible rays (A).

A new system of broadcasting transmission was developed by the Westinghouse Electric Company. Broadcasters can operate within one-half kilocycle of each other, the signal strength being stronger and modulator tubes being eliminated (A).

Broadcasting on low wave-lengths was begun, necessitating adapters to most ordinary receiving sets. Electron tubes operating directly on house supply alternating current were developed (G).

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company put into effect a radio-telephonic service with England (G).

George F. Mitchell, United States Department of Agriculture, invented a small radio receiving set for attachment to the telephone, costing about 50 cents (G).

The United States Bureau of Standards announced the maintenance of a two-way conversation by radio telephony between airplanes and the ground for a distance of 100 miles (G).

#### AVIATION

The inductor compass for aviators developed in the United States Bureau of Standards demonstrated its utility in the successful transatlantic and transpacific flights (S).

An experimental "sea drome" designed by Edward R. Armstrong, of the Du Pont Company, was built for anchoring about 500 miles from shore, over water three miles deep, in the ship lane between the United States and Europe. It is about 150 feet square, and is preliminary to the building of others 1,200 feet square, ballasted and anchored by steel cables. Waves pass through, but not over. Of possible service for weather bureau also (G).

Construction of an airship two and one-half times as large as the "Los Angeles" and to cost \$4,500,000 was begun under authority of Congress at Akron, Ohio. England is constructing two dirigibles with a capacity of 5,000,000 cubic feet each (G).

A landing light for airplanes was produced by the Sperry Gyroscope Company and the Westinghouse Lamp Company. Incandescent bulbs capable of burning for several hours illuminate for 3,000 feet (A).

At Hadley Airport, New Jersey, a new aviation beacon consisting of 4 high-intensity neon lamps mounted at the top of a 115-foot steel tower has been installed for experimental tests. The light from the neon tubes is mostly red, and it was reasoned that long waves of red light should penetrate fogs. Results are reported to be good (A).

Aerial express service on five routes and passenger air lines spanning the nation were inaugurated in the United States. More airways were lighted and placed under governmental supervision. Airway maps were published by the Coast and Geodetic Survey; weather maps showing conditions at eight different layers were inaugurated by the United States Weather Bureau (S).

#### GEOLOGY

Possibility of obtaining oil from the sea bottom was indicated by the tests of the American Petroleum Institute on the sand and mud of the coasts of North Carolina and of California, where high-grade oil shale was found (A).

Discoveries of potash salts in Texas and New Mexico thick and rich enough for mines were discovered through test borings made by the United States Geological survey (S).

A geological expedition into the Solikamsk region of Russia re-

ported the discovery of potash deposits containing 4,000,000,000 tons, the deposits being 250 feet thick (G).

#### SAFETY DEVICES

The United States Department of Commerce was advised of a method of train control by radio patented in Germany, by which any train in a block warns all trains behind it that it is standing still or running at reduced speed (G).

Recent tests of the General Electric Company showed the practicability of short wave-length, low-power transmission for communication between engine and caboose of freight. It is said to be more dependable than whistles or flare-lights as signals (D).

An electrical detector of "fire damp" or methane, the combustible gas that is responsible for coal mine explosions, is expected by scientists to eliminate many life-taking explosions (S).

Microphones were constructed as burglar alarms in the Bell Telephone Laboratories. They are capable of detecting vibrations instead of sound, carrying signals to main office, where they are both audible and visible. When it is placed in a bank vault the slightest vibration within vault is detected, but it is not disturbed by outside movements (S).

An electric cable was invented in Berlin which rings a bell when squeezed at any point. It is to be used to protect machinery operators, to serve as a burglar alarm, and to use in mines to indicate a fall or slide (S).

P. B. Cochran, a Westinghouse engineer, developed a warning paint which turns black at  $150^{\circ}$  and resumes a red color when cool again. Other colors than red and black can be used (G).

#### MISCELLANEOUS

The United States Navy Department announced the progress of methods of correlating static conditions with atmospheric conditions, a step in providing another basis for weather forecasting (G).

An acoustical plaster which absorbs most of the sound falling upon it was developed by the United States Bureau of Standards.

A German optical firm reports the development of a search-light which will throw pictures against the night sky (G).

Artificial tobacco was produced in Germany. Thin sheets of

especially prepared paper are impregnated with synthetic nicotine and stained and perfumed to stimulate the true tobacco odor, appearance, and taste both before burning and when lighted (G).

The utility of X-ray photographs as a positive means of identification was demonstrated by Drs. Culbert and Law, of New York, when they identified an unknown body with their aid.

Imperishable paint for decorating of buildings may be made of colored glass ground to a powder and mixed with cement. Paul Honore, a Detroit artist, has shown this to be a success (D).

Experiments by Dr. E. L. Thorndike on rate of learning of persons averaging 42 years of age were compared to rate of those of 22. In learning Esperanto, the older group learned five-sixths as fast as the younger. Both learned more rapidly than children. Even after 50, decline in ability to learn is only about 1 per cent per year (S).

## PRODUCTION

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HARRY JEROME

Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin

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### ABSTRACT

Compared with 1926, production declined in 1927. *Period preceding 1927.*—Most of the major lines of production made substantial gains from the post-war depression within two or three years, then experienced a mild recession, and recovered again by 1926 to a new high level. *Agriculture and animal husbandry.*—Crop yields declined in 1927, but the volume of agricultural marketing increased. *Mining.*—Despite the coal strike and declines in several other minerals, the increased output of petroleum sufficed to keep mining at the 1926 high level. *Manufacturing.*—Several manufacturing industries registered gains, but manufacturing as a whole declined, the heaviest losses occurring in automobiles and iron and steel. *Construction.*—Declines in commercial and industrial building brought the 1927 volume of contracts awarded below the 1926 level.

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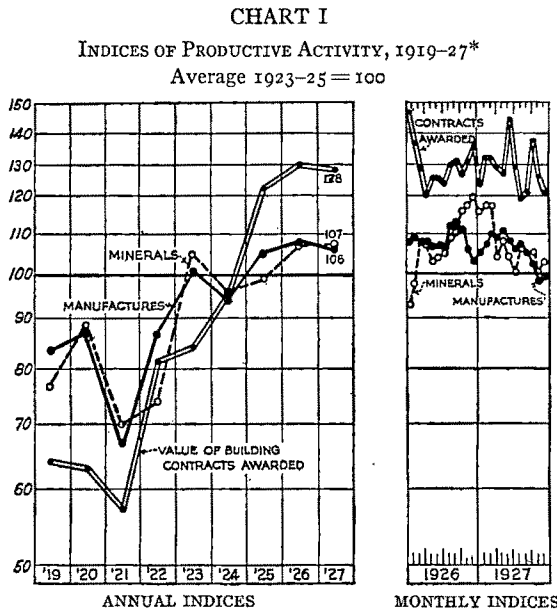
On the whole, production in 1927 failed to maintain the high levels reached in 1926, though in some industries, particularly in the first half of the year, the volume of production exceeded that of the corresponding period of 1926. Manufactures declined about 2 per cent. Building, as shown by the F. W. Dodge Corporation figures on contracts awarded, also declined slightly. The production of minerals, owing to a high output of petroleum, remained substantially unchanged despite extensive strikes in the bituminous coal industry. Crops were somewhat below the 1926 level as a rule, but better than the average for the preceding ten years. The general decline in production was reflected in a decrease in freight-car loadings of 2.7 per cent, compared with 1926, the largest decreases being in the loadings of coal and coke, forest products, ore, and live stock.

### THE PERIOD PRECEDING 1927

Before proceeding to any further consideration of the productive activities of the nation in 1927 we may profitably note, as a basis of comparison, the major movements in production from 1919 to 1927, inclusive. These are tabulated in Table I on a later page and represented graphically in Charts I and II. Chart I shows the movements in composite indices of the physical volume of produc-

tion for manufacturers and minerals and in the value of building contracts awarded. Chart II portrays the fluctuations in the production of eleven principal manufacturing industries.<sup>1</sup>

For convenience of comparison, the series shown on these charts are expressed as index numbers with the average for 1923-25 as 100



\* For the numerical data from which the annual indices are plotted see the first four series in Table I. The monthly indices are plotted from data in the *Federal Reserve Bulletin* for February, 1928, pp. 133-35.

25 as 100 per cent. On the left side of the chart are given annual figures for 1919 to 1927; on the right side, monthly data, adjusted for typical seasonal variation, for the years 1926 and 1927.

The severe depression of 1921, after the post-war boom, was followed, as is evident in Charts I and II, by a recovery in almost all lines of production. This movement reached a peak in mining and manufacturing in 1923, slumped somewhat in 1924, and climbed to new high levels in 1926. Building picked up rapidly in

<sup>1</sup> In preparing this article the writer has availed himself freely of the several valuable indices of production currently published by the Federal Reserve Board, the United States Department of Commerce, and in the *Review of Economic Statistics*. The sources of the particular data from which the charts are prepared are set forth in footnotes to the charts and Table I.

1922, took another spurt in 1924 and 1925, and by 1926 reached a point well above the 1923-25 average. The volume of crop production, as shown by the index of mass production of ten principal crops compiled by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, was high in 1920, slumped in 1921, recovered in 1922, and has held a relatively even course thereafter.

The index of the volume of agricultural marketing, which is recorded in Table I, has exhibited since 1920 a gradual improvement, with recessions in 1923 and 1925.

#### AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY<sup>2</sup>

Despite the ravages of the Mississippi flood and other adverse local conditions in the first part of the season, 1927 was, on the whole, a fairly good crop year. The composite yield of seventeen principal crops, weighted in proportion to their ten-year average value per unit, was 2.2 per cent less in 1927 than in 1926, but 3.3 per cent greater than the average production in the ten years 1917-26.

The increase in agricultural production is not keeping up, however, with the growth of population. The per capita output in 1927 was 4.8 per cent less than the average for the preceding ten years.

The yield per acre, for all crops combined, weighted in proportion to relative importance, was about 2 per cent lower than the 1926 yield, though 2.5 per cent higher than the average of the preceding ten years.

The per-acre yield of spring wheat, hay, rye, barley, and white potatoes was considerably above the average for the preceding ten years; but for winter wheat, tobacco, and cotton it was 2 or 3 per cent, for oats and some of the leading fruit crops, 10-30 per cent below their respective ten-year averages.

Despite a decrease of 1,200,000 in the corn acreage and a poor crop in much of the central and eastern sections of the corn belt, the total crop exceeded the 1926 figure and was about 2 per cent above the average of the ten preceding years.

<sup>2</sup> The discussion in this section is based chiefly upon estimates compiled by the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics and published in *Crops and Markets*, December, 1927; and upon indices of agricultural movements published in the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*.

The acreage of wheat increased over 2,000,000 acres, and total production to a slightly greater extent.

The 1927 cotton acreage declined to about 40,000,000 acres, as compared with 47,000,000 in 1926, and the total yield decreased even more sharply, the 1927 crop of less than 13,000,000 bales representing a decline of about 29 per cent from the large crop of the previous year. However, the average price for cotton was substantially higher in 1927, and the estimated farm value of the total crop was higher than in 1926, despite the sharp slump in output.

The preceding discussion refers to crops only. A somewhat broader view of agricultural production is represented by the index of agricultural movements, annual indices for which from 1919 to 1927 are given in Table I. This index is based upon fourteen independent series representing the volume of marketing of live stock, animal products, grains, cotton, vegetables, fruits, and tobacco. Of course, some of these marketings may represent yields of the previous year. Agricultural movements so defined increased in 1927 about 3.5 per cent over 1926, owing largely to increase in the marketing of grains, animal products, tobacco, and vegetables. Declines were registered in the marketings of cotton, live stock, and fruits.

#### MINING

The course of mining since the war, as is shown in Chart I, has rather closely paralleled the changes in manufacturing. The depression of 1921 was followed by a revival movement which reached a peak in 1923, receded in 1924, and recovered sufficiently by 1926 to exceed the 1923 level. The continued maintenance in 1927 of the high 1926 level is the net result of quite divergent movements of the two most important constituents of the mining composite: bituminous coal and crude petroleum.

The production of bituminous coal was high in the closing months of 1926 and in the first three months of 1927, in anticipation of the extensive strikes which began in April. But in the last nine months of the year production, adjusted for customary seasonal variation, was only 85-94 per cent of the 1923-25 average.

In contrast to the relative inactivity of the coal mines, the pro-

duction of crude petroleum, which had increased rapidly in the second half of 1926, to about 70,000,000 barrels per month as compared with less than 64,000,000 in 1925, more than maintained this high level of production throughout 1927. The output for the year was nearly 900,000,000 barrels, or 16 per cent more than the high

TABLE I  
INDICES OF THE VOLUME OF PRODUCTION, 1919-27\*  
(AVERAGE OF 1923-25=100)

Industry	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Minerals . . . . .	77	89	70	74	105	96	99	107	107
Agricultural movements . . . . .	89	81	94	98	96	104	99	103	106
Building contracts awarded (value) . . . . .	64	63	57	81	84	95	122	129	128
Manufactures:									
Total . . . . .	84	87	67	87	101	94	105	108	106
Iron and steel . . . . .	82	99	46	83	105	88	106	113	103
Automobiles . . . . .	50	58	41	66	102	90	107	109	86
Lumber . . . . .	79	79	68	89	99	96	105	100	94
Petroleum refining . . . . .	54	64	64	74	86	99	115	125	136
Cement, brick, and glass . . . . .	55	66	63	80	95	95	110	114	109
Paper and printing . . . . .	76	87	70	85	95	99	106	114	114
Rubber tires . . . . .			55	77	86	98	116	118	121
Tobacco manufactures . . . . .	82	87	85	89	96	99	105	114	118
Textiles . . . . .	92	84	87	99	105	91	104	104	113
Food products . . . . .	94	84	83	94	99	103	98	97	96
Leather and shoes . . . . .	104	97	90	102	110	94	96	98	103

\* These indices appear in the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, October, 1925, p. 739; February, 1928, pp. 133-34, 138; and March, 1928, p. 184; all in the form here given except the index for agricultural movements, which has been converted by the writer from a 1919 to the 1923-25 base. The index for the value of building contracts awarded is as computed by the Federal Reserve Board from data compiled by the F. W. Dodge Corporation.

yield of 1926. This new high record in production was largely due to the opening of highly productive wells in the Mid-Continent area, which began late in 1926. By the second half of the year measures of co-operative limitation of drilling were inaugurated and appear to have been somewhat effective in lessening the rate of increase in crude oil production.

In addition to the slump in bituminous coal due to strike conditions, declines from the 1926 level of production were also registered in 1927 for anthracite coal, copper, zinc, lead, gold and silver.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Monthly and annual revised indices of mineral production, 1920-27, for nine minerals and their composite are given in the *Survey of Current Business*, April, 1928, p. 19.

## MANUFACTURING

Manufacturing industry as a whole has prospered since the depression of 1921, with a recession in 1924 and a slackening again in 1927. The general increase, however, has been unequally distributed among the several industries. An impression of the relative movements in the leading manufacturing industries may be obtained by an examination of Chart II, which is drawn on a ratio scale, so that equal percentages of increase are represented by equal vertical changes in the position of a curve, and likewise equal percentages of decrease by equal vertical declines. Hence, relative changes in two industries may be compared by noting the slope of the two curves, regardless of their location on the chart. The monthly movements for 1926 and 1927, shown on the right side of the chart, are adjusted for typical seasonal variation, so that the discussion of changes below refers in all cases to changes aside from the ordinary seasonal movements.

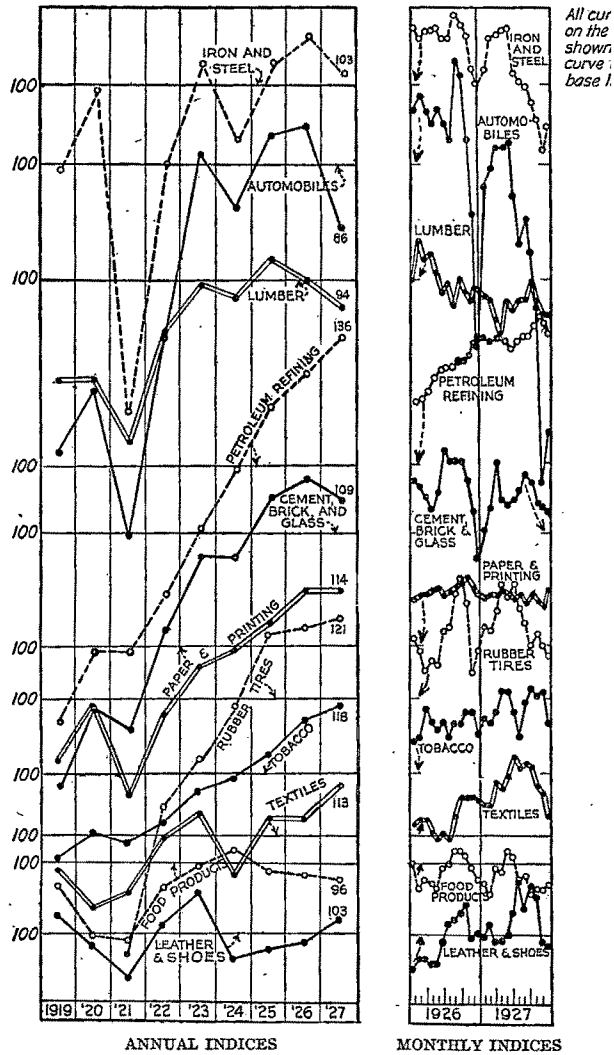
Let us consider the industries in the order in which they are arranged in Chart II, beginning with the lower curve.

The leather and shoe industry has been relatively sluggish since the post-war boom and exceeded the 1919 level only in 1923, but has been making moderate gains in each year since 1924, and this improvement was continued in 1927. The moderate decline in food products from the peak of 1924, which began in 1925, continued in 1927. The textile group, which had recovered slowly from the post-war slump, showed substantial improvement in 1927. The mill consumption of cotton and silk was larger than in any previous year, though the effects of a curtailment program begun by the cotton manufacturers began to be apparent at the close of the year. The steady gain in the tobacco group continued in 1927, reaching a level 18 per cent above the high 1923-25 average. The previous rapid growth in the rubber-tire industry slackened, but did not cease entirely, in 1926 and 1927. Paper and printing declined in 1927, and the cement, brick, and glass industries likewise declined, reflecting the moderate recession in building activity. Petroleum refining continued its skyrocketing course under the impetus of the exceptional production of crude petroleum in the Mid-Continent fields, and maintained all year an output about one-

third above the 1923-25 average. The 1926 decline in the 1924 peak was continued in 1927.

CHART II

THE VOLUME OF MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION, BY INDUS:  
Indices with average of 1923-25 = 100



\* The numerical data for the annual indices are given in Table I. Those for the taken from the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, February, 1927, p. 176; and February, 192

The production of automobiles fell off sharply from the peak of 1926, owing partly to the stoppage of the Ford output for much of the year after May, while changing over to the production of the new model. At the end of the year production was down to about half of the average output in 1923-25. The passenger-car production for the year was 870,000 less than in 1926.

Iron and steel had reached a new high point in 1926, but in 1927 declined sharply in the middle of the year, and again, after a temporary recovery, declined even more sharply toward the end of the year. Nor is this decline fully accounted for by the slump in automobile production, as the decline in steel was greater than the 1926 consumption of steel by the automotive industries.

Despite the decline in manufacturing and construction, the output of electric energy increased 8.1 per cent in 1927, to a higher record than for any previous year.

#### CONSTRUCTION

Construction is a productive activity which directly or indirectly affects a large fraction of the working population. There is no single series which can be taken as a substantially complete record of the volume of actual construction, but there are several which are useful in forming an approximate judgment of construction activities.

First, the statistics of building contracts awarded in thirty-six states, compiled by the F. W. Dodge Corporation, are generally recognized as an important index of construction. The volume of building (square feet) represented by contracts awarded in 1927 increased, as compared with 1926, for residential, educational, and particularly for other public and semipublic buildings, but decreased for commercial and industrial buildings sufficiently to bring the grand total 3.6 per cent below the 1926 volume. The value of contracts awarded declined slightly. The latter series, which is plotted in Chart I, has risen rapidly since the depression of 1921, particularly in the years 1922, 1924, and 1925, and reached its peak in 1926. This index of construction activity is affected by changes in building costs as well as by the physical volume of construction. The extent of this influence may be approximated by comparison with the index of construction costs compiled by the

Associated General Contractors of America and published in the *Survey of Current Business*. Taking 1913 costs as 100 per cent, this index has not varied from 200 more than three points in any year since 1918, except in 1920 when it rose to 247, and in 1922, when it fell to 184. Hence it would appear that for recent years the movement in the value of contracts awarded may be taken as a reasonably accurate approximation of the physical volume of production.

The index of construction volume compiled by the Associated General Contractors of America, from series representing the bookings or shipments of various building materials, shows the same general rapid rise in recent years as is evidenced by contracts awarded, but differs in that it shows an increase of about 4 per cent in 1927 over 1926.

The year just past was an active year in highway construction. The new orders for concrete streets and pavements, as reported by the Portland Cement Association, reached a new high level of over 10,000,000 square yards per month, as compared with a previous high figure, reached in 1926, of slightly less than 9,000,000 per month.

Activities on federal-aid highways, however, declined from a monthly average in 1926 of 787 completed miles and 10,890 miles under construction at the end of the month, to 690 and 9,660 miles, respectively.

#### SUMMARY

With exceptions noted before, 1927 witnessed a slackening in the rate of increase in production, or an actual decline from the high levels of 1926, the decline being most marked in the second half of the year. Of the principal industries, those affected most were bituminous coal, iron and steel, and automobile production.

A number of challenging questions, in part discussed in other parts of this volume, arise upon examination of the production data, together with other important concurrent phenomena, for 1927 and previous years. We must forego here an attempt to discuss these problems, but it may be pertinent to suggest some of them. For example, may we expect the per capita decline in crop production to continue as in recent years, and, if so, will it be ac-

complicated by a still further depopulation of the rural areas? What is the future of the bituminous coal industry, in the face of its recognized overdevelopment, chaotic labor conditions, and the limitations upon its market expansion arising from increased economies in the use of coal in power production<sup>4</sup> and an increasing competition from oil? Lastly, what is the significance of the situation, which has aroused much speculation in recent years, of a marked increase in physical output of manufacturing, accompanied by a decrease in the number of factory employees and a relatively high level of wages? High wages and increasing unemployment ordinarily do not go together. Is the situation in some respects illusory? Have other than manufacturing occupations, partially by-products of the automobile and other relatively new industries, absorbed most of the workers not required in the factories? Or is there a real tendency, as increased mechanization and other improvements in factory technique and management increase the output per worker, for the fringe of the unemployed to widen?

<sup>4</sup>In 1919 the average consumption of coal per kilowatt hour in public-utility power plants was 3.2 pounds per kilowatt hour. In 1927 it was 1.84 pounds, a decline of 43 per cent, as shown by data in a mimeographed statement issued by the United States Geological Survey, *Production of Electric Power by Public-Utility Plants in the United States in 1927* (April 16, 1928).

## FOREIGN TRADE AND INVESTMENTS

G. B. ROORBACH

Professor of Foreign Trade, Harvard University

### ABSTRACT

American foreign trade in 1927 showed, with few exceptions, the same general trends that have characterized it since the post-war depression. While volume of both exports and imports increased, the excess value of exports over imports greatly increased over 1926. Exports of finished manufactured products showed the chief gains, but manufactured goods regained their premier position in the import trade also. While Europe remained by far the most important market for American products, that region continued to decline in relative importance. Canada showed the most marked increases in the export trade, the Far East held its large gains previously made, and exports to South America declined. The most significant fact in the 1927 trade was the continued expansion of exports in the face of the large receipts of interest and dividend payments due the United States. This situation is explained largely by the unprecedented expenditures of American tourists abroad, and the continued large foreign investments of American capital.

### MERCHANDISE EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

For the most part, American foreign trade in 1927 continued to show the same general trends that have characterized it since 1921, and, in many respects, were apparent in the pre-war tendencies. Merchandise exports in 1927 reached \$4,865,000,000, an increase of 1.2 per cent in value over 1926 (see tables I and II). However, since the average level of export prices declined during the year, the actual volume of exports increased much more than the value figures indicate. The year by year increases in the volume of exports that has characterized American trade since the 1920-21 depression was, therefore, well maintained in 1927, making the volume of our merchandise shipments in the year that has just ended greater than those of any previous year, and 58 per cent above the 1913 quantity. This is particularly significant in view of the fact that total world-export trade has increased much less rapidly and that the actual volume of exports of most of the European industrial countries is still less than pre-war. United States exports continue to increase in both value and quantity and to supply an increasing percentage of total world-exports.

• While both the value and quantity of exports in 1927 increased

over the preceding year, merchandise imports into the United States showed a decline of 5.6 per cent in value. However, the decline in prices of most of the chief articles imported in 1927 was

TABLE I  
EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND VISIBLE BALANCE OF TRADE  
(MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

YEAR	MDSE. EXPORTS	MDSE. IMPORTS	EXCESS EXPORTS (+), OR IMPORTS (-)			
			Mdse.	Gold	Silver	Total Excess
1913.....	2,484	1,793	+ 691	+ 28	+ 27	+ 746
1919.....	7,920	3,904	+4,016	+292	+150	+4,457
1920.....	8,228	5,278	+2,950	- 95	+ 26	+2,880
1921.....	4,485	2,509	+1,976	-667	- 12	+1,297
1922.....	3,832	3,113	+ 719	-238	- 8	+ 473
1923.....	4,167	3,792	+ 375	-294	- 2	+ 79
1924.....	4,591	3,610	+ 981	-258	+ 36	+ 759
1925.....	4,910	4,227	+ 683	+134	+ 35	+ 852
1926.....	4,809	4,431	+ 378	- 98	+ 23	+ 303
1927.....	4,865	4,184	+ 680	+ 6	+ 21	+ 707

TABLE II  
INDEXES OF CHANGES IN QUANTITY AND VALUE OF  
IMPORTS AND EXPORTS\*  
(1913 TAKEN AS 100)

YEAR	EXPORTS		IMPORTS	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
1913.....	100	100	100	100
1919.....	142	317	125	218
1920.....	137	330	139	294
1921.....	120	179	120	140
1922.....	112	154	154	174
1923.....	115	167	161	212
1924.....	130	184	156	201
1925.....	137	197	166	236
1926.....	146	192	178	247
1927.....	158	194	180	233

\* From *Trade Information Bulletin No. 537*, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, p. 7.

much more marked than the decline in export prices. This was particularly true of raw silk, crude rubber, and coffee, which are the three largest items in American import trade. When account is taken of the price declines, the quantity of imports, as indicated in

Table II, actually was larger in 1927 than in any year in our history. The quantity imports in 1927 were 80 per cent greater than in 1913. In volume, therefore, there was a continuance of the general year by year increases that have marked our import trade since 1922, although in dollar values the trade in 1927 was less than in 1926.

The decline in the value of imports, while the value of exports increased, accounts for the most significant change in our merchandise trade in 1927 as compared with the previous year, namely, the

TABLE III  
EXPORTS BY COMMODITY GROUPS: VALUES AND PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL  
(VALUES IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

YEAR OR YEARLY AVERAGE	RAW MATERIALS		FOODS		MANUFACTURES	
	Value	Percentage of Total	Value	Percentage of Total	Value	Percentage of Total
1910-14.....	713	33.5	422	19.7	996	46.7
1921.....	984	22.5	1,358	31.1	2,037	46.5
1922.....	988	26.3	1,047	27.8	1,730	45.9
1923.....	1,208	29.5	840	20.6	2,042	49.9
1924.....	1,333	29.6	966	21.5	2,199	48.9
1925.....	1,422	29.5	892	18.5	2,505	52.0
1926.....	1,261	26.8	838	17.8	2,613	55.4
1927.....	1,193	25.1	884	18.5	2,681	56.3

increase in the excess of export value over import value (Table I). The excess of exports, amounting to \$680,000,000, was nearly double that of 1926, and equal to the 1925 export balance. To this excess of merchandise exports must be added an excess of \$15,000,000 of exports of gold and silver, giving a total "favorable" balance of nearly \$700,000,000 in 1927 in our merchandise and precious metal trade. As yet American foreign trade continues to show a very large "export" balance. The reason for and the significance of this will be further mentioned below.

*Commodity character of trade.*—Table III shows that, in the commodity composition of the export trade, the same general trends that have been apparent for many years, with the exception of the war years and the two or three years immediately after the war, were continued. The chief increases in 1927 were in the exports of manufactured products, which in 1927 accounted for 56.3

per cent of our total export trade. The increases in the manufactured group are found largely in the increases in the export of finished goods, especially machinery, automobiles, rubber products, chemicals, and paints. Iron and steel mill products and petroleum products showed material declines.

Crude material exports continued to decline both in value and in percentage of total trade, indicative of the increased consumption of our raw materials in our own plants. However, a considerable amount of the decline in 1927 over 1926 was due to the fall in

TABLE IV  
IMPORTS BY COMMODITY GROUPS: VALUES AND PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL  
(VALUES IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

YEAR OR YEARLY AVERAGE	RAW MATERIALS		FOODS		MANUFACTURES	
	Value	Percentage of Total	Value	Percentage of Total	Value	Percentage of Total
1910-14. ....	595	35.2	397	23.5	606	41.3
1921. ....	859	34.2	668	26.7	982	39.1
1922. ....	1,180	37.9	717	23.0	1,216	39.1
1923. ....	1,407	37.1	893	23.6	1,492	39.3
1924. ....	1,258	34.9	947	26.2	1,405	39.0
1925. ....	1,748	41.4	928	21.9	1,551	36.7
1926. ....	1,792	40.5	958	21.6	1,681	37.9
1927. ....	1,601	38.3	956	22.9	1,628	38.9

coal exports, which had been especially heavy in 1926 as a result of the British coal strike.

Although exports of foods increased in 1927, changes in the total value were slight, showing the maintenance of the tendency toward decline in relative importance of this group which has long been characteristic of food exports from the United States, except for the war and post-war revival. The excess of food imports over food exports continues to increase. The decline in exports of packing-house products was very marked, but the decline was offset by increases, principally in grain and flour exports, and in exports of fruits and nuts. The chief gains in American farm products exports appear to be in the more intensive and specialized crops, such as fruits.

Changes in the commodity character of the import trade, as given in Table IV, show large declines in the value of imported raw

materials. This is to be expected since the price declines were greatest in crude materials. Rubber, for example, averaged 19 cents per pound lower in 1927 than in 1926, and the declines in raw silk prices were likewise important. These two commodities alone comprise over one-half of our raw material imports.

One of the most significant facts in the import trade of 1927 is the continued high importance of manufactured imports, in spite of declining prices. In percentages of total imports, this group again became the most important of the major groups after having been displaced for a few years by raw materials. The decline in value of this group was in the semimanufactured items, such as wood pulp, sodium nitrate, refined copper, and tin. Finished manufactures imported in 1927 increased in value, and were the highest on record. In view of high tariffs on most manufactured products, and the relation of the development of imports of finished goods to the commercial recovery of Europe, this fact is of much interest and significance.

*Geographic distribution.*—In the geographic distribution of the export trade the year 1927 also showed the same general conditions that have been apparent since the war, namely, the lessened importance of Europe as a market, and the increased importance of Canada and the Far East. Europe has always been by far the most important market for American exports and continues to dominate. But while from 60 per cent to 70 per cent of our exports were destined to Europe before the war, the percentage had steadily fallen until in 1925 it was 53 per cent; in 1926, 48 per cent; in 1927, 47.6 per cent. The value of exports to Europe in 1927 was the same as in 1926, and in both years showed a large decline from 1925. Much of the decline in Europe is to be attributed to the fall in our exports to the United Kingdom. This market, which took 26.2 per cent of all American exports before the war, in 1927 took but 17.3 per cent. It thus is apparent that the European trade depression, particularly in Central and Northwestern Europe, continues to be the chief influence affecting the volume of United States exports.

Exports to the Far East in 1927 were essentially the same in value and in percentage importance as in 1926. Decreases in value

of goods sent to Japan and China were compensated by increases to India. Exports to South America slightly declined from 1926, although maintaining a much higher position than before and immediately after the war. The largest increases in exports in 1927 were to Canada, bringing the percentage of trade to 17.2 per cent of our total exports, only slightly less than exports to the United Kingdom, which has always held the premier position.

The chief changes in the geographical distribution of the import trade may be attributed largely to price level changes in import products which affected particularly raw material imports from the Far East, especially rubber and raw silk. The result was that Asia, which in 1926 stood first as a source of imports, fell to second place in 1927 by a very slight margin: from 31.6 per cent to 30 per cent of the total. Europe, on the other hand, supplying principally manufactured imports, regained her premier position, always held as a source of imports except in 1925 and 1926 and for a few years during the war. In 1927, imports from Europe made up 30.5 per cent of the total, as compared with 29.0 per cent in 1926 and 48.2 per cent in 1913. It should be noted that while imports from Europe are of declining relative importance, steady yearly increases in absolute volume of imports from that continent have characterized the post-depression period beginning with 1922. In 1927, although a very slight decline in values occurred, quantity of imports from Europe increased.

Changes in the import trade from Latin America as a whole were slight in 1927 as compared with the immediately preceding years. The distinct falling off in imports from Mexico, Brazil, and Chile was offset by gains from Argentina and Cuba.

#### INVISIBLE EXPORTS AND IMPORTS AND THE BALANCE OF TRADE

The international transactions in the import and export of commodities and of silver and gold represent but a part of our foreign commercial relations involving financial settlement. Table V gives the other principal items in the international business transactions for 1926 and 1927, as compiled by the United States Department of Commerce, and shows the estimated net balances of imports or exports or of debits or credits, for each of these two years. In addition to the so-called "visible" items—merchandise

TABLE V  
ESTIMATED BALANCES OF PAYMENTS, 1926 AND 1927\*  
(MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

EXPORT ITEMS OR CREDITS		
	1926	1927
<i>Current visible and invisible items (net balances):</i>		
Commodities.....	266	548†
Gold‡ and currency.....		166
Motion-picture royalties.....	71	71
Interest and commissions—private debts.....	467	514
Interest—government war debts.....	160	160
Principal—government war debts.....	35	46
Other current balances§.....	87	107
Total current credit balance.....	1,086	1,612
<i>Capital movements:</i>		
New foreign investments in the United States.....	668	919
Foreign loans paid.....	322	304
Foreign securities resold.....	337	463
Total capital credits.....	1,327	1,686
Total credits.....	2,413	3,298
IMPORT ITEMS OR DEBITS		
<i>Current visible and invisible items (net balances):</i>		
Gold‡ and currency.....	72	.....
Tourist expenditures.....	567	617
Immigrant remittances and charity.....	264	249
Freight payments.....	61	32
Other current items  .....	63	49
Total current debit balance.....	1,027	947
<i>Capital movements:</i>		
New American investments abroad.....	1,357	1,648
American loans paid.....	65	70
American securities repurchased.....	509	639
Total capital debits.....	1,931	2,357
Total debits.....	2,958	3,304
Excess credits, current.....	59	665
Excess debits, capital.....	604	671
Excess debits, total.....	545	6

\* Adapted from data compiled by Dr. R. O. Hall, Finance and Investment Division, United States Department of Commerce.

† The commodity balance here given does not correspond to the balance given in Table I, since certain adjustments have been made in values, and it includes certain visible items not incorporated in the statistics of merchandise trade, such as bunker coal and oil sales, contraband liquor trade, sales of vessels, etc.

‡ Includes gold "ear-marked" for export or import, as well as actual shipments of gold.

§ Includes payments on ocean-borne passenger traffic, cable services, insurance premiums, etc.

|| Includes advertising, imports of Canadian power, United States government expenditures, etc.

and gold and currency—there was a current exchange of various services across our borders such as tourist expenditures, immigrant remittances, interest and dividend payments, commissions, ocean freight payments, royalties, and other “invisible” items, that represented financial transactions as truly as the exchange of commodities. In addition to these current transactions there was also the movement of capital—loans and investments, redemptions and sinking fund payments, buying and selling of securities, and other capital payments and repayments by Americans to foreigners and by foreigners to Americans and the American government.

The excess of exports of American merchandise, silver, and other visible items in 1927, amounting to about \$550,000,000, represents an indebtedness by foreigners to American individuals and firms not covered by imports of merchandise and currency into the United States. This commodity or “visible” balance of payments due the United States in 1927 was, as we have seen, over twice as large as that of 1926. The chief change in the nature of the visible balance was the transformation of a net import balance of gold imports and gold “ear-marked” for imports amounting altogether to \$72,000,000 in 1926, to an export balance of \$166,000,000 in 1927. An excess of \$98,000,000 of imports of actual gold in 1926 was changed to an export excess of \$6,000,000 in 1927. Including gold, the visible credit balance in 1927 was over \$700,000,000, as compared to a net visible export balance of merchandise, gold, and silver of \$200,000,000 in 1926.

In addition to this large credit balance on commodity trade, there was a net credit balance due the United States on account of interest payments nearly equal in 1927 to the visible balance. Net interest payments to the United States on private and public debts in 1927 amounted to \$674,000,000, as compared with \$627,000,000 in 1926 and with \$351,000,000 in 1927. The total of all current obligations, on balance, due the United States reached the impressive total in 1927 of \$1,612,000,000 (see Table V).

As impressive as this credit balance is, however, it was largely offset by two items on the import or debt side of the account, viz., tourist expenditures and immigrant remittances and charitable contributions. Immigrant remittances have shown year by year de-

clines since 1921, when they were stated to be \$700,000,000, until in 1926 they were estimated at \$264,000,000, and in 1927 at \$249,000,000. Tourist expenditures, however, have continued to mount rapidly until they now more than meet either the merchandise trade balance or the balance of interest payments. Estimated at \$200,000,000 in 1921, the net expenditures by tourists were given as \$567,000,000 in 1926 and \$617,000,000 in 1927. The expenditures of foreign tourists in the United States in 1927 were estimated by the Department of Commerce at \$153,000,000; of American tourists abroad, at \$760,000,000.

However, in spite of the large total of current expenditures, the increase in the commodity trade balance, and the transfer of gold payments from the import to the export side of the balance, increased the "favorable" balance of only \$59,000,000 on current account in 1926 to \$665,000,000 in 1927. That is, on the every-day business transactions of the United States with the rest of the world, the United States in 1927 appears to have increased her creditor position by \$665,000,000. Does this figure represent the net increase in world-indebtedness to the United States in 1927?

#### FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Deducting refunding issues, commissions, and discounts, the amount of new foreign investments issued in the United States in 1927 is estimated by the Department of Commerce at \$1,648,000,000, as compared with \$1,357,000,000 in 1926. Add to this \$70,000,000 paid to foreigners for sinking fund and redemption payments, and \$639,000,000 (estimated) of American stocks and bonds bought back from foreigners, and we have a total export of capital amounting to \$2,357,000,000 in 1927 as compared with \$1,931,000,000 in 1926. The amount and geographical distribution of private American investments abroad outstanding in recent years is given in Table VI.

The actual net increase of foreign investment holdings in the United States, however, was far less than the figures in the trade balance indicate. On the credit side of capital movement were large new foreign investments in the United States. The import of capital amounted to \$919,000,000 in 1927. Add to this foreign

stocks and bonds resold to foreigners and the repayment by foreigners of loans previously made, and we have a total of capital credit items estimated at \$1,686,000,000 in 1927, an increase of over \$650,000,000 from 1926.

The excess of capital debits in 1927, therefore, according to these estimates, amounts to \$671,000,000, slightly more than offsetting the \$665,000,000 excess of credits on current transactions. Excess debits therefore were only \$6,000,000 in 1927. In 1926, similar items left a debit balance of \$545,000,000. The large dis-

TABLE VI  
ESTIMATED PRIVATE AMERICAN INVESTMENTS ABROAD\*  
(MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

	End of 1923	End of 1924	End of 1925	End of 1926
Europe.....	1,300	1,900	2,500	3,010
Latin America.....	3,760	4,040	4,210	4,500
Canada and Newfoundland.....	2,450	2,600	2,825	2,801
Asia, Australia, Africa, and rest of world.....	595	690	870	904
Total.....	8,105	9,230	10,405	11,215

\* From *Trade Information Bulletin No. 503*, p. 13, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for 1923 to 1926. For 1927, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce gives a preliminary estimate of \$1,000,000,000 in excess of 1926.

crepancy between the balancing of the accounts in 1926 and 1927 indicates the inevitable large percentage of error due to omissions and the difficulties of estimating many of the items in the foregoing summary of the balance of payments. In 1926 the Department of Commerce estimated that there had been an increase of unfunded, short-time bank balances held in American banks to the account of foreigners amounting to \$359,000,000, bringing the actual discrepancy in the balance down to \$186,000,000. In 1927, however, no such allowances were made, owing apparently to the unreliability of the data available for making such estimates, particularly the data in regard to sale and purchase of securities and of unfunded bank balances. Until the uncertainties of the data can be removed, the actual net growth of the United States as a lending nation cannot be determined. It seems clear, however, that there was in 1927 a very large increase in the net balance favorable to the

United States on current transactions, and that this was offset in greater or less degree by large long-time loans abroad. The net increase in our creditor position, however, remains uncertain.

#### CONCLUSION

Increasing interest and dividend payments due the United States, the world's largest creditor, are being matched by increasing American tourist expenditures abroad. This large item in American payments, combined with the still large sums remitted by immigrants and by American philanthropy, is one of the potent reasons for the continuance of a large excess of merchandise exports. Whereas the usual experience of creditor nations has been an increase in the visible or merchandise imports, in the United States the increase in post-war trade has been an unprecedented expansion of the invisible imports, chiefly tourist expenditures. This results in the same adjustments as would an increase in commodity imports. Actually, tourist expenditures are devoted in considerable part to purchase of foreign goods, mostly for immediate consumption, but also in important amounts for bringing into the United States.

Although new investments of American capital in foreign enterprises continue and are even increasing in magnitude, at the same time foreign investments in American enterprises, the repurchase by foreigners of securities held in America, and short-term loans placed in the American market apparently leave the net credit growth of the United States much less than the large flotations of foreign loans in the United States would indicate. However, without an increase in American foreign lendings, the continued expansion of the American export trade and the maintenance of an export excess could hardly be maintained. The fact, nevertheless, that the creditor position of the United States seems to be increasing less rapidly than is generally supposed, combined with the unprecedented importance of the invisible items in the current trade balance, is postponing the necessity for the more rapid increase of merchandise imports as compared with exports. It is possible that this situation—an excess of commodity exports—may continue for many years. There seems to be no reason, however,

why both the export and the import of merchandise should not continue to expand with the growth of wealth and industry in the United States. As far as it reflects both world prosperity and our own, the important fact is the increasing consuming power of the United States for imported goods; not whether imports exceed exports, or vice versa.

## FOREIGN POLICY

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RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association

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### ABSTRACT

The foreign interests of the United States greatly increased in 1927. The United States government demonstrated an increasing vigilance in protecting its foreign interests. During the last year the foreign policy of the United States was directed primarily toward Latin America. The oil dispute in Mexico was finally settled in a manner in which the United States made important concessions. Nicaragua was prompted by desire not so much to protect American interests as to enforce certain strategic and legalistic principles of war. Relations between England and the United States were somewhat enamored. Relations between England and the United States were due largely to the failure of the Geneva Naval Conference. The manifestation of liberal interest in international affairs throughout the whole.

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The year 1927 was another milestone on the road of increasing the United States the absentee landlord of the world. The foreign investments for the year are estimated at \$14,500,000,000, bringing our foreign holdings to about \$14,500,000,000. The war debts owed by Europe to the American government. The total of these obligations about equals the foreign investments of the British Empire before the World War. The United States has been the largest borrower, followed by Canada. The foreign investments have taken the form of concessions in the form of the world. Mr. Firestone has undertaken a ruinous policy in Liberia and Mr. Ford is doing likewise in Brazil.

The development of these interests is being encouraged by the government of the United States, which seeks to promote foreign commerce. The 1926 report of the Department of Commerce states that "one of the main functions of the Department of Commerce is promoting foreign trade. . . . The development of foreign markets is thus a major task of both American business and the American government."

Although bent on increasing foreign trade, the United States still adheres to its tariff policy and thus prevents this trade from being really reciprocal. At sever-

gatherings our tariff policy has, indirectly at least, been under fire—notably at the Geneva Economic Conference, the Conference on Export and Import Prohibitions, and the Havana Conference of American States. Our tariff rates, our inquisitorial cost investigations abroad, and our agricultural embargoes have caused marked bitterness in a number of countries, especially in Argentina, where a campaign of “buy from those who buy from us” has been in progress. While Washington has not enjoyed these criticisms, a number of signs were apparent in 1927 that the United States is coming to realize that the tariff should be changed. Perhaps the most interesting evidence of this change in feeling was the passage of the Senate resolution by a vote of 54 to 34 on January 16, 1928, expressing the formal opinion of that body that “many of the rates in existing tariff schedules are excessive” and should be revised downward.

During the past year the United States Government has manifested its desire, not only to find trade openings for American interests abroad, but also to protect these interests when they are endangered. During the past year the government has protested against legislation, even before its enactment, which in the eyes of the American government might impair the rights of American investors or discriminate against their interests. This was notably true in the case of our long-continued opposition to the Mexican oil and land legislation, and in the protest against the imposition of so-called “discriminatory duties” by France against certain American products. The United States also has landed troops in Nicaragua, partly on the theory that American coffee plantations were imperiled.

The most extreme statement of this principle of “protecting American interests” was given by President Coolidge in an address to the United Press on April 25. In this address he said:

The person and property of a citizen are a part of the general domain of the nation, even when abroad. On the other hand, there is a distinct and binding obligation on the part of self-respecting governments to afford protection to the persons and property of their citizens wherever they may be. This is both because it has an interest in them and because it has an obligation toward them. It would seem to be perfectly obvious that if it is wrong to murder and pillage within the confines of the United States, it is equally wrong

outside our borders. The fundamental laws of justice are universal in their application. These rights go with the citizen. Wherever he goes, these duties of our Government must follow him.

It was in the same speech that President Coolidge said that when the government was defending the rights of American citizens abroad and maintaining "national dignity" the press should avoid the appearance of seeming to support the position of foreign governments. Such an attack only "furnishes ammunition for our adversaries." This doctrine, according to the *New York Evening Post*, "contravenes the very idea of a free press."

At the Havana conference Mr. Hughes reiterated the belief that the United States had a right, if not a duty, to protect its citizens and to "take action" for the purpose of protecting their lives and property when "government breaks down."

Animated by the above philosophy, our government has engaged in controversies relating primarily to Latin America. The year 1927 witnessed disputes with Mexico and difficulties with Nicaragua. Of these two disputes one was caused principally by a desire to support American economic interests, and the second by a desire to support certain strategic and legalistic doctrines of which Washington is enamored.

The controversy with Mexico dates over a period of ten years. In 1917 the Mexican people enacted a new constitution. It was a constitution aimed to improve the social conditions of the country so long oppressed by dictatorship and revolution, to restore land to the Indian villages which had been alienated in some cases to foreigners, and to prevent the remaining oil resources from falling into alien hands. Even before the enactment of the requisite legislation the United States government immediately inquired as to the effect of the nationalization of oil resources upon existing American oil interests. Mexico assured us that the legislation would not be confiscatory; it would apply only to the future. Nevertheless a controversy which came to a white heat in the early months of 1927 arose over the definition of confiscation. In legislation carrying the constitution into effect the Mexican government required every foreign oil operator to surrender his title in favor of a government concession running for fifty years. Moreover he

could receive such concessions only if he had performed a "positive act" before 1917 indicating his intention to exploit this land. The United States objected to the substitution of a concession for a title on the ground that this impaired a vested interest and because American companies could not, under the Mexican constitution, hold such concessions unless they waived their right to the diplomatic protection of the United States. Likewise the United States objected to the doctrine of "positive acts." In refusing to accept the Mexican interpretation of the extent of American oil rights under Mexican law, the United States stood upon questionable ground from the standpoint of international law. Moreover, land tenure has frequently been modified in some of the important countries of the world; and there are states in the American Union which now forbid the owner, from extracting carbonic acid gas from waters underneath his land, and forbid plants from manufacturing carbon black from such gas.

The demands of the United States were pressed upon Mexico with bluster and assiduity. Apparently to win support of the country for its position, an officer of the State Department attempted to induce the three great news agencies to publish a report of a "Mexican-fostered Bolshevik hegemony" between the United States and the Panama Canal, and Mr. Kellogg, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, charged that the Bolsheviks were using Mexico as a base for a campaign to undermine the United States government. The State Department threatened to lift the arms embargo in Mexico, thus making it possible for revolutionists to secure weapons. Mr. Coolidge declined to arbitrate what was really a legal question, despite a resolution of the United States Senate and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848. Opponents of the Calles government in Mexico and oil groups opposing the legislation confidently expected that the United States would eventually intervene to enforce its demands. The result was to stiffen the Calles government and to increase the intensity of the deadlock.

A change in policy came when President Coolidge appointed Mr. Dwight W. Morrow as ambassador to Mexico in the fall of 1927. A policy of bluster gave way to a policy of handshaking.

Mr. Morrow assured the Mexican government that there was no fear of the intervention of the United States. In the negotiations that followed the United States not only changed its methods but modified its demands. Likewise deserting its former position, the Mexican government in March, 1928, issued regulations providing that oil concessions lasting for an unlimited period should "confirm" oil titles to land upon which "positive acts had been performed." While the regulations thus retained the doctrine of "positive acts," the definition was broadened. On the other hand, the United States accepted these regulations as a settlement. It agreed that titles could be "confirmed" by concessions; that these concessions should apply only to lands where "positive acts" have been performed, and that these concessions should not be sold to any foreign company or government. This settlement is of the utmost importance as far as other countries are concerned. It means that hereafter the United States may look with more sympathy upon the efforts of Latin America to protect itself from foreign capital than it has in the past.

While in Mexico the United States has important economic interests, in Nicaragua such interests are unimportant. But Nicaragua lies between Mexico and the Panama Canal. Because of the Panama Canal, and our treaty rights to build a Nicaraguan Canal, the United States has important strategic considerations in any Central American country. In his United Press speech Mr. Coolidge declared, "Toward the governments of countries which we have recognized this side of Panama we feel a moral responsibility that does not attach to other nations." Strategic and political considerations, rather than the interests of bankers have dictated our policy in the Caribbean.

In the past Central American countries have been the scene of a number of revolutions, and they have been the victims of disordered finance. When revolutions take place, European and American interests are frequently threatened; when defaults occur, European and American creditors suffer. Under the Monroe Doctrine, as extended by President Roosevelt, the United States has assumed the responsibility of protecting in Central America not

only the interests of the United States but also those of the rest of the world, on the ground that if we did not do so, European nations would step in. Once entrenched, it is argued, these lustful powers would proceed to undermine our position in Panama. Such is the official apology for the American intervention policy. Carrying out this policy, the United States has liquidated loans in default by establishing customs receiverships in Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua; and it has attempted to suppress revolution throughout the Caribbean islands and Central American countries—in some cases by establishing temporary punitive expeditions, in other cases by establishing military governments, and generally by declining to recognize any leader in a revolution as the head of a government, even though his position is confirmed by vote of the people. Under this principle George Washington could never have become President of the United States. This policy may possibly be well meaning, but its application has led to unfortunate results. It largely explains the present Nicaraguan embroglio. Many students agree that the State Department made a blunder in recognizing Diaz rather than Sacasa as president of Nicaragua in 1926. Diaz, a member of the Conservative party and friendly toward American interests, had little popular following and was an admittedly weak man. To prevent him from being driven out of power, the navy and state departments rushed fifteen warships and 5,000 men to Nicaraguan waters in 1926-27. Finally, in March of last year, President Coolidge sent Mr. Stimson to make a settlement between contending factions, in which we agreed to supervise the election of a president in 1928. Mr. Stimson informed the Liberals that if they did not submit the United States would be compelled to disarm them by force. General Moncada, as commander of the Liberal army, thereupon signed the Stimson agreement. But Sandino, another Liberal whom the State Department subsequently dubbed a "bandit," declined to submit to this arrangement, and ever since he and a band of splendid fools have been waging a guerrilla fight with American marines. It is difficult to see how the military operations differ from a war. They have been undertaken without any authorization from the American Congress or the American people.

Had the State Department originally recognized Sacasa instead of Diaz as president it is possible that the whole disagreeable postlude would not have arisen. Sacasa had quite as much claim to be the *de jure* ruler of Nicaragua as Diaz, and he had a greater popular following. But under the present recognition policy, no matter how the department decides, a disgruntled opponent will agitate against the result. In certain Central American countries revolution is, moreover, usually the only instrument by which a change of government may be brought about; most red-blooded men in the country participate in such revolutions. Any policy which disqualifies these men from office closes the field to all except weak candidates, who can stay in power only with the support of the United States. This is one way of maintaining our control, but there should be more honest methods of realizing it.

In view of the fact that the administration in a number of Latin American countries rigorously controls elections for its own ends, an anti-revolutionary policy means the perpetuation of dictatorship. In Nicaragua we have attempted to escape from this dilemma by supervising elections. An electoral law to this effect was presented by President Diaz to his congress. The congress defeated the law, thereby declining to ratify the Stimson agreement. This made no difference to the United States, which is now to supervise the forthcoming election under a Diaz decree. Obviously a state of feeling has been created by this procedure and by our Sandino campaign which will defeat the whole purpose of supervision; whoever the successful candidate at the elections may be, he will probably be driven out as soon as the United States withdraws. It is a simple matter to create a situation which will serve as a reason for indefinite occupation. It is much easier to enter such a country than withdraw.

Despite the existence of great economic interests in the Orient, the United States in 1927 followed a less belligerent policy toward China than toward Mexico. In April, 1927, the Chinese Nationalists took Nanking; in the process looting occurred, shots were fired. To safeguard the foreign colony, Socony Hill was shelled by a barrage from American and British gunboats. Judging by the headlines of the American press concerning the Nanking incident,

the whole of China was subject to a "reign of terror" in which thousands of foreigners had lost their lives. As a matter of fact a single American was killed. On April 11, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States demanded from the Nationalist authorities adequate punishment of the commander of the troops responsible for the riot, apology from the Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist army, a promise to refrain from violence against foreign lives and property, complete reparation for damage done. The Nationalists declined to comply with all these demands, and the British government, backed by foreign business interests in China, pressed for joint intervention—for the application of sanctions. Contrary to the advice of the American Minister at Peking, the American State Department declined to accept this demand, and the British finally decided to follow our example. The wisdom of our policy was illustrated in April, 1928, when the United States and the Nationalist government made a settlement of the Nanking incident, a settlement which the British government so far has been unable to make. Whether this marks an end to the international front toward China established at the Washington Conference remains to be seen.

With the exception of our difficulties with England, the international relations of the United States with Europe during the last year have been largely academic. Despite the manifestoes of the Columbia and the Princeton professors in the spring of 1927, we hold our stand in regard to debts. We shall probably continue to do so until the whole subject can be disposed of in an international conference which should try to liquidate the reparations and the armaments question at the same time. As far as France is concerned, we have removed the embargo on private loans and we have conducted learned and serious discussions over proposals to outlaw war, of which there is not the remotest possibility between these two countries. But when it comes to signing an arbitration treaty with France we exempt from arbitration practically every important class of dispute and provide that each agreement for arbitration must be submitted to the United States Senate for approval.

Meanwhile the negotiations over the "renunciation of war" continue. The French wished at first to limit this renunciation to

"aggressive war," so as to conform to their obligations to apply sanctions under the League of Nations Covenant. But this does not satisfy Mr. Kellogg, who, as the world's greatest pacifist, wishes to outlaw all war. His professions may encourage Mr. Borah and the outlawry-of-war group, but it is difficult to believe that the United States Senate will surrender its right to go to war in case of invasion or in cases involving immigration, the Monroe Doctrine, and all the other categories of disputes which we decline to arbitrate. Commendable as Mr. Kellogg's desire may be, his motives are apt to be impugned as long as he declines to remove the excuse for war by accepting the obligatory jurisdiction of international courts of law. It is also difficult for Europe to understand why he should use his plan to outlaw war as a means of attacking the sanctions of the League of Nations. If, however, this discussion leads to some promise under which the United States agrees not to interfere with the application of League sanctions, it will have far-reaching results—and results which the State Department did not originally anticipate.

As far as the relations of England and the United States are concerned, 1927 was a critical year. Part of the anti-British feeling in the United States is due to the attacks of Mr. Herbert Hoover upon the so-called British rubber monopoly. Part of the feeling is due to trade rivalries between England and the United States in Latin America and China. But probably the greatest difficulty arises out of the question of sea power. At the Washington Conference of 1921-22 the American public was led to believe that the British government had accepted the principle of equality between the American and British fleets. A treaty to this effect was signed, but was limited to capital ships. Following the Conference the British government laid down a heavy building program of light cruisers, a type of vessel in which the British navy was already much superior to the American navy. In the meantime the Congress of the United States withheld appropriations, hoping that a further agreement about cruisers could be reached. A three-power conference between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan was called by President Coolidge for this purpose at Geneva in

June, 1927. The Conference was a total failure largely because of the difficulty of arriving at a definition of parity acceptable to both the British and American governments. While the question of the 10,000-ton cruiser and the 8-inch gun were elements contributing to failure, the parity question was the fundamental factor in causing the disruption of the conference and in increasing anti-British feeling among large sections of the American public. Many Americans believed that although the British may have lived up to the letter of the treaty, they had not lived up to their professions made at Washington in 1921. It is difficult to minimize the anti-British feeling existing today in the state and navy departments at Washington. This feeling was reflected in the preparation of a mammoth building program by the General Board of the United States Navy, calling for the ultimate expenditure of a billion dollars upon the navy. The program was eventually pared down so that upon introduction into Congress the navy bill called for the construction of seventy-one vessels at a cost of \$740,000,000. Its introduction was accompanied by anti-British blasts to which the antics of Mayor Thompson of Chicago added heat. An admiral in the navy went so far as to predict an inevitable war. In view of the expressions in Congress and the press, it was originally believed that the naval bill would pass. But a really remarkable demonstration of liberal sentiment throughout the country, organized largely by the Protestant churches, together with the demand for economy and lack of confidence in the administration of the Navy Department because of such incidents as the Provincetown disaster, led to the substitution of a modified bill. The House authorized the construction, not of seventy-one, but of sixteen, ships, at a cost of \$274,000,000. The bill authorizes the President to suspend construction "in the event of an international agreement for the further limitation of naval armament." In this form the naval program is not alarming. The United States navy has been deficient in cruisers, and this program will not bring us up to the British level, at least in total tonnage and numbers of ships. The United States will, however, have a superior number of modern 10,000-ton cruisers. The modification of the original big-navy bill has done a good deal to im-

prove relations between England and the United States, and a naval agreement should be possible of achievement at the forthcoming naval conference to be held in 1931. But it can come about only if the British government accepts without reservation the principle of equality of the British and American navies, a principle to be realized not by actual expansion but by limitation, if not reduction, of existing fleets.

A closely allied question which came into the news during 1927 is that of the divergent views of the British and American governments over the question of neutral rights. During the first three years of the World War these two governments differed vitally in their interpretation of the law of contraband, continuous voyage, search and seizure, and blockade. The United States, it is argued, was obliged to give way to the British view because of the superiority of the British navy. The big-navy school and others argue that the only guaranty of neutral rights in the future will be by naval power. It is doubtful, however, whether naval propaganda would diminish even if England should sign a treaty accepting our views of maritime law. While there is some sentiment in England in favor of concessions to the United States on these points, the question is complicated by the obligations of the British Empire as members of the League of Nations. In view of this effort to outlaw "aggressive war," it is extremely doubtful whether any maritime law agreement confirming or extending the right of neutrality can be reached. Regardless of the question of maritime law, an international naval agreement is well within the range of possibility.

As far as the League of Nations is concerned, the United States continued its policy of co-operation during 1927. American delegates played an important part in the Geneva Economic Conference, in the meetings of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament (of which the Naval Conference was the outgrowth), in a conference on transit, and in a conference to abolish export and import prohibitions.

No one in public life suggested that the United States enter the League in 1927, and the World Court question slumbered until February 6, 1928, when Senator Gillett introduced a resolution suggesting the advisability of a further exchange of views. Never-

theless, one aspect of the relations of the United States to the League was discussed in 1927 perhaps more widely than before. The former editor of the *London Times*, Mr. Wickham Steed, on a visit to the United States proposed that the United States make a declaration that it would not oppose or hamper action of other nations against an aggressor. Representative Burton also introduced a resolution which, in its original form, provided for the prohibition of the export of arms to any country engaged in aggressive war, the aggressor being determined by the President of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Certain circles in Europe took the ground that uncertainty as to the attitude of the United States toward the application of League sanctions makes their value remote; and until the value of these sanctions is made real, little progress toward disarmament and arbitration can be made. But, as the Foreign Policy Association recently pointed out, this question is not as important as it seems, simply because the United States, in accordance with its past policy, will recognize a belligerent blockade and the other belligerent practices allowed by international law, in any League war. The fact that most of the European states are members of the League and hence presumably belligerent in every war against an aggressor completely alters the situation which existed during the World War. Had the League of Nations existed in 1914, Holland and Sweden, as members of the League, could not have acted as middlemen between the United States and Germany; they would have been obliged to stop all such trade; as a result, many of the disputes between England and the United States would not have arisen.

While except for the Mexican settlement there has been little leadership in foreign affairs at Washington during the last year, nevertheless there has been a surprising manifestation of liberal interest in international affairs throughout the country as a whole. The tremendous popular protest in the winter of 1926-27 against war with Mexico and Nicaragua probably kept us from breaking off with the Calles government, although it did not, because of the

<sup>1</sup> It was later amended to prohibit export of arms to any nation engaged in war.

simultaneousness of the two events, keep us out of Nicaragua. This same sentiment literally forced Mr. Kellogg to start negotiations, after a delay of six months, with M. Briand over the outlawry of war, and it is largely responsible for the defeat of the big-navy program. Such expressions indicate that the heart of the American people is sound; if anything is defective, it is governmental organization.

## LABOR

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DAVID J. SAPOSS

Professor of Social Economics, Brookwood College

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### ABSTRACT

*Business cycles.*—The labor movement has fluctuated in its activities and pronouncements with the fluctuations of the business cycle from its inception to the present time. In periods of prosperity it relies on trade-union action, such as strikes and collective bargaining. In periods of depression it falls back on what are termed panacea activities, such as political action, co-operation, and so on, colored with such revolutionary demands as the abolition of the wage system. *Strikes and union membership.*—During the war the unions enjoyed an unprecedented increase in union membership and were simultaneously involved in extensive strikes. With the declaration of peace, membership began to decline and with that the number of strikes also dropped off. *Panacea activities and pronouncements.*—There followed the turn in the business cycle which introduces panacea activity, so that the unions turned to labor banking, workers' education, independent political action, and a revamping of ideologies so as to give them a revolutionary content. *Return to normalcy.*—By 1927 the panacea activities had spent their force, and the labor movement once more assumed its normal activities and characteristics of before the war. However, many of the panacea activities, after having been shorn of their glamor and revolutionary vestments, were turned into auxiliaries to aid in the furtherance of the routine activities of the trade-union movement.

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### EFFECTS OF THE BUSINESS CYCLE

Developments and activities during the year 1927 would seem to indicate that the trade-union movement (the important organizational manifestation of the workers) has again settled down to a normal procedure. Like all social movements, the labor movement had been severely tried during the eventful war years and the half-decade of immediate readjustment that followed. The unions suddenly found themselves unprecedentedly inflated in membership and finances and surprisingly successful in accomplishments. Then, with the rapid post-war readjustment, a reaction set in resulting in reduced membership and finances and the loss of many of the war gains in conditions. The end of this downward trend seems to have been reached in 1925, and the last two years find labor again confining itself to relatively normal activity.

In its experience during and since the war the labor movement has but repeated, with modifications and somewhat differing mani-

festations, the course it has followed in its history. From its very inception it has been sensitively responsive to the gyrations of the business cycle. During periods of swollen prosperity the membership and numbers of unions would increase, followed by feverish and volatile strikes and a general offensive for improved working conditions. Then, as the reaction would set in and the employers would assume the offensive, the reverse took place, strikes would meet with reverses, many of the gains would be lost, and membership and finances would begin to decline. Simultaneously the feeling would come to the surface that strikes and other aggressive action against employers were ineffective, and the movement would turn toward such non-trade-union activities as politics and co-operation.

This change in attitude would be accompanied by a revulsion against the wage system and a clamor for its abolition. The times when this attitude and form of action become dominant have been termed panacea periods.

In the early history of the labor movement the reaction was invariably so extreme and the movement so unstable that during a period of prosperity it would practically discard all other activity and rely exclusively on trade-union action. On the other hand, during depression periods the unions would virtually be abandoned and disappear, while the movement concentrated on political and co-operative organization as panacea vehicles. The downward turn of the business cycle in 1893 witnessed for the first time in the history of the American labor movement an arrest of the complete operation of this particular phenomenon. While the unions lost heavily in membership, they nevertheless continued to exist, although the movement was drawn into the vortex of panacea action. However, with the improvement of business in 1899 the trade-union movement again came into the ascendancy and rather rapidly extricated itself from the maze of panacea activities. In the resistance to being completely drawn into the hunt for panaceas, friction resulted, and we find a group of radicals undertaking to draw away from the existing unions manned by conservative leadership and undertaking to build a dual trade-union movement that would replace the conservatively led unions. But the American Federation of Labor and such independent unions as the railroad brotherhoods

continued to grow in membership and prestige, holding the radicals in check. So powerful did these unions become and such a high degree of stability had they attained that students of labor, in concert with the labor leaders, predicted that no longer would the trade-union movement be even temporarily swayed by the downward course of the business cycle from the charted course of pure and simple trade-union action. Then came the war, followed by the period of immediate readjustment, and the trade-union movement, largely in spite of the leadership, repeated its historic experience. As in 1893, membership and finances decreased, but the unions were generally preserved. And most of the influential leaders, instead of leading in the move for panacea action, attempted to resist it, and, failing, undertook to provide mild substitutes such as workers' education and labor banks, and otherwise to direct the panacea activities into practical channels as well as to keep them within their control. Hence we find that, contrary to previous experience, many of the panacea activities have been shorn of their panacea aspirations and transformed into prosaic auxiliaries of the trade-union movement. On the other hand, as during the 1893 depression, the radical elements, sensing their opportunity, revolted against the conservative leaders. This resulted in bitter struggles within the American Federation of Labor and some of the most important unions. The slogan of the radicals now was not "dual unionism," but "boring from within" the existing unions with the aim of capturing them for their cause. With this background the manifestation of normal activity of the trade-union movement in 1927 is better understood.

#### TRADE-UNION MEMBERSHIP

The peak of trade-union membership was reached in 1919 with 5,007,000, an increase of over a million and a half over 1917. Then, following the war, the reaction set in, precipitated by the liquidation of many war industries, the business depression of 1921, and the so-called "open shop" onslaught of employers. As a result the membership commenced to decline, reaching the low point in 1924 when the union membership was only 3,607,000, or slightly above that of 1917, when it was 3,451,000. However, the loss in union power and influence is really greater than the figures

would indicate. To lose membership is of course serious, but to lose the union is indeed extraordinarily serious. And the loss of union membership between 1919 and 1924 also marks the loss of union organization in some of the most important industries. Thus the new unions that were founded during the war in the packing industry were completely wiped out in the 1922 strike and replaced by company unions. Similarly, the union organizations of workers employed by the major steel firms were completely wiped out in the famous 1919-20 steel strike. Likewise many of the newly created unions of railway shop men were completely destroyed in the 1922 strike. The following figures give the trade-union membership in recent years:

1917	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,451,000
1919	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5,007,000
1924	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,607,000
1926	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,443,000

Since 1924 the unions have again begun to gain in membership, so that by 1926, the latest available figures, the membership reached 4,443,000, or a gain of over 800,000 members. While the figures for 1927 are not available, it is certain that this gain is retained, and perhaps a slight increase will be added. On the whole the unions are gaining in membership in those industries in which they have retained their organizations. Only a fraction of the increase in membership is traceable to the creation of new unions in formerly unorganized industries.

#### STRIKES

The year 1919 is also the peak year of strikes. In this year, in so far as figures could be gathered, over 4,000,000 workers were involved in strikes. Since in many strikes it was not possible for the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics to secure the number of strikers participating, it is safe to estimate that at least as many workers participated in strikes as there were union members. The year 1919 was the year of greatest unrest measured by strikes and number of strikers. Some of the outstanding strikes of the post-war period occurred at this time. Close to a million workers were involved in the coal and steel strikes alone. The drop in the number of strikers in the following year is precipitate, and thenceforth there

is a steady decline in the number of strikes and strikers, reaching the trough in 1926 with 783 strikes and 329,592 workers involved. The year 1927 shows a slight increase in strikers to 362,495, but an appreciable decrease in strikes to 580. (These figures [Table I] are not complete, and when the revised and completed figures are published they will be larger, as has been the case for previous years.) While 1927 was a year of normal strike activity, it also has to its credit some very large and bitterly contested strikes.

TABLE I  
NUMBER OF DISPUTES AND EMPLOYEES INVOLVED, BY YEARS, 1916-27

YEAR	DISPUTES IN WHICH NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES INVOLVED WAS REPORTED		YEAR	DISPUTES IN WHICH NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES INVOLVED WAS REPORTED	
	Number of Disputes	Number of Employees		Number of Disputes	Number of Employees
1916.....	2,667	1,599,917	1922.....	899	1,612,562
1917.....	2,325	1,227,254	1923.....	1,199	756,584
1918.....	2,151	1,239,989	1924.....	898	654,641
1919.....	2,665	4,160,348	1925.....	1,012	428,416
1920.....	2,226	1,463,054	1926.....	783	329,592
1921.....	1,785	1,099,247	1927.....	580	362,495

Notable among them is the bituminous coal strike, involving directly about 200,000 coal miners.

#### PANACEA ACTIVITIES

The collapse of the war boom, coupled with the decline in membership, the uncertainty of winning strikes, and cessation of government intervention in employer-employee relationships had the usual depression reaction on organized labor. Large groups in the movement turned their attention to panacea ideas and activities. Some of these, like labor banks and workers' education, were limited in scope, although within their sphere revolutionary objectives were claimed for them. Thus spoke the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, official organ of the union that pioneered in launching and carrying through the labor-bank idea: "Labor banking is the only revolution in the world worth a peck of beans. . . . Once let a majority of the workers and farmers of America learn to concentrate their savings and credit power in their own banks, and they can control the resources of the world's richest nation within one generation."

The following figures of the labor banks founded in the United States by years, compiled by the *American Labor Yearbook*, show how labor banks came into popularity with the decline in union membership:

1920	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
1921	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
1922	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
1923	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
1924	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
1925	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10
1926	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
1927	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0
Total										34

The first two labor banks, as the table reveals, were founded in 1920, the year in which union membership commenced to decline from the war peak. Thereafter, the number increases, first slowly, then in a bound, so that in 1924 nine banks came into existence and ten in 1925. Thus over half of the banks came into

TABLE II  
SUMMARY OF STATEMENTS OF LABOR BANKS, 1925-27

Date of Statements	No. of Labor Banks	Capital	Surplus and Undivided Profits	Deposits	Resources
December 31, 1925..	37	\$9,164,358	\$3,476,469	\$ 99,120,120	\$115,761,598
December 31, 1926..	36	9,014,508	3,883,046	109,017,818	126,652,855
December 31, 1927..	32	8,282,500	3,751,176	103,322,214	119,815,386

existence in the two years in which union membership reached the post-war trough. With the increase of union membership in 1926 and 1927 the founding of banks virtually ceased, only one new bank being added in 1926, and none in 1927. This is also partly attributable to the fact that most of labor's resources have been gathered up by labor banks, and that some of the banks had unfortunate experiences, a few even being forced to discontinue. Similarly the banks suffered a decrease in their total resources, as is indicated in Table II, the summary of statements issued by the Industrial Relations Section of the Department of Economics and Social Institutions of Princeton University.

Indeed, the entire financial undertaking of the Locomotive Engineers' Union, the chief proponent of labor banking and the largest promotor of labor banks, almost proved fatal. So serious did the situation become that in July, 1927, its convention was prolonged considerably in order that the affairs might be untangled. The sessions were secret, but many rumors of mismanagement and dishonesty were circulated. To what extent these are true is at present unascertainable, but that the situation is serious there can be little doubt. The financial affairs of the union were placed in the hands of a special committee and a number of the old officers were deposed. Plans were also laid to raise \$10,000,000 in order to cope with the difficulty and to save the various financial and business ventures. Now the panacea claims for labor banking have been lost sight of or conveniently forgotten and labor banks now perform the important but prosaic function of trade-union auxiliaries.

#### WORKERS' EDUCATION

Workers' education is another activity which was launched at the close of the war and took on momentum with the post-war deflation. From the outset it was enshrouded with panacea aspirations. The radical needle-trades unions initiated it and radicals aided in extending it to the entire trade-union movement as an agency for "boring from within" designed to educate workers in the need of "a new social order." Clear-cut distinction was made between working-class education aimed to bring the workers to realize their particular status in the "capitalistic" civilization and adult education which aims to aid individuals better to adapt themselves within the present order. Unfortunately conclusive statistical data are not available with which to gauge the reactions of this activity to the fluctuations of business conditions. It is known that the movement enjoyed mushroom-like growth, being enthusiastically received in many sections of the labor movement. Now it too has been deflated into a prosaic auxiliary of the American Federation of Labor under the slogan "education for all," that is, adult education for trade-unionists. A stock-taking by teachers and administrators of workers' educational enterprises occurred at Brookwood Labor College last February. From the reports and

discussion it was clear that workers' education as conducted by the unions of the American Federation of Labor had lost its panacea coloration. There was also the feeling that workers' education was meeting with reverses.

For instance, it is agreed that workers' education can best thrive when the specific undertakings are in charge of a paid director. Yet there are barely half a dozen such enterprises at present, and the funds for this purpose come, not from the unions, but from philanthropic sources outside the movement. Indeed, during the year 1927 several of the most successful workers' educational undertakings have been abandoned because the funds for the retention of a paid director were no longer available. To be sure, during the same year a few paid educational directors were engaged in other centers. But this only indicates that workers' education is in precarious straits. Instead of becoming permanently and successfully embedded in definite areas, it flourishes temporarily, disappearing only to reappear elsewhere. At present the official union movement is interested in workers' education as an auxiliary that will serve its day-to-day activities. And even in this rôle it evidently does not regard it as of serious moment, judging from the meager financial and other encouragement it receives.

#### POLITICAL ACTION

The political policy of organized labor also was jarred out of its rut during this post-war period of readjustment. The bulk of American organized labor had been unqualifiedly committed, since the American Federation of Labor in the nineties had become the dominant factor, to exercise its political influence through the two old parties in the furtherance of specific legislation affecting the immediate interests of the workers and their organizations. But circumstances so shaped themselves that in the year when union membership since the war had reached the lowest point, labor found itself the chief organized sponsor of LaFollette and Wheeler on a third presidential ticket in opposition to the two old parties. The objectives of this new political alignment were of a mild panacea nature. In the words of LaFollette, the aim was to "break the combined power of the private monopoly system over the political and economic life of the American people." The plat-

form stressed fundamental changes in the present system known in labor circles as "ultimate demands," such as government ownership of railroads, water-power projects, and so on. A group of unions, primarily of railroad workers, were chiefly instrumental in launching this new political venture. And the American Federation of Labor also joined in support of this, departing from its traditional practice. The radical minority elements, such as the Socialists, also joined the new political alignment. Only a few small groups failed to respond, so that on the whole this was the first time since the Populist party presidential campaign of 1892 that the different elements in the labor movement were virtually united on the political field. The vote polled was much larger than that secured by the different opposition elements that presented separate tickets in recent presidential campaigns. Thus in 1912 the combined vote of the groups fighting the Republican and Democratic parties was 931,406; in 1916, a period of war prosperity when a considerable proportion of the independent liberal vote was attracted by the belief that Wilson would "keep us out of the war," their vote was reduced to 599,511; and in 1920, when the war strain was barely over, the unions still powerful, and conditions fairly good, these elements again raised their vote to 1,215,826, including the votes of women. But in 1924, with the union membership at its low ebb, the organized forces of labor united, and with a substantial backing of farmer and middle-class groups, the vote of the LaFollette ticket registered 4,826,382, or four times as large as in 1920. The total LaFollette vote was about a sixth of the total vote cast in the 1924 election. In other respects the showing seemed remarkable, considering that the undertaking labored under the usual difficulties as lacking the necessary machinery, finances, and newspaper support. Whereas the LaFollette ticket carried only the state of Wisconsin, it ran second in the following eleven states west of the Mississippi: California, Idaho, Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington, Wyoming.

With the stabilizing of union membership and returning of better times the unions in 1927 again declared themselves in favor of the traditional non-partisan political policy in the forthcoming presidential campaign.

## IDEOLOGIC PRONOUNCEMENTS

Naturally the trade-union movement could not be jarred to its very foundation without its ideology also being affected. Since the nineties and through the war the American trade-union movement subscribed to what Commons and his associates, in their *History of Labor in the United States*, term "wage consciousness" in contrast to the idea of "class consciousness" of the opposition radical groups. That is, while the union movement acknowledged that the average worker was destined to remain a wage-earner permanently, it nevertheless counseled that the workers should accept their status and devote their energies to furthering their interests within the existing capitalistic order. Of course, those who believe in class consciousness favor the ultimate abolition of the wage system through the socialization of capital. Because of the favorable experiences of the unions with government control during the war, because the newly organized workers were not addicted to the old traditions and had been more susceptible to Socialist teachings, and because of the general unrest, many became dissatisfied with the old ideology. Thus the railroad unions, which had heretofore been among the most conservative but had profited greatly by government control and operation, and had to satisfy the restless hordes of new members, took the initiative, under the promptings of their legal counsel, Glenn Plumb, in demanding "government ownership and democratic control of railroads." The American Federation hierarchy opposed this departure from the old ideology that accepted private ownership and a purely capitalistic order. But in spite of their opposition the idea was indorsed at the 1919 convention. Simultaneously the United Mine Workers, the largest union numerically within the Federation of Labor, and always influenced by Socialist sentiment, indorsed nationalization of coal mines. Largely through the aggressiveness of the railroad unions and the inspiration of Glenn Plumb, the new opposition forced upon the Federation a generalized version of these specific panacea demands for socializing the railroads and coal mines. At the 1921 convention, after a bitter contest, the following declaration was adopted: "That those who contribute their effort to the industry shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities granted to those men who

contribute capital in proportion to the value which each contributes, in order that the government shall be instituted for the common good and not for the profit of a class and in order that all men may enjoy the gains of their own industry." And this change in the social order was to have been achieved through legislation. But then followed some disastrous strike losses and many of the new and restless members were also lost. The old leaders and membership, never over-enthusiastic about these new-fangled ideas and now preoccupied in preserving the remnants of their organizations, conveniently forgot the new ideal.

However, since in their weakened state the unions could not assume an aggressive attitude and refuse, as they did before and during the war, to concern themselves with the problems of production and other business vicissitudes of industry, they readapted the ideas of the Plumb plan and transformed them into the so-called "B & O," or union-management co-operation, plan. Whereas the former plan demanded full labor participation in the financial, business, and production affairs of industry, the latter contents itself with merely asking for the privilege of participating in production management. By offering to co-operate with employers in increasing production, organized labor gives something tangible in return for union recognition in order to counteract the claims made for company unions, and at the same time it has a new ideal with which to rally the workers to the banner of unionism.

As an outgrowth of this orientation came also a change in labor's wage theory. In pre-war days the slogan was "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay" on the basis of a living wage according to American standards. During the war and immediately following its close the demand was for a wage on the basis of the budgetary cost of living. Now, taking advantage of the researches of economists who compiled indices of production which showed that wages had not kept pace with the increase in production, labor began to demand a wage measured by its productivity. And also profiting from recent researches and declarations of economists that unemployment and business slumps are brought on by the inadequate wages of workers which makes it impossible for them to consume

up to the line of production, organized labor has marshaled this argument in support of its demand for higher standards of living.

#### CHANGING OPPOSITIONS

With the deflation of the labor movement came also the liquidation of the opposition. In post-war days the Socialists provided the effective opposition, making steady headway so that they either controlled outright or were an influential factor in some of the most powerful unions. But the war hit them a body blow from which they have not yet recovered. Then, following the war, there arose a new opposition led by the railroad unions and advocating a modified form of Socialism with an indigenous complexion. To a considerable extent this new opposition inherited the Socialist followers. But both just gradually vanished following the year 1922. In the meantime the Communists, with their extreme and aggressive tactics, appeared on the scene. Largely because of their indiscriminate attacks upon conservatives and moderate radicals the gradually weakening post-war moderate opposition ran for cover under the roof of their former conservative opponents and both united against the common enemy of the ultra-revolutionists. This Communist opposition was taken in hand and its leaders and more assertive disciples are unceremoniously expelled as soon as they show strength. Most of the unions have even ruled that a Communist is ipso facto not eligible to membership. Hence at the 1927 convention of the American Federation of Labor there was no organized opposition. However, the Communist opposition, like a hardened, wild weed, resists permanent eradication, so that while its leaders and followers are hounded and expelled, others almost immediately rise in their place. At present the Communist opposition is a factor to be contended with in some of the outstanding unions. This is particularly true of the unions in the so-called "sick" industries that are inefficiently managed and overmanned, as coal mining, garment, textile, shoes. The Communist opposition also exercises considerable influence among the immigrant and unorganized workers.

## WAGES

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LEO WOLMAN

The New School for Social Research, New York City

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### ABSTRACT

American wages are hard to measure because of confusion in the units of measurement and the purposes of the investigation. Wages have not moved alike among all American wage-earners in 1927. Manufacturing wages have remained stable. The wages of labor in the building trades appear to have risen, although their annual earnings probably fell. In the coal industry the indications are that both wage rates and earnings have been heavily reduced in the past year. On the railroads, on the other hand, rates and earnings both rose. The trend of the cost of living was downward, but not sufficiently so to produce a marked change in the standards of living of the wage-earners.

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It is impossible to write a plain story of the course of wages in the United States even during these past years. The abundance of statistical material on wages is deceptive. There resides in the figures confusion of purpose and definition. They have all of the shortcomings generally and properly associated with the average. They are in some instances measures of the income of a statistical abstraction, known as the "individual wage-earner"; and they cannot be made to throw much useful light on the incomes of families, still the prevailing unit of economic life in the country.

Whether the purpose is expressed or not, wage, like other statistics, are collected for a purpose. They are designed to answer questions arising out of the interests or curiosities of the person or group that asks them. The questions are not the same, but they are all legitimate. The economic theorist may be concerned with variations in the total purchasing power of the wage-earning population of the country; the business man and accountant, with labor cost and wage rates; the social scientist, with incomes and standards of living. An orderly array of planned data might yield a precise answer to each question. Unfortunately such data are not yet to be had. The current figures measure everything at once and consequently do not measure anything with precision and finality. Hourly earnings are not rates of wages; the passage from weekly to an-

nual earnings is hazardous because of the lack of a proper measure of unemployment; and even if we had the annual earnings of all of the members of families, we should still miss the figures of subsidiary income from property and other sources. We are, then, in generalizing on the movement of American wages, thrown back on inadequate data, from which we must draw broad inferences.

The largest single category of American industry is the manufacturing industry. For the wage-earners in this large division of industry, well-known public bureaus publish current data from which it is possible to compute average per capita weekly earnings. These figures are for many reasons not a satisfactory measure of the income of the average American factory worker. They in-

TABLE I\*

Year	United States	New York	Illinois	Pennsylvania
1923 . . . . .	\$26.16	\$27.24	\$27.92	\$26.06
1924 . . . . .	25.86	27.68	28.21	25.20
1925 . . . . .	26.41	28.26	28.42	25.70
1926 . . . . .	26.64	28.97	28.87	25.96
1927 . . . . .	26.53	29.30	29.41	25.80

\* Source: *Monthly Labor Review*, U.S. Department of Labor; *Industrial Bulletin* of the New York State Department of Labor; *Labor Bulletin* of the Illinois State Department of Labor; *Labor and Industry*, Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry.

clude both men and women. They are influenced by the volume of employment and by output, as well as by the rate of wages per day or per piece. But when all of these considerations are taken into account, the variations in per capita weekly earnings may be used as a rough index of the earning power of the wage-earner in the manufacturing industries of this country. The figures in Table I show average per capita weekly earnings, not only for the country as a whole, but for three large industrial states. Each of the four sets of data show much the same thing—a steady but small increase in earnings since 1924, with very slight changes in 1927 as compared with 1926. Since employment is believed to have been generally slacker in 1927 than in 1926, the steadiness in earnings may be attributed particularly to a steady rise in per capita output and, in lesser measure, to unchanging wage rates.

In the building-trades, the majority of the workers are organized in trade-unions, particularly in the larger cities of the country.

Even among the unorganized factors in the industry, union conditions are controlling. The movement of union rates of wages is, for the building-trades, a satisfactory index of the status of the workers in this industry. The union hourly rates of wages for the whole country show, in Table II, an uninterrupted upward trend. It is probable, however, that these figures exaggerate the progress of

TABLE II

1923	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$1.07
1924	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.15
1925	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.20
1926	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.28
1927	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.33

building-trade labor. They do not make allowances for the bonuses and indirect payments that, in time of boom, greatly augment both the weekly and annual earnings of labor in the construction industry. These additions to income had by 1927 been largely dropped. In view of these losses and the slackening of employment in the industry in 1927, it is fair to conclude that earnings of labor were less in the building-trades in 1927 than in the year before.

TABLE III

1923	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$1,586.38
1924	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,579.95
1925	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,605.38
1926	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,620.94
1927	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,638.02

On the railroads, wages appear to have been rising since 1924 and to have continued their rise in 1927. Throughout this period negotiations between the unions of railway employees and railroad operators and decisions of the arbitration boards created by the Watson-Parker Act have resulted in increases in the wage rates among nearly all classes of railway employees. At the same time the falling pay-roll of the railroads is evidence of the rising productivity of those employees who have held their jobs. In the transportation, as in the manufacturing industry, larger earnings are the resultant, not alone of rises in rates of wages, but also of the increasing efficiency of labor. Table III, giving statistics of the per capita annual earnings of railroad employees,<sup>1</sup> shows the steady rise since 1924.

<sup>1</sup> Excluding general and division officers.

Labor in both the anthracite and bituminous coal industries of the United States has, in 1927, had the unfortunate experience of working in a demoralized industry. In both, annual earnings have been considerably reduced by industrial strife. The production of anthracite coal, under the influence of competing substitute fuels, has been consistently falling, and the incomes of anthracite miners proportionately reduced. Many of the large soft-coal fields of the country have been strike-bound for much of 1927, and the miners idle. The total soft-coal output in 1927 was generally much below that of 1926. In the struggle between the coal operators and the United Mine Workers, wage rates have been everywhere severely

TABLE IV\*

Year	U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1913=100)	National Industrial Conference Board (July, 1914=100)	Massachusetts Commission on the Necessaries of Life (1913=100)
1923.....	171.0	162.1	159.4
1924.....	170.7	163.3	159.2
1925.....	175.7	169.3	163.3
1926.....	175.2	167.9	163.1
1927.....	172.2	163.9	159.4

\* NOTE.—The figures from the National Conference Board and the Massachusetts Commission on the Necessaries of Life are averages of twelve monthly figures; the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics published figures four times in 1923 and in 1924 (March, June, September, and December) and only twice for 1925, 1926, and 1927 (in June and December). The figure for the year in each case is an average of the published data.

cut. The income of the miners has, then, suffered from both reduced rates of wages and a substantial contraction in employment. Their wages last year, consequently, fell far below the level of the year before.

In all American industry there are, in the wages of workers, wide geographical and occupational diversities. They are so numerous and complex as not to be susceptible of easy summary. Wages in the cotton textile industry of the United States have, for instance, run counter in the past years to the trend in manufacturing industries generally. The wages of skilled and unskilled have not moved alike; and wages in the manufacturing industry of Pennsylvania declined in 1927, while they rose in both New York and Illinois.

The foregoing statistics of wages, moreover, are all money wages. It is well known that money wages do not register changes

in the prices of commodities and services bought by wage-earners. Measures of these prices, in the form of index numbers of the cost of living constructed by three independent agencies, are presented in Table IV. These indexes show no startling variations in the cost of living in the past five years. Each index indicates a slight fall in the cost of living during 1927. Nothing would be gained by performing the arithmetic of converting the figures of money wages into measures of real wages. The most that can be said is that purchasing power of the American wage-earner's income in 1927 was not much enlarged by the drop in the index number of living costs.

## EMPLOYMENT

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WILLIAM A. BERRIDGE

Economist, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City

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### ABSTRACT

Employment is a significant reflector of certain economic fundamentals affecting social conditions, particularly cyclical changes thereof. During 1927, declines appeared in factory and railroad employment, the only two economic groups for which adequate data are available. At its worst, the 1927 situation appears to have been more serious than that of 1924, but much less serious than that attending the depression of 1921. However, the lack of many necessary data renders impossible the measurement of the volume of unemployment.

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Of the economic changes which in part account for changes in social conditions, none is of more importance in a highly organized society than is that group of interacting economic forces collectively known as "the business cycle." Wherever we find roundabout, capitalistic methods of production, with elaborate division of labor and a complex system of exchange, there the business-cycle problem emerges. And, as it emerges, it brings in its train cyclical variations of employment, which in turn bring about changes in certain social conditions.

Thus the marriage rate of an industrialized country tends to fluctuate in response to cyclical changes in employment. There is some evidence suggesting that changes in the birth-rate are also related to employment changes in such countries, and to an extent which cannot be wholly accounted for by the intermediate effects upon the marriage rate. Such a situation tends to prevail more definitely where birth control is more widely practiced among the classes whose employment responds most sharply to cyclical changes in economic conditions. Indoor and outdoor relief, woman and child labor, prostitution and crime against property, church membership and school attendance, are also among the varied types of social phenomena which tend to change in intensity as employment becomes more or less plentiful in response to the economic forces of the business cycle.

Yet our evidence on the current course of employment in this country is lamentably weak. For many important lines no direct evidence whatever is available; for other lines, the evidence that is available presents defects of a serious sort. Steam railways form the only line of activity for which anything resembling a complete picture is available. The number of employees, the number of employee-hours worked, and the aggregate amount of remuneration received by them—these three items are available monthly for all Class I railroads, through the Interstate Commerce Commission. For the factory industries, which are about four times as important a source of employment in the United States, only sample data are available, showing number of employees on pay-roll and amount of remuneration received by them in one pay-roll period each month, but without any adequate figures on employee-hours. For building and other construction, for communication, for wholesale and retail trade, and so on, only scanty evidence is available through the vision and initiative of a few state authorities, notably in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio; such evidence is inadequate for use in the present problem of reviewing national changes in employment.

This lack of satisfactory evidence forces us, then, to a limited review of employment changes in the factory and railroad industries alone. Since significant changes occurred in these two lines of employment shortly after the close of 1927, we here cover the fifteen months from January, 1927, through March, 1928.

In general, 1927 was a year of poor employment in most of the factory industries. Details are shown in the supplementary table at the end of this account. As Table I indicates in summary form, the year 1927 showed on the average a smaller number of factory workers employed than did 1920, 1923, or 1926. Although the first quarter of 1927 witnessed some strengthening, it was followed by a nearly continuous weakening for ten months, or until January, 1928. In February and March, 1928, a moderate improvement set in again. Essentially the same conclusions are reached whether one considers the course of employment or of aggregate pay-rolls during the year 1927.

Chart I shows the monthly course of the general factory-em-

ployment index since the depression of 1921. A glance is enough to show that the industrial slump of 1927 carried the curve down to a point (88) slightly below that (89) reached in the minor depression of 1924, which culminated in July and August of that

TABLE I  
RECENT COURSE OF FACTORY EMPLOYMENT  
(AFTER FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD)

	Index of Number Employed in Factories	Index of Amount of Factory Pay-Rolls
1919.....	100.0	100.0
1920.....	103.2	123.5
1921.....	82.1	83.6
1922.....	90.4	89.2
1923.....	104.0	113.1
1924.....	95.0	104.1
1925.....	95.4	107.2
1926.....	95.6	109.0
1927.....	91.9	105.0
1927		
January.....	92.4	101.9
February.....	93.7	108.5
March.....	93.9	109.9
April.....	93.2	108.4
May.....	92.6	108.1
June.....	92.3	105.7
July.....	90.7	101.1
August.....	91.2	104.4
September.....	91.9	104.0
October.....	91.7	105.1
November.....	90.1	101.0
December.....	89.0	101.8
1928		
January.....	87.9	97.7
February.....	89.4	103.5
March.....	89.9	104.9

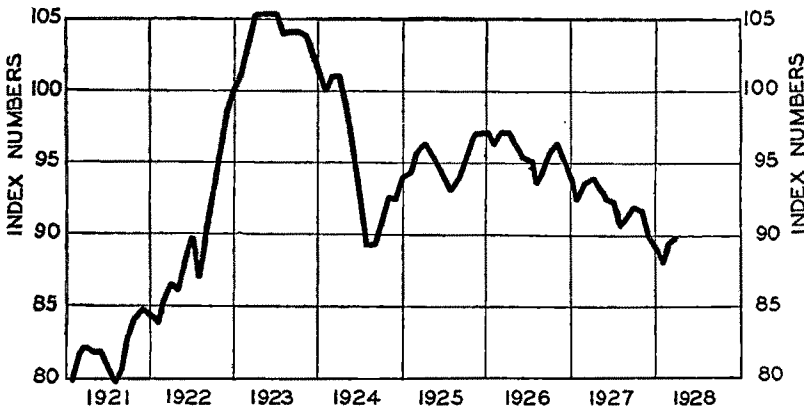
year; but that it has by no means attained the low level (80) reached in the much more severe depression of 1921.

Moreover, the recent slump actually dislocated a far smaller number of factory workers than did either of the two earlier ones. Thus the difference between the peak of early 1926 and the trough of early 1928 is less than ten points, whereas the corresponding differences were sixteen points in 1923-24 and thirty points in 1920-21. Like the preceding comparison of the three low points *inter se*, the comparative severity of the dislocations between a high and a

low point has an important bearing upon the problem of judging the effects of the recent slump upon the extent of unemployment and of those social problems hinging thereon. From both stand-points the recession of 1927-28 would seem to have wrought much less havoc than has lately been alleged.

However, certain counter-considerations should not be overlooked. We know that the past seven years have witnessed a widespread adoption of labor-saving devices in rearrangement of plant layouts, simplified routing of materials, substitution of machinery

CHART I  
EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES  
(FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD INDEX) MONTHLY AVERAGE 1919=100



for hand labor, and so on. Industrial efficiency has thereby been increased so much that fairly marked revivals in general industrial production have been effected with unusually slight increases in work forces. This phenomenon appeared in 1923, and to a greater extent in 1925-26. It has tended to leave unattached to the factory industries some of the labor which under the old, less efficient régime would have been drawn back into industry on the upswing following a slump. How much of this technological displacement has actually taken the form of bona fide unemployment cannot be determined, because (1) in this country we have no data even approximately adequate for direct measurement of *unemployment*, and (2) our records of *employment* are too scanty to show us how much of the slack has been taken up by transfer of former factory

employees to other activities, such, for example, as building construction, and the so-called "service" industries. Unfortunately, therefore, the real force of these counter-considerations cannot be satisfactorily estimated.

Railroad employment did not slump materially in 1927 until more than six months after that of factory employment. In fact it

TABLE II  
RECENT COURSE OF RAILROAD EMPLOYMENT EXCLUDING  
SWITCHING AND TERMINAL COMPANIES  
(AFTER INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION)

	Employees (Thousands)	Total Pay-Rolls (Millions)
1920.....	2,023	3,682
1921.....	1,660	2,765
1922.....	1,627	2,641
1923.....	1,858	3,004
1924.....	1,751	2,826
1925.....	1,744	2,861
1926.....	1,782	2,949
1927.....	1,737	2,911
1927		
January.....	1,701	241
February.....	1,697	225
March.....	1,707	246
April.....	1,735	240
May.....	1,770	246
June.....	1,798	248
July.....	1,799	246
August.....	1,772	254
September.....	1,764	245
October.....	1,760	252
November.....	1,706	236
December.....	1,638	232
1928		
January.....	1,591	227
February.....	1,585	218

rose fairly steadily until July, 1927; then it dipped moderately (to a trifle under 1,800,000) during the following three months. The more serious slump, beginning in November, culminated in February, 1928, when 1,505,000 were on the pay-rolls of Class I railroads. It is a noteworthy fact that their aggregate incomes have fluctuated within a fairly narrow range (virtually \$230,000,000 and \$260,000,000 per month), not only during 1927, but also during the three preceding years. The figures are summarized in Table II for the period 1920-28.

TABLE III  
RECENT COURSE OF FACTORY EMPLOYMENT IN DETAIL  
(AFTER FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD, BASE IS 1919 AVERAGE)

	1927												1928		
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.
Metals and products.....	88.9	90.1	90.6	89.9	88.7	87.8	85.7	85.4	85.1	84.4	82.8	81.8	80.9	83.1	84.5
Iron and steel.....	88.7	90.1	90.3	89.6	88.4	87.5	85.4	85.0	84.7	84.0	82.3	81.4	80.7	82.7	84.0
Textiles and products...	95.2	96.9	96.6	95.1	93.6	93.1	91.0	92.3	93.9	94.5	94.2	93.6	92.9	93.8	92.9
Fabrics.....	97.6	98.5	98.3	97.5	96.5	96.3	94.8	95.6	96.5	97.0	97.2	96.4	95.1	95.1	93.6
Textile products.....	92.2	94.7	94.5	92.0	89.9	88.9	86.2	88.2	90.5	91.4	90.3	89.9	89.9	92.3	92.0
Lumber and products...	92.9	91.8	91.2	91.0	91.6	91.8	91.2	92.4	93.0	92.4	91.2	88.0	84.5	84.7	85.7
Railroad vehicles.....	79.8	79.2	78.0	78.4	78.5	78.9	78.2	76.7	76.1	75.5	73.4	72.0	70.5	70.4	71.3
Automobiles.....	104.2	117.3	122.4	123.4	123.7	117.2	109.9	114.3	111.0	109.9	100.7	105.0	114.0	124.8	130.2
Paper and printing.....	108.8	109.0	109.0	108.1	107.3	106.9	106.3	106.9	107.8	108.6	109.7	110.1	108.6	108.1	107.0
Foods and products.....	85.1	84.9	84.1	83.1	83.7	87.6	86.7	85.8	88.7	89.2	87.7	86.7	83.8	84.8	84.4
Leather and products...	88.5	88.9	88.6	84.2	82.6	82.2	85.3	88.2	88.5	86.5	81.5	79.8	83.2	84.6	84.1
Stone, clay, and glass...	100.6	110.1	115.9	121.5	124.0	124.2	119.5	120.2	119.3	116.2	114.7	109.0	101.6	101.9	105.7
Tobacco products.....	73.5	79.0	78.9	77.3	78.2	80.3	80.3	74.4	83.5	85.3	84.6	80.3	73.8	77.1	77.9
Chemicals and products.	77.6	77.8	78.2	78.1	75.3	75.9	75.0	75.3	76.9	77.8	78.5	77.2	75.1	77.2	76.9
Total.....	92.4	93.6	93.9	93.2	92.6	92.4	90.7	91.2	91.9	91.7	90.1	89.0	87.9	89.4	89.9

During the latter part of the period under review in this volume, much attention was given to the problem of unemployment, including that of measuring unemployment. This interest sprang partly from the known declines in factory and railroad employment, both of which culminated in a winter month when such unemployment as exists always becomes more than proportionally *visible*, through pressure upon such organizations as municipal lodging houses and family relief agencies. The fact that a presidential

	Plus	Minus
1. Estimated number unemployed in 1923 . . . . .	1,000,000	
2. Estimated increase in supply of employable persons through population growth . . . . .	3,000,000	
3. Estimated number of farm workers moved to town . . . . .	1,000,000	
4. Estimated possible increases of employment in certain lines . . . . .		2,100,000
a) Professions . . . . .	200,000	
b) Amusements . . . . .	100,000	
c) Public utilities . . . . .	200,000	
d) Automobile sales and service . . . . .	750,000	
e) Other distribution . . . . .	500,000	
f) Building . . . . .	300,000	
g) Miscellaneous . . . . .	100,000	
5. Estimated declines in employment . . . . .	1,200,000	
a) Manufactures . . . . .	1,000,000	
b) Railways . . . . .	100,000	
c) Coal mining . . . . .	100,000	
6. Net Unemployment, 1927 . . . . .	4,000,000	

election was due in 1928 also contributed to this interest, for invariably the "ins" are at such times subjected to exaggerated attacks from the "outs" as to the extent of unemployment prevailing.

Unemployment estimates are virtually worthless, as far as this country is concerned. Even where deliberate bias is not present, the estimates must perforce be made up from data which are not accurate even within wide limits of error. Obviously no analysis, however conscientious, can impart to an estimate dependability which does not exist in the raw data utilized.

A good example is the estimate of 4,000,000 which has been widely discussed in the press and in Congress; this figure was issued originally by the Labor Bureau, Inc., a non-governmental

organization which aims to serve the labor movement with facts for workers.

That Bureau, after attempting to review the labor supply and demand factors, arrived at an estimated net change of 3,000,000 more unemployed in 1927 than in 1923, when, according to its guess, 1,000,000 were unemployed. The outline on page 98 summarizes the procedure and itemized results.

Of the thirteen basic figures used in constructing this estimate, satisfactory evidence exists for only two (*5a* and *5b*), and unfortunately the errors are not in the main of the compensating sort. Neither this nor any other estimate of the volume of unemployment in the United States should be given credence. Nor will it be possible to arrive at any satisfactory estimate until much more and better basic evidence becomes available.

## SOCIAL AND LABOR LEGISLATION

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JOHN B. ANDREWS

Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation, New York City

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### ABSTRACT

During 1927 social legislation was enacted embracing a number of subjects. In the field of workmen's compensation, the federal longshoremen's accident compensation law was the outstanding achievement, and many existing laws were improved in respect to compensation benefits, waiting period, medical care, and administration. Attention is also called to the provisions for extra compensation to illegally employed minors, second injuries, and maintenance of employees undergoing industrial rehabilitation. Several additional states have entered into the federal state co-operative arrangement for vocational rehabilitation and maternity protection. Other legislative activities include advance steps in respect to working hours, employment agencies, and legal limitations of the employment of women and minors.

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The social legislation of any year in the United States is a variegated grist from numerous legislative halls. The 1927 output represents the action taken in a year when forty-four state legislatures and four territories or insular possessions met in regular session and Congress was in session at Washington. On the whole it marks substantial advances both in strengthening existing laws and in further extending modern protections for the safety and health of wage-earners.

Most of the enactments were the usual series of amendments to existing laws, but in addition a goodly number of new acts indicate a tendency to round out the social-legislation program which was rudely interrupted by the World War and quietly smothered for a time thereafter under the wet blanket of post-war reaction against "interference" by the state.

The two most important new labor laws of 1927 are the federal Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, and the women's so-called "eight-hour" law in New York. Both mark the close of campaigns extending over the years since the world-conflict accentuated the need of these forms of protection. In addition, important new measures mark advance steps in a wide range of legislative activities including, for example, employment agencies,

wage payment, workmen's compensation, safety and health, working hours and rest periods, and the legal limitations of the employment of women and minors.

The new federal longshoremen's accident compensation law was made necessary by several closely divided opinions of the highest court, which finally determined that these "maritime" workers, if injured on board vessels at the dock, could not be protected longer, like other local workers, under state compensation laws. This is the first federal compensation legislation to protect a large group of laborers in private employments, and its adoption has stimulated similar programs to cover seamen and railway men in interstate commerce—the two remaining large national groups without the protection of this modern accident compensation remedy. The law which went into effect July 1, 1927, is administered through local federal deputies, co-operating with state compensation officials—all under the unifying supervision of the experienced United States Employees' Compensation Commission, which was set up by Congress in 1916. The benefit features of the law are liberal as compared with most state compensation measures, which have all been enacted since the movement got successfully under way in 1911. Compensation is based on two-thirds of wages, payable after a waiting period of seven days, with all necessary medical care. The weekly maximum payment is \$25. Dependent children receive compensation until eighteen years of age, and widows until death or remarriage. Modern provision is made for accident prevention and co-operation in rehabilitating disabled workmen.

Congress also liberalized the federal Civilian Employees' Act of 1916, bringing it in line with the increased levels of wages and cost of living. The maximum benefits were raised to \$27 a week, an increase urgently needed, as the former limits were based upon pre-war wage rates.

Turning to the local legislatures, we find that in 1927 thirty-four states amended their existing workmen's compensation laws. In general these changes mark still farther the tendency to make these social insurance measures more nearly adequate as a result of some years of practical experience.

Considering the evidence of this tendency in a few of the more

important particulars, two-thirds of wages as the compensation scale is now regarded as standard. Twenty-three laws operate on approximately that basis, including the two modern federal compensation acts mentioned above. Full wages are not paid during the compensation period, in the belief that the injured worker should be given financial encouragement to get back to work as soon as he is able. Experience shows, however, that the laws which provide less than two-thirds of wages are inadequate. It must not be imagined that this rate implies an assumption by the industry of two-thirds of the wage loss suffered by the worker. Other provisions in the law, such as the weekly maximum and the waiting period, cut down the actual compensation received to far less than two-thirds. Thus actuaries estimate that even under the laws which are most liberal as to waiting period and weekly maximum, the injured workman is reimbursed for only about one-half of the earnings he loses. Under the weekly-maximum provision, for example, which is included in most laws, weekly payments can usually not exceed \$15 or \$20 a week, according to the specific legal limit, even though the injured man at the time of the accident was earning perhaps as much as \$40 or more per week. In New York and in the federal Longshoremen's Act of 1927 a maximum weekly limit of \$25 suggests the liberalizing tendency which has found its fuller expression in the 1927 amendment to the U.S. Civilian Employees' Act, where the weekly limit is placed at \$27.

A significant further development in the annual series of amendments which are greatly improving the provisions of these compensation laws is the acceptance by thirty-four states of a non-compensation period not to exceed seven days, immediately following the injury, during which no compensation is paid. This waiting period was originally much longer in most of the pioneer laws, because of the earlier fear that an injured worker would be inclined to malingering if he were not subject to considerable initial wage loss. Apprehensions of this sort have been for the most part happily dispelled by the practical operation of these laws.

Another important feature—medical care—is shown by experience to be most satisfactory to all concerned, if unlimited both as to time and amount. The employer who pays the cash compensa-

tion in the first instance finds that it is more economical to provide completely adequate care with resulting reduction of period of disability than to continue to pay out week after week for extended periods the cash benefits which must be provided during the time that the worker is incapacitated.

By the end of 1927 the principle of commission administration, which is essential to the successful operation of a workmen's compensation law, had been secured in all but seven states. Court administration is slow, complicated, and costly and tends, because of these inherent difficulties, to defeat the very purpose of workmen's compensation legislation. Another serious objection is the tendency to foster "direct settlements" under the court system. Rather than spend the time and money necessary for the successful completion of court cases, a great majority of employees are led to settle their claims directly with the employer or insurer without proper official supervision. Investigations in state after state have demonstrated that wherever direct settlements are common, serious underpayments of injured workers result. Again, the court system of administration is entirely unequipped to capitalize the preventive possibilities of a workmen's compensation law. Through the tabulation and analysis of statistics and through organized safety campaigns an administrative commission is able to make the state compensation law a vital force in accident prevention. Finally, without an administrative board, a compensation system lacks an official representative whose important duty is to observe the law's workings and to report periodically to the legislature any defects or needed amendments. Kansas—one of the half-dozen laggards in this particular—finally abandoned the attempt to administrate workmen's compensation through the courts, and in 1927 adopted the superior commission form of administration.

The further extension of an interesting social invention in legislation is the adoption during the year by Maryland, Michigan, and Illinois of extra compensation requirements in cases where it is found a child laborer has been injured by accident while illegally employed. The extra compensation—usually an increase of 100 per cent—falls directly upon the employer, who incidentally is thus severely penalized and effectively discouraged from the temptation to violate child labor laws.

Practical experience in the operation of workmen's compensation laws has developed another useful social invention to meet the problem of second injuries. When a one-armed worker loses his second arm in an industrial accident, he is likely to be completely incapacitated for life. Accordingly, the amount of compensation ordinarily payable for the loss of an arm is insufficient to cover the disability which actually results. This is also true of many other types of second injuries. If a man thus disabled is paid anything less than a total disability allowance, his compensation will be inadequate. But if the employer is required to bear this extra burden, he will naturally hesitate to employ handicapped men because of the additional compensation risk involved. Such discrimination, if widespread, would of course nullify the results of rehabilitation work. It is of little use to retrain partially disabled men if no one will employ them after retraining. The second-injury provision, which was devised to meet this problem, requires the employer to pay only the sum called for by the second injury. The additional compensation for the total disability, which is the resulting effect of the combination of the two injuries, is provided out of a special fund. This fund is created by requiring the employer or other insurance-carrier to pay a fixed amount to the state treasurer for every case of injury causing death in which there are no dependents entitled to compensation. The state treasurer is made the custodian of the fund, and the commission directs the distribution thereof. This provision was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1924 in the case of *Sheehan Co. v. Shuler*, 265 U.S. 371. Idaho, by adopting the second-injury principle in 1927, became the eighth state to solve this difficult problem.

The special-fund principle has also been utilized to provide maintenance for employees undergoing vocational rehabilitation. Under the terms of the federal rehabilitation act, money appropriated may not be used for the support of the disabled man. Many of the neediest cases were therefore barred from the benefits of this law. Several states have provided under the terms of their workmen's compensation laws for a limited allowance to be paid out of a special fund in addition to compensation, while others have made similar provision by other state laws. Rhode Island was

the tenth state to enact such legislation, while Montana increased maintenance allowance which was first provided in 1925.

In the closely allied field of industrial cripple rehabilitation, South Carolina—although one of the five remaining states without accident compensation—came into the federal-state co-operative arrangement set up by the federal legislation in 1920, for vocational retraining of cripples, which is now accepted by forty-one states.

The other outstanding federal-state co-operative legislation in this field—the maternity protection measure—was augmented by the acceptance of the Sheppard-Towner federal encouragement by Maine and Kansas. This leaves only three states, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Illinois, which steadfastly refuse to join in this special educational effort. But, in 1927, Congress announced its intention of abruptly ending the federal aid after June 30, 1929.

Provision of rest periods and maximum limits upon the working day gained legal recognition in 1927. Western mining states continue to regulate the working hours of men under ground; and Colorado now extends the legal eight-hour limit to work in and about cement and plaster mills, following the earlier example of Arizona and Nevada. In Wisconsin the former statutory provision for one-day-of-rest-in-seven is transferred to the more elastic authority of the state industrial commission, which is empowered to issue orders, general or specific, having the effect of labor law.

West Virginia, in raising the annual license fee of employment agents recruiting labor to go outside the state, from the somewhat nominal fee of \$250 to the substantial sum of \$5,000, joined the other southern states which have become aroused by the increased migration of labor northward in recent years. Meanwhile, California and Indiana tightened the regulation of their fee-charging employment agencies, and Wisconsin consistently extended her public employment offices.

Employment of women and of children, the first subjects historically of the states' intervention in the field of labor legislation, continue to be prime objects of the legislators' care. Although Montana was the one state in 1927 to ratify the federal child labor amendment, New York's "eight-hour" law for women was a high

light in the year's social legislation. Although the measure as enacted is really a forty-nine-and-a-half-hour law, it is a notable step in advance over the previous legal fifty-four-hour week. This new act provides for an eight-hour day when women employees work six days weekly; a nine-hour day when a weekly half-holiday is granted; and permits seventy-eight hours of overtime, which the employer may distribute evenly over the year or may use for a fifty-four-hour week during a thirteen-week rush period. Governor Smith, in signing the bill, referred in terse and stinging terms to the obstructive tactics employed by the opposition in delaying action on this meritorious legislation for fourteen years in defiance of strong public demand. California, in strengthening the investigating powers of her industrial welfare commission, and in increasing penalties for failure to comply with its orders limiting working hours and establishing standard conditions of labor of women and minors, further illustrates the tendency to use the element of social compulsion when needed to promote the general welfare.

## PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICINE

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HARRY H. MOORE

Public Health Economist, United States Public Health Service

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### ABSTRACT

There was an increasing tendency during 1927 to regard public health work and private practice as one task. *Mortality and morbidity statistics.*—The general death-rate continued to decline and the health of the people was good as compared with preceding years. *Legislation.*—A law was enacted providing that the Maternity and Infancy Act shall cease to be in force after June, 1929. Unsuccessful efforts were made before state legislatures to prevent vaccination and curtail animal experimentation. *Public-health measures.*—Notable achievements were made in the prevention of disease in the area flooded by the Mississippi River. The dismissal of the health commissioner of Chicago constituted a setback to public health work. The increase in the number of city and county health officers continued. Progress was made in the fields of mental hygiene, venereal disease control, and tuberculosis work. The foundations made important contributions to public health advancement. *Private practice.*—The number of physicians and nurses continued to increase. *Hospitals and clinics.*—There was a marked growth in the number of hospitals and clinics. *Biological research.*—Four or five discoveries of importance were made, and others of less significance. *Research in medical economics.*—Three commissions or committees were making important studies, and preliminary reports have been issued.

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When yellow fever appeared in 1900 among American soldiers situated in Havana, a commission was appointed to study the disease. Private John R. Kissinger offered his services for an experiment and, at the risk of his life, allowed himself to be bitten by mosquitoes which had previously drawn blood from yellow-fever patients. For twenty years, Private Kissinger has been incapacitated, eking out an existence for himself and family on a pension of \$100 a month. In 1927, a small group of public-spirited citizens collected a fund and purchased a home in Indiana for Mr. Kissinger and his family. The work of the commission proved conclusively that yellow fever is carried by the mosquito and not by fomites. The control of this disease through public health measures considerably modified the nature of private practice in a large section of the United States.

There were evidences in 1927 of an increasing tendency among leaders in public health work and private medicine to regard the

prevention and cure of disease, not as two separate tasks, but as one. While the occupation of these fields by two separate, disarticulated groups has caused misunderstanding and inefficiency in the past, a balanced program has apparently begun to develop. It is therefore fitting and proper that this article should deal with public health work and private medicine as one field.

The important changes during the year in the combined field of public health and medicine may be looked for under the following topics: mortality and morbidity statistics, legislation, public health measures, private practice, hospitals and clinics, biological research, and research in medical economics.

#### MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY STATISTICS

The death-rate for the United States since 1920 has varied between 13.1 and 11.6 per thousand population. A recently computed provisional death-rate for 1927 (based on a population of 58,000,000) was 11.7—a somewhat lower rate than for 1926, and the lowest yet reached in the United States, with the single exception of the 1921 rate, which was 11.6. The death-rate among 18,000,000 industrial policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company dropped to the lowest point ever reached—8.4 per thousand. One state (Arkansas) was added to the death registration area during the year 1927, making, in all, forty-two states and the District of Columbia.

The infant mortality rate for 1927, at the time of the writing of this article, was not available, nor were death-rates for the country in respect to various specific diseases. Among the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company policyholders, however, the death-rate for tuberculosis was 93.5 per 100,000, which was 4.8 per cent below the previous minimum established in 1925. "Beyond question the greatest single public health fact in 1927," states the Metropolitan Company, "was the large reduction of mortality from tuberculosis to a new minimum for all time." Among this company's policyholders there was also an "unprecedentedly low mortality from pneumonia."

Thus progress continues to be made toward the goal recently set up by the American Public Health Association—the addition, with-

in the next fifty years, of twenty years to the expectancy of life which has recently prevailed throughout the United States.

While mortality rates have been used extensively in the past as indexes of health, because they have constituted the only reliable data available, their inadequacy is being increasingly appreciated. The vigor, efficiency, and general health of the people while they are alive is more important than the length of time they live. Consequently, the United States Public Health Service and other agencies continued their efforts in 1927 to develop more useful and reliable morbidity statistics.

The health of the people of the United States was generally good for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1927, stated the Surgeon General in his annual report, as compared with preceding years. The year was notable also, he asserted, on account of the small number of quarantinable diseases that threatened our borders. For the calendar year 1927, the case-rate for typhoid, 0.29 per 1,000, was lower than it has ever been. The diphtheria rate, 0.94 per 1,000, was slightly higher than that for the previous year, but considerably lower than in earlier years, the rate for 1922 having been 1.59. The measles rate, 3.94 per 1,000, was lower than for 1926, but not as low as in earlier years. The scarlet-fever rate was slightly higher than it has been for several years. The United States for the fifth consecutive year reported more smallpox in 1927 than any other country except India. There were over 5,000 cases more than in 1926. In both the United States and England, smallpox is most menacing where anti-vaccination sentiment is strongest.

#### LEGISLATION

Perhaps the most important law enacted by Congress in 1927 was one providing for a two-year extension of the Maternity and Infancy Act, with an amendment stating that the law shall cease to be in force after June 30, 1929. Another act safeguards the distribution and sale of dangerous caustic and corrosive substances in interstate commerce, and another regulates the importation of milk.

The legislatures of forty-four states held sessions during the winter of 1926-27. Three bills were introduced to obstruct universal vaccination and three to extend compulsory vaccination, but

none of them passed. In three states attempts were made to enact laws prohibiting the use of animals for research work. None of them passed, but in several instances the situation called for energetic work by physicians and others before legislative committees. New tuberculosis legislation was passed in Maryland, Oregon, New York, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Kansas and Maine, after refusing for five years to accept the benefits of the federal Maternity and Infancy Act, passed laws providing for their participation.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH MEASURES

Notwithstanding a lack of trained personnel and inadequacy of funds, the remarkable growth of public health work during the past decade or two continued in 1927. A notable achievement of the year was the work done by the U.S. Public Health Service, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the state departments of health in the extensive area flooded by the Mississippi River. In spite of the great danger of serious epidemics, the health of the people in this area was better in some respects than at normal times. While there was more pellagra and probably more malaria, there was less typhoid fever than in former years.

A setback to the development of public health work was caused by the dismissal by the newly elected mayor of Chicago of that city's highly efficient health commissioner. A statement signed by a number of the most eminent physicians and sanitarians of the United States reads in part as follows:

Sacrifice of the lives of citizens of Chicago to political exploitation and personal whims is more than a local matter, since unsanitary conditions in one community may react upon an entire continent. The action of the Mayor of Chicago strikes a blow at the most fundamental principles of good government.

. . . . It should stimulate citizens everywhere to see that city charters are amended so as to make such interferences with good health administration impossible in their own communities.

The health of a community depends in a large degree upon the efficiency of its health department, and health-department efficiency depends largely upon the employment of whole-time personnel. In 1917, only 140 cities having a population of 10,000 or over employed health officers on a whole-time basis. In 1927, there were

346 such cities. While there are 2,850 counties in the United States wholly or in part rural, only 337 of them on January 1, 1927, had health departments with a whole-time physician in charge. By January 1, 1928, there were 414—an increase over the previous year of 77. This development was due largely to fresh interest in public health work caused by the Mississippi River flood.

In the field of mental hygiene, significant progress appears to have been made. Work with unadjusted college students begun in 1926 was continued. An experiment at one of the leading universities of the country was enlarged; and, at the end of the year, five psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers were being employed. Approximately fourteen colleges and universities, together with a number of preparatory schools and military academies, have availed themselves of the services of psychiatrists on a part-time or whole-time basis to assist in solving student maladjustments. There has been a marked increase of interest in the psychopathology of crime; and at the annual meeting of the National Crime Commission in Washington, November, 1927, an entire session was devoted to a discussion of this subject. It was urged that laws be passed in various states providing for the mandatory psychiatric examination of prisoners charged with certain offenses. Attention was also given to the subject at the June, 1927, meeting of the American Psychiatric Association. Psychiatrists and clergymen held several conferences during the year to ascertain if or where religion and mental hygiene might meet on common ground. A subcommittee on religious healing was created by the New York Academy of Medicine, which has engaged a competent worker to study this subject. Apparently, a large number of persons have been seeking aid from persons practicing this type of healing. The demand for psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers in 1927 exceeded the supply. Efforts were made, however, to recruit physicians for psychiatry through the use of fellowships provided by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Commonwealth Fund. The number of psychiatric social workers was increasing.

In the field of venereal-disease control and social hygiene, during the fiscal year ending June, 1927, approximately 364,000 cases of venereal diseases were reported to state departments of health—a decrease of about 14,000 since 1926. There was an in-

crease from 416 to 425 in the number of clinics reporting; data on the number of physicians is not available. Of particular importance was the study of the prevalence of the venereal diseases made by the Public Health Service and the American Social Hygiene Association in some fifteen or more communities. If repeated at intervals of one or two years, the figures thus made available will provide the basis for a reliable index of progress in the control of these diseases. The American Social Hygiene Association reported a greater demand for assistance in educational work than it was able to supply.

In the prevention and cure of tuberculosis, the National Tuberculosis Association took a wise step in the inauguration of a country-wide campaign for early diagnosis. The use of motion pictures, billboard advertising, posters, printed matter, and lectures was planned.

While nothing remarkable has happened during the year in the control of cancer, heart disease, and blindness, encouraging work appears to have been done by the national organizations giving special attention to these fields.

Public health measures were advanced during the year by the aid of several of the foundations. The Commonwealth Fund assisted health demonstrations in rural districts and made appropriations toward the development of efficient rural hospitals. It brought to a close a five-year demonstration in the field of child guidance, conducted so successfully as to result in the establishment of community clinics in seven cities. The Milbank Memorial Fund finished its first five-year period of a demonstration in Cattaraugus County, New York, showing that a complete and efficient program of health activities may be carried on in a rural community at moderate cost. Some forty civic agencies have invited the Milbank Fund to continue the demonstration. The Rockefeller Foundation distributed during the year over \$11,000,000 to twenty different projects in the field of public health and medicine, a majority of them being carried on in the United States.

#### PRIVATE PRACTICE

Among the many thousands of persons engaged in the private practice of medicine in the United States, a high degree of speciali-

zation is to be found; yet private medicine, generally speaking, has not become organized. During the past ten to fifteen years, significant steps have been taken in the establishment of various types of group clinics—agencies which bring together at a single center general practitioners, various specialists, and scientific equipment for the diagnosis and treatment of difficult and obscure cases—but no notable progress in 1927 was made in the development of such agencies.

There were a larger number of physicians in the United States in 1927 than ever before—a total of 149,500, representing a gain of 2,500 over 1925. The number of medical-school graduates in 1927—4,035—was greater than in any year since 1910, when there were many more medical colleges than at present. There were about 18,900 graduates from nursing schools, an increase of 3,400 over 1917.

#### HOSPITALS AND CLINICS

In both the private practice of medicine and public health work, hospitals and clinics have become increasingly important. There has been a marked increase in their number during recent years. During the past twenty years, the number of hospitals has increased more rapidly than the number of physicians and the general population, and the number of clinics more rapidly than hospitals.

Within the walls of the modern hospital may be found an amount of scientific equipment and a degree of specialization and organization not available in the offices of most private practitioners. In 1927, there were 6,778 hospitals in the country with 845,494 beds—an increase of 84 hospitals and 13,599 beds over 1926.

While most clinics are operated on a charitable basis, they too provide better facilities for scientific practice than are found in the offices of many individual practitioners. There was compiled in 1927, for the first time in many years, a reliable list of clinics. It showed a total of over 5,700. At the beginning of the century there were only 100.

#### BIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

No achievements comparable to the discovery of insulin and the development of diphtheria antitoxin were made in the field of

biological research during the year. Some twenty-five discoveries, however, have been listed by "Science Service," the most important of which may be briefly reviewed. While some of these discoveries are to be credited to European scientists, they are of significance, of course, to the practice of medicine in the United States. Thyroxin, the hormone of the thyroid gland, was made synthetically at University College, London, by C. R. Harington and George Barger. This work, in the opinion of the Public Health Service, undoubtedly represents a great fundamental contribution to medicine. J. J. Abel of the Johns Hopkins University prepared crystalline insulin which appears to be a pure hormone necessary for the maintenance of normal sugar metabolism. A discovery of unquestionable practical value is the treatment of pernicious anemia with liver extract, announced by George R. Minot, William P. Murphy, and E. J. Cohn. Ergosterol was declared, by a number of investigators working independently, to be the active and essential substance in the antirachitic vitamin. While, according to the United States Public Health Service, it has not been established whether ergosterol is the active substance or whether an impurity in ergosterol is responsible for the effect, these researches can be considered as constituting an outstanding contribution during the year. Florence B. Seibert, of the University of Chicago, produced an active protein in crystalline form which represents a step toward the solution of the actual chemical nature of tuberculin. The 1927 Nobel prize for medicine was awarded to Julius Wagner-Jauregg, of Vienna, for his treatment of paresis by inoculation with malaria.

#### RESEARCH IN MEDICAL ECONOMICS

During the year, three separate commissions or committees were conducting careful, intensive studies in the field of medical organization.

A preliminary report of the Commission on Medical Education was issued early in 1927. This organization is seeking to secure a picture of the demands for medical services and of the actual health needs of the population, in order that a type of medical education may be developed for the future which will more efficiently meet these demands and needs. The trend of the population toward urban centers, the development of transportation, the success of pub-

lic health agencies in the control of communicable diseases, the expansion of hospitals and clinics, the improvement of living conditions and general sanitation, are a few of the influences bringing about a change in the nature of medical practice, which the Commission is considering.

The Committee on the Grading of Nursing Schools has undertaken a study of "ways and means of insuring an ample supply of nursing service, of whatever type and quality is needed for adequate care of the patient, at a price within his reach." During 1927, the Committee gave most of its attention to an investigation of the demand for nurses and the existing supply.

The Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, organized in May, 1927, brought together for the first time representatives of private practice, public health, economics, and the general public. While the work is concerned primarily with the cost of medical service, there are several related problems. The demand for medical services and their supply and distribution are of fundamental importance. The major problem deals not only with the cost to the family of medical services but also with the return accruing to the physician and other agents furnishing such service. A third and final main division of studies consists of an analysis of specially organized facilities for medical care now serving particular groups of the population. It is this Committee which must face the ultimate problem: How can general practitioners and specialists, laboratory services, and various types of therapy requiring expensive equipment be most effectively organized into unit services; and how can unit services, both private and public, be best co-ordinated into a well-balanced program of preventive and curative medicine?

At the beginning of 1927 there were six clearly defined manifestations of maladjustment in the field of medicine: the inadequacy of personal and financial support among official health agencies; the shortage and inaccessibility of personnel and equipment in private practice; the inability of the people to pay the cost of medical service; the extensive employment of inferior types of treatment; the unfairness to the private physician of the present system

of charges; and the insufficiency of interest among private practitioners in preventive medicine.

While, during the preceding decade or two, a number of significant attempts were made to remedy these maladjustments and provide more adequate medical service, both preventive and curative at a reasonable cost, no experiments of note were made to this end during the year. The hopeful aspect of the situation is that there has been an increasing amount of discussion of these maladjustments. There may be a few influences now at work seeking to bring about the adoption of compulsory health insurance or other measures that might be considered radical. It is believed, however, that an intelligent, progressive attitude will prevail and that the investigations inaugurated and continued in 1927 will result in steady progress toward a more efficient and economic organization of medicine in the United States.

## COMMUNICATION

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E. W. BURGESS  
University of Chicago

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### ABSTRACT

Transportation, inasmuch as it promotes social contacts, will be considered, for the purposes of this article, as falling under the devices of communication. Modern society is being formed through communication; therefore changes in the facilities and in the use of the means of communication should afford indices of social change. The figures for the last twenty-five years for the United States on the growth in the facilities of railroads, electric railways, automobiles, aviation, land telegraph and ocean cable, the telephone, the radio, books and pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals are compared with population increase. Since the United States has led all other countries of the world in the popular utilization of these different instruments of communication, the conclusion may be drawn that the tempo of social change is greater here than elsewhere. There are, however, wide differences within the United States in the use of the agencies of communication. This suggests the value of a study of the incidence of modern civilization correlated with the increase in the number and use of the devices of communication.

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The first quarter of the twentieth century is marked by the rapid extension of new devices of transportation and communication. Transportation, although not, strictly speaking, communication, promotes social contacts both by accelerating movement and by determining the distribution of population. The different types of transportation will, therefore, in this paper be considered as devices of communication. The older instruments of communication and transportation, as the railroad, the telegraph, and the newspaper, still remain as the basic techniques of our modern great society. But the telephone, the automobile, the motion picture, the radio, and the aeroplane, all relatively recent inventions, appear as innovating factors in current social change.

Our interest in a survey of these different devices of communication is to determine how far their development and use may be correlated with the nature and rapidity of social change. What is the significance of the increase in the number of passengers on railroads, electric interurban lines, and street railways? What point is there in finding out that the number of telephone calls,

newspaper readers, and automobile owners are growing faster than the population?

This comparison is significant because modern social organization is formed and reformed by its means of communication. Changes in communication may therefore afford indexes of wider and more complicated changes taking place in society.

The railroad is and undoubtedly will long remain, the primary mode of long-distance transportation in the United States. A map of the network of railroad lines in this country gives at the same time a graphic if crude picture of the massing and scattering of population in metropolitan centers, in smaller cities, in towns, in villages, and in the open country. In like manner the internal business and residential organization of our cities may be represented in rough outline by the general pattern of their interurban, suburban, and street-car systems.

In 1924 the United States had 250,156 of the 712,523 miles of railway in the world, although its area was only 6.5 per cent of the earth's surface and its population 7.2 per cent of the estimated population of the globe. Yet the peak of railway building has long been passed in this country. Although from 1850 to 1875 the operated mileage of American railroads increased eightfold and between 1875 and 1900 almost three times, the increase between 1900 and 1925 was only 29.0 per cent as against a population growth of 51.8 per cent.

The number of passengers carried by steam railroads rose from 576,831,251 in 1900 to 1,269,912,881, its highest point, in 1920, and has since steadily declined, except for a slight upward spurt in 1923, to only 841,463,000<sup>1</sup> passengers in 1927, as seen in Table I.

The most revealing comparison is, however, the number of passengers carried per capita, which rose from 7.5 in 1900 to 11.9 in 1920, only to fall to 7.1 by 1927.

But with this absolute as well as relative loss in passengers carried went a significant and, in general, upward trend in the average length of journey per passenger, which increased from 27.8 miles in 1900 to 40.79 miles in 1926, with a slight recession in 1927

<sup>1</sup> Estimate based on 829,845,522 passengers carried by Class I steam railways, which in 1926 were 98.6 per cent of all passengers on all steam railways. Data supplied by Interstate Commerce Commission.

to 40.55, according to the preliminary figures of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The longer rides by railways, taken in conjunction with the declining number of passengers, probably

TABLE I

PASSENGERS CARRIED FOR ALL STEAM RAILROADS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1927, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF PASSENGERS, NUMBER OF PASSENGERS PER CAPITA, AND LENGTH OF AVERAGE JOURNEY PER PASSENGER\*

YEAR	PASSENGERS CARRIED		AVERAGE JOURNEY IN MILES PER PASSENGER
	Number	Per Capita	
1900.....	576,831,251	7.5	27.80
1901.....	607,278,121	7.8	28.58
1902.....	649,878,505	8.1	30.30
1903.....	694,891,535	8.5	30.10
1904.....	715,419,682	8.6	30.64
1905.....	738,834,667	8.7	32.21
1906.....	797,946,116	9.2	31.54
1907.....	873,905,133	9.9	31.72
1908.....	890,009,574	9.9	32.86
1909.....	891,472,425	9.8	32.85
1910.....	971,683,199	10.5	33.50
1911.....	997,409,882	10.6	33.48
1912.....	1,004,081,346	10.5	33.18
1913.....	1,043,603,005	10.8	33.31
1914.....	1,063,248,850	10.8	33.25
1915.....	985,676,117	9.9	32.95
1916.....	1,048,986,826	10.4	33.58
1917.....	1,109,943,226	10.8	36.13
1918.....	1,122,962,887	10.8	38.48
1919.....	1,211,021,934	11.5	38.68
1920.....	1,269,912,881	11.9	37.30
1921.....	1,061,130,762	9.7	35.53
1922.....	989,509,000	9.0	36.19
1923.....	1,008,537,863	9.0	37.97
1924.....	950,459,378	8.3	38.26
1925.....	901,963,145	7.8	40.19
1926.....	874,582,732	7.4	40.79
1927.....	841,463,000	7.1	40.55

\* Data of Interstate Commerce Commission.

shows that other means of transportation were being utilized for the shorter rides, as the electric railroad, the motor bus, and the automobile. Indeed, the number of passengers *per capita* conveyed by electric railways doubled between 1902 to 1926, or from 60.1 to 121.4, with no indications of having yet reached its peak.

More significant for social change in the period 1920-27 than the fall in railroad transportation and the rise of interurban and

street-car traffic is the phenomenal growth in the rise of the automobile, as shown in Table II.

The significance of this striking growth is that the automobile, more than any other device of transportation, has made for the

TABLE II  
REGISTRATION OF PASSENGER CARS IN THE UNITED STATES,  
1920-27, THEIR NUMBER PER 1,000 INHABITANTS

YEAR	PASSENGER CARS REGISTERED	
	Number	Number per 1,000 Persons
1900.....	8,000	0.1
1901.....	14,800	0.2
1902.....	23,000	0.3
1903.....	32,920	0.4
1904.....	54,590	0.6
1905.....	77,400	0.9
1906.....	105,900	1.2
1907.....	140,300	1.6
1908.....	194,400	2.2
1909.....	305,950	3.4
1910.....	458,500	5.0
1911.....	619,500	6.6
1912.....	902,600	9.5
1913.....	1,194,262	12.4
1914.....	1,625,739	16.6
1915.....	2,309,666	23.2
1916.....	3,297,996	32.7
1917.....	4,657,340	45.6
1918.....	5,621,617	54.3
1919.....	6,771,074	64.5
1920.....	8,225,859	77.3
1921.....	9,346,195	86.8
1922.....	10,864,128	98.9
1923.....	13,479,608	120.7
1924.....	15,460,649	136.0
1925.....	17,512,638	151.8
1926.....	19,237,171	164.2
1927.....	20,230,429	172.2

freedom of movement of the family and the individual. This mobility, however, is rapidly changing the social life of all communities, large and small. Thirty years ago rural and village contacts took place within the radius of the buggy ride; now they have been extended to the limits of the automobile. The primacy of the United States in automobile use may be inferred from the fact that, on January 1, 1927, according to statistics from the United States

Department of Commerce, of the 27,650,267 automobiles and motor trucks reported to be in use in the world, 22,137,334 were registered in this country; Great Britain was second, with 1,023,651 reported. It is apparent from a comparison of the number of registered automobiles for other countries that the changes following upon motor transportation are more extensive for the United States than anywhere else in the world.

Within the United States great differences in the distribution of automobiles exist. If only the extremes are taken, there was registered in 1927 one passenger car for every three to four inhabitants in California, Nevada, Iowa, and Florida, while for Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and South Carolina there was registered only one car for every ten to twelve inhabitants.

Aviation caught and held public attention during 1927 because of a series of spectacular transoceanic airplane flights. Its solid achievements for the year ending June 30, 1927, are thus stated by Mr. W. P. MacCracken, Jr., assistant secretary of commerce for aeronautics:

The outstanding achievements in civil aeronautics for the year include the inauguration of scheduled commercial service over routes totaling 2,429 miles; the contracting by the Post-Office Department of all postal operations between New York and San Francisco at prices varying from 50 to 75 per cent below the maximum allowed by the air mail contract law; the consummation of a contract between the American Railway Express Company and a group of 4 air transport operators providing for aerial express service on 5 routes totaling 4,459 miles; an increase in air mail poundage of 80 per cent; the establishment of more than 100 airports; the holding of the first all-American aircraft display at Bolling Field, climaxed by the remarkable flight of Charles A. Lindbergh from New York to Paris, which was the first of a series of successful transoceanic flights by American civilian pilots using commercial aircraft and engines designed and built in the United States.

Statistics are now available showing the number of aircraft manufactured during the fiscal year, but the production for the last six months of the period exceeded the total production for the preceding calendar year.

On June 30, 1927, air-transport operators were serving 66 cities, with a total population of 20,038,075 and a total mileage of 8,396.

While the majority of the air-mail contractors sustained financial losses as a result of their operations for the entire fiscal year, during the last three months of the period the majority of them were making expenses, and several of them showed satisfactory profits. Aerial operations showed an increase both

in number and volume of business. Most important is the fact that these enterprises are rapidly developing into profitable organizations with better equipment and more adequate airport facilities.<sup>2</sup>

What the ultimate effects of aviation upon changes in social organization will be are as yet matters of speculation rather than of prediction upon the basis of observed trends.

The railroad, the interurban, the street car, the automobile, and the aeroplane are all means of rapid transportation. Their significance for communication is at once appreciated if a comparison is made with the ox-team, the horse and buggy, and the stage-coach. But the invention of the telegraph introduced a series of actual changes in the means of communication itself.

TABLE III  
NUMBER OF LAND TELEGRAPH AND OCEAN CABLE MESSAGES, 1902-22\*

YEAR	NUMBER OF MESSAGES		
	Land	Ocean	Combined
1902.....	90,834,789	820,498	91,655,287
1912.....	103,536,418	5,841,280	109,377,698
1922.....	181,518,774	9,602,559	191,121,333

\* *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1926), p. 353.

The invention of the telegraph led to the reorganization of economic, cultural, and political society upon the basis of the practically instantaneous transmission of news. With the establishment and development of the ocean-cable telegraph systems, the daily newspaper brought its increased circle of readers into the realm of world-events. The motion picture and the radio, with their rapid growth in recent years, have given the public a sense of intimate and realistic participation in national and even world-affairs that had previously been remote or unknown.

Statistics on the number of messages by land telegraph and by ocean cable are given in Table III for the years 1902-22. The data for 1927 are not yet available.

From the table it is apparent at a glance that in twenty years land telegraph messages doubled and ocean cables increased eleven fold, while the population of the United States between 1902 and

<sup>2</sup> *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Secretary of Commerce* (1927), pp. xl-xli.

1922 increased only 38.4 per cent. Between 1907 and 1922 messages by wireless telegraph systems increased fifteen times, or from 154,617 to 2,365,109.<sup>3</sup>

While the telegraph has become the indispensable agency of public communication, the telephone performs the rôle of facilitating personal intercommunication. The telephone call has become an essential part of the life of the person, not only in social relations, but also in business transactions, both in rural and urban communities. Despite the rapid increase in number of telephones and telephone calls, there is some indication that the future in-

TABLE IV

NUMBER AND RATES OF TELEPHONES AND TELEPHONE CALLS, 1890-1927\*

YEAR	TELEPHONES		TELEPHONE CALLS	
	Number	Number per 1,000 Persons	Number	Number per Capita
1902.....	2,371,044	30	5,070,554,553	63.8
1907.....	6,118,578	70	10,400,433,958	118.9
1912.....	8,729,592	92	13,735,658,245	142.3
1917.....	11,716,520	112	19,809,061,085	193.9
1922.....	14,347,395	130	21,901,387,070	199.3
1927.....	18,365,000	163	26,645,000,000	224.5

crease in telephones and telephone calls will be at a smaller ratio than in the past (see Table IV).

The number of telephone calls to telephones declined from 2,135 in 1902 to 1,458 in 1927. This probably was a natural effect of the increase in number of telephones per 1,000 persons from 30 in 1902 to 163 in 1927.

The telephone, in its widespread popular use, is peculiarly an American institution. On January 1, 1926, the United States possessed 60.96 per cent of the number of telephones in the world. In 1925 the number of telephone conversations in the United States was ten times the number in Germany or Japan, twenty times the number in Great Britain and North Ireland, and nearly thirty times the number in France. Like the automobile, the telephone is another instrument of personal mobility, but in the field of long-distance conversation rather than of physical movement.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351.

The most significant event in the transmission of communication by the human voice occurred in wireless telephony across the Atlantic. Radiophone communication was formally established between New York and London on January 7, 1927. This conversation over 3,000 miles of water and 500 miles of land marked the culmination of three years of intensive experimentation. Other wireless telephone contacts during the year took place between London and Chicago, London and San Francisco, Paris and New York, Berlin and Buenos Aires. Two factors still prevent the general public use of the radiophone: the high cost of calls and the absence of privacy in reception.

The radio, the most recent of the major instruments of communication, has had a phenomenal growth, as shown by the following estimated figures:

TABLE V  
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF HOMES EQUIPPED WITH RADIO SETS, 1921-27\*

As of December 31	Number of Homes with Sets
1921 . . . . .	60,000
1922 . . . . .	1,500,000
1923 . . . . .	3,000,000
1924 . . . . .	4,000,000
1925 . . . . .	5,000,000
1926 . . . . .	6,500,000
1927 . . . . .	7,500,000

These estimates give a realization of the past and some indication of the probable future rapid growth of the radio. The only reliable statistics available are those for rural homes for 1925. The census then taken showed only 284,008 farms, or 4.5 per cent of the total farms in the country, with radio outfits. The percentage of farm homes with radio varied widely, or from 11.9 per cent in the New England states to 0.6 per cent in the east south-central states.<sup>4</sup>

The rôle of the radio in social life was discounted in an article appearing in 1927 in the *American Journal of Sociology* by M. D. Beuick, entitled "Limited Social Effects of Radio Broadcasting."<sup>5</sup> The radio, he believes, will have no more revolutionary effects than the phonograph upon our social institutions. But it undoubtedly

\* *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1926), p. 599.

<sup>5</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII (January, 1927), 615-22.

will have a greater future than the phonograph, if for no other reason than the fact that the radio does not transmit "dead" material as does the phonograph, but present and "living" events. The point that the radio transmits news and not merely entertainment should be kept in mind in any forecast of its future influence. How the radio will modify all our institutions, the family, the school, the church, politics, is already a subject of serious discussion and some experiment, and deserves study. Mention should also be made of the progress during 1927 of television and the possibilities opening up of combining long-distance hearing and seeing.

TABLE VI  
PUBLICATION OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS, 1909-25

YEAR	COPIES OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS	
	Number	Per Capita
1909.....	161,361,844	1.8
1914.....	175,166,698	1.9
1919.....	252,068,816	2.4
1921.....	325,950,620	3.0
1923.....	359,391,018	3.2
1925.....	433,211,253	3.8

The census reports on printing and publishing give statistics showing the growth of the circulation of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals. For the period from 1909 to 1925 the aggregate number of copies of books and pamphlets published is shown in Table VI.

In the sixteen-year period covered by this comparison the output of books per capita has been more than doubled, or from 1.8 to 3.8 copies.

The statistics on the publication of newspapers and periodicals offer the most significant comparisons which reveal the trend of changes taking place in our social life. The gains and losses in circulation of the different types of papers and periodicals undoubtedly reflect current changes in social organization (see Table VII).

It is estimated that during 1899-25 the population of the United States increased from 74,318,000 to 115,378,000, or 55.4 per cent. The weekly papers, which during the entire period have had the largest circulation per issue of any type of newspaper, gained

only 48.4 per cent, falling behind the increase in population. Relatively, moreover, the weekly paper, which prints local news, has lost heavily in comparison with the daily and Sunday papers. The latter, stressing regional, national, and world news, and representing metropolitan interests, have made rapid strides forward. The daily papers, with their special features, have gained 151.8 per cent in circulation, while the Sunday newspaper, with its emphasis upon manners and entertainment, doubled by 1925 the number of copies issued in 1904. Since 1914, while weekly papers have remained stationary in copies published, there has occurred a sharp decrease

TABLE VII  
CIRCULATION IN MILLIONS OF COPIES PER ISSUE OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Type	1899	1904	1909	1914	1919	1921	1923	1925
Daily.....	15.1*	19.6	24.2	28.8	33.0	32.3	35.7	38.0
Sunday.....		12.2	13.3	16.5	19.4	20.9	24.5	25.6
Triweekly.....	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4
Semiweekly.....	2.8	2.9	2.3	2.5	2.0	1.5	2.0	1.9
Weekly.....	34.2*	36.2	40.8	50.3	51.9	43.5	47.9	50.8
Monthly.....	37.9	64.3	63.3	79.2	91.7	83.5	91.7	111.9
Quarterly.....	11.1	11.7	16.1	18.9	18.9	21.7	22.2	22.8
All other.....	5.5	2.9	4.1	8.9	5.1	7.0	7.6	8.5

\* In 1899, statistics on Sunday newspapers were included in the figures for daily and weekly papers and not given separately.

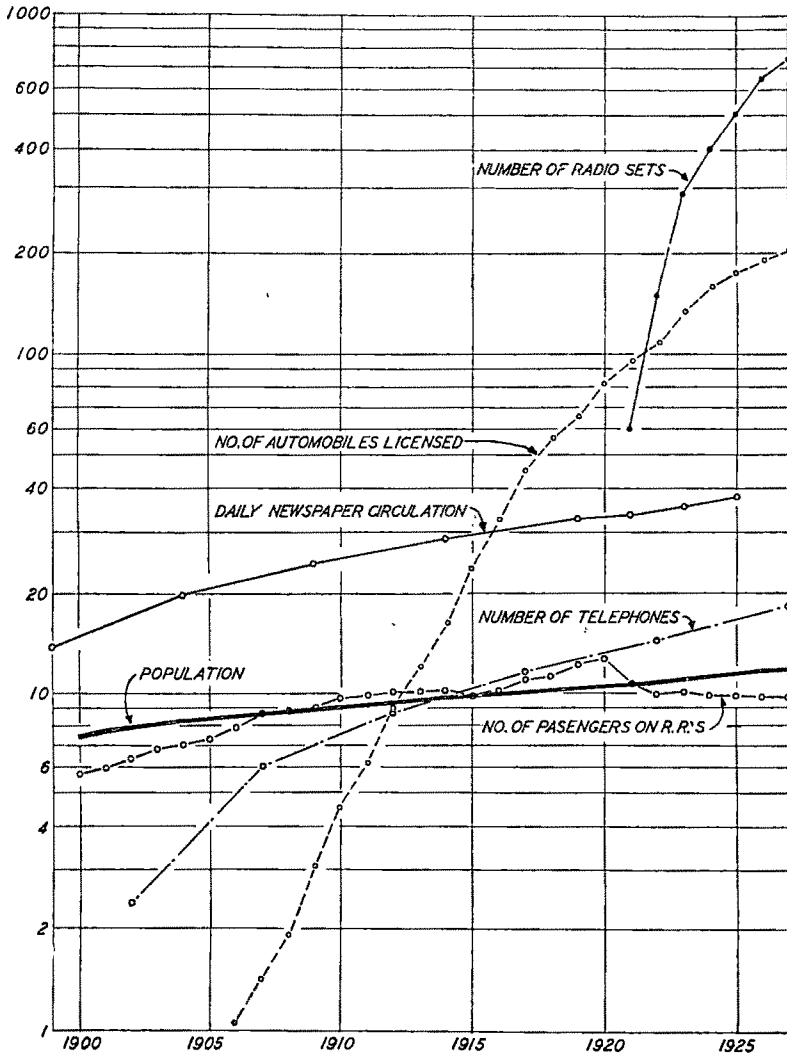
of 22.1 per cent in the circulation of semiweeklies, and of 27.1 per cent in the circulation of triweeklies. Quarterly journals, appealing in the main to specialized interest groups, doubled in circulation between 1899 and 1925, keeping well ahead of the population increase. The monthly magazines, with their national advertising, scored the largest gain with an increase of 195.4 per cent. The magazines issued in 1925 (111,875,957) are almost sufficient to provide a copy each month for every man, woman, and child in the United States (estimated population, 115,378,000). Between 1914 and 1925, however, while the population increased 17.8 per cent, the publication of weekly papers remained stationary; daily papers gained 32.2 per cent; monthly magazines, 41.3 per cent; and Sunday papers, 55.5 per cent. It is interesting to note that the number of daily papers (2,226 in 1899) reached their high point in 1909 (2,600) and declined to 2,280 in 1925.

A graphic representation of the differential increase in the fa-

cilities and use of certain of the different devices of communication is afforded by Chart I.

CHART I

RATES OF INCREASE OF DIFFERENT AGENCIES OF COMMUNICATION, OR THEIR USE, IN UNITED STATES, 1899-1927



The changes in the number or use of the different instruments of transportation and communication may be gauged with reference to the line of population increase. The line representing use

of railroad transportation remains closest to the trend of population, beginning below it, rising above it, and then sinking under it. The line of daily newspaper publication rises sharply above the line of population growth. For telephones, automobiles, and radio, the increase in number of units has been taken as roughly indicative of increase in their use. The lines of automobile and radio increase are most marked in comparison with population growth. The fact that the line of automobile development begins with 1906 does not mean the absence of automobiles before that date, but rather too small a number to be satisfactorily included.

This survey of the relation of communication to social change is only an introductory study. The main point stressed has been the rapidity of the growth of the facilities and use of the different devices of transportation and communication. The United States has led all the other countries in the world in their popular utilization. The assumption may, therefore, be made that the tempo of social change is greater in this country than elsewhere, and that social trends in American life reveal the forces creating the society of the future.

This interrelation of communication and social organization has only been suggested in this paper. If, as John Dewey states, society "may fairly be said to exist *in* communication," any changes in the means of communication should have tremendous effects upon the social order. That is, in fact, what is found. The railroad, for decades, has been an essential factor in massing people in industrial cities and in creating the conditions favorable for the development of urban culture. But the agricultural regions until recently remained almost unaffected by these social changes and preserved the inherited social order in isolated kinship communities.

But the automobile, by increasing the radius of movement, has, in conjunction with other factors, disrupted the traditional pattern of rural life and is drawing the farmer within the circle of participation in modern civilization. As a student of rural life observes, "Since 1900 rural life has been revolutionized more radically by

the rural free delivery, the telephone, the automobile, good roads, and the radio than in all the previous history of agriculture."<sup>6</sup>

But the process of civilization, now as always mediated by the prevailing modes of transportation and communication, does not operate uniformly for all countries of the world, nor for all regions within the United States, in undermining traditional society and in molding a modern social order. It follows, then, that it should be possible to measure for any country, region, or community, not only the rapidity of social change, but the process of civilization and the resulting stage of social organization, by the construction of an index number of communication which would give due weight to its different techniques.

<sup>6</sup> Dwight Sanderson, "The Relation of the Farmer to Rural and Urban Groups," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXII (1928), 98.

## GROUP AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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LEROY E. BOWMAN

Columbia University, and Secretary of the National Community Center Association

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### ABSTRACT

The year witnessed extension of activities, but few new forms or new organizations. Studies were chiefly devoted to self-appraisal and to questioning of aims and purposes. Modern pedagogical methods received more extensive application in the group organizing agencies, and "character building" was questioned in the light of recent studies. City and regional planning has become very extensive and is the dominant note in the provision of many municipal facilities, especially parks and playgrounds. Studies showed developments in a few specific fields: a growth in the number and bureaucracy of community centers; need of economic opportunities and recreational activities for young people in rural communities; beneficial results of prohibition reported by the settlements; continued growth in community chests but less rapid growth of amounts raised.

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"Extension of activities, rather than the initiation of new forms and re-examination of purposes"—in phrases of some such import can the development of the year 1927 best be summed up. It was a period in which a very few significant studies appeared, but they were of the nature of self-appraisals by the leaders in the groups involved. Few or no large organizations were started, and partly perhaps for that reason the attitudes expressed by leaders privately, in conferences and in publications, were slightly but noticeably less doctrinaire. Indications were reported by at least two directors of research in the field of group organizations that the year witnessed a study of methods, aims, and programs by group leaders in the light of recent developments in psychology and especially the scientific research into what has been called character building. This questioning on the part of the leaders of group work was apparently much more than a continuation of the trend in this direction in previous years; its acceleration amounted to a phenomenon of the year.

### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

In that field of social endeavor covering the local district or

community no new forms of organization were developed; in fact there appeared to be comparatively less interest in organization as such and more interest in processes and meanings.

1. *Settlements*.—The National Federation of Settlements reports “no striking changes,” but a continued interest in the lot of people in congested and less favored districts as their welfare relates to the effects of prohibition. A study made by the settlements (written by Mrs. Bruère and published by Harper) indicates that people are better fed and clothed despite rather serious unemployment. There are no careful studies to substantiate it, but there is a “consciousness” among settlement workers that the “old type of gang” is much less in evidence than formerly. It is a fact that the work of the settlements has been more largely devoted to the cultural activities, such as music, the arts, and dramatics.

2. *Community centers*.—A study of community centers in public schools, suggested, arranged, and formulated by the National Community Center Association, appeared under the title *The Community Use of Schools*.<sup>1</sup> The Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior sent 6,353 questionnaires to school principals, and replies were received to 2,729. The Association received information from 43 state university extension divisions, 49 state departments of public instruction, and 55 boards of education and recreation commissions.

It was revealed that 32 states and the District of Columbia have laws providing for the community use of school buildings. A general and steady increase in school centers is indicated, 55 per cent increase in the number of centers in cities of over 5,000 in the period from 1919 to 1924.

Control over 1,569 centers in 722 places reported upon rests in 61 per cent of the cases with boards of education, in 12 per cent with official recreation commissions; in 16 per cent the control is shared with private agencies; and in 11 per cent the control is in private organizations. In cities of over 5,000 population there is a greater proportion with municipal control; there is also a trend toward more control by official boards than in smaller communities. In 41 per cent of the cases the leaders are paid; in 42 per cent lead-

<sup>1</sup> By Eleanor T. Glueck (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1927).

ership is voluntary; in the remaining cases there are both paid and voluntary leaders. Taxes support 41 per cent of the centers; private funds, 21 per cent; and the remainder are supported in both ways. Three is the number of types of activities supported by the modal number of centers, and the activities, in order of the frequency in which they are found, are: athletics in 70 per cent of the cases; clubs in 50 per cent; entertainments, in 45 per cent; social meetings, in 44 per cent; lectures, 27 per cent; social occasions, 27 per cent; civic occasions, 23 per cent; dancing, 21 per cent; night schools, 18 per cent; co-operative activities, 13 per cent; quiet games, 12 per cent.

#### COMMUNITY RELATIONS OF RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE

A study was published by the University of Missouri College of Agriculture (*Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin 110*), by E. L. Morgan and Henry J. Burt, of the community relations of young people in four typical trade-area rural communities in the state of Missouri. The attitudes found among farmers, townspeople, business men, young people, and others were predominantly those of good will; there was some indifference and a negligible degree of ill will. Significant findings as summarized by the authors appear as follows:

1. Young people express a greater number of recreational-activity wishes (56 per cent) than any other kind, while the communities are providing a smaller number of recreational organizations (7 per cent) than any other type.

2. Young people express a smaller number of religious-activity wishes (3 per cent) than any other type, while the communities are providing a greater number of religious organizations (66 per cent) than any other type.

3. The conflict of the old and the new is evident in this study. The most numerous class of old people (the farmer group) expresses the most friendly attitude toward the church and the least friendly attitude toward play and recreation for young people. On the other hand, the young people express the least appreciation for the church and the greatest appreciation for play and recreation for young people.

4. The type of organization toward which young people express the fewest activity wishes (religious) is increasing in membership, while the type toward which they express the greatest number of activity wishes (recreational) is decreasing in membership.

5. Experience of village young people and country young people with environment other than their own tends to break down the preference for their own environment, but the tendency for country young people with village experience to prefer the village is stronger than the tendency of village young people with country experience to prefer the country.

6. The most frequent reasons why young people leave the rural communities are economic.

7. Assuming these findings to be fairly typical for the state, it would appear that the rural communities of Missouri must provide increased economic opportunities if they wish to check the migration of their young people, and must provide, above all, more numerous opportunities for recreational activities in order to satisfy the most generally expressed needs of the young people who remain.

#### CITY-WIDE FEDERATIONS OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

The movement toward co-ordination of social agencies has steadily continued, as has also the conflict between those who emphasize joint financing as the central idea in bringing together organizations (the "community chest" or "financial federation" group) and the less numerous advocates of slower and integrative effort toward mutual understanding (the "council of agencies" group), who would let joint financing develop *pari passu* with other forms of co-operation. During the year the organized effort to unite the 1,400 and more social agencies in New York City seems to have taken its place in the column of the latter group.

A change in name of the national organization of professional co-ordinators from "Association for Community Organization" to "Association of Community Chests and Councils" is in line with the general trend to clarify purposes. That association regards as the two outstanding developments of the year (1) "the quite general recognition of a greater responsibility for an adequate financ-

ing of social work programs and a consequent increase in the amount of money raised by the chests; and (2) a thoroughgoing research project to discover and establish a system of registering statistics of social service accurately."

Since 1922 the number of cities having community chests has increased rather steadily from 49 to 297, and the approximate total amount raised by these chests has increased, sharply at first and more slowly in the last three years, from \$23,656,000 to \$63,397,000. The rate of increase for the amount raised is thus about half the rate for the increase in number of cities. In 1926 the cities having chests numbered 251 and the amount raised was \$62,922,000.

Toward the close of the year the research project spoken of was agreed upon as a joint effort of the Association and a committee representing certain of the social science departments of the University of Chicago, each of the two groups contributing \$9,000 of the \$18,000 budget and seating representatives on the joint committee of control. This research project is a continuation of a study made in 1924 by Raymond Clapp and of an effort in 1926 by the Association to gather comparable statistics covering social work in forty cities. The study will concern itself largely with the volume of work done by social agencies, reported monthly to the study staff.

In the field of public city financing the National Institute of Public Administration, Bureau of Municipal Research says: "The most impressive advance which has come to our attention during this past year is the tendency to develop long-term community budgets through which the financing of city planning, civic centers, parks, playgrounds, and all other municipal developments are worked out in a practical fashion for a period of a decade or more. Programs of this sort have been prepared for Dallas, Texas, White Plains, New York, Detroit, Michigan, and a number of other places."

#### CITY PLANNING

Within the last twenty years practically the entire city-planning and zoning development has taken place. There are now 157 (or more) cities of population totaling over 16,000,000 that have been replanned. All but fifteen states have been affected. The fol-

lowing table shows the sizes of the cities that have developed city planning:

Number of Cities		Population	
2	.	1,000,000 and over	
1	.	500,000-1,000,000	
12	.	225,000- 500,000	
22	.	100,000- 225,000	
35	.	50,000- 100,000	
28	.	25,000- 50,000	
25	.	10,000- 25,000	
13	.	5,000- 10,000	
6	.	2,500- 5,000	
6	.	—2,500	

There are today 460 cities with zoning ordinances, and city-planning commissions exist in 390 cities, aggregating more than 30,000,000 population; and there are state planning commissions developing as federations of city commissions. In July the United States Department of Commerce, Division of Building and Housing, published *Zoning Progress in the United States*. Among other things, the report showed that forty-six states and the District of Columbia have laws permitting commissions to zone. Twenty-eight states used a large part or all of the "Standard State Zoning Enabling Act" issued by the department in 1924.

Zoning laws were upheld by the United States Supreme Court against an effort to erect a business building in Los Angeles, and in New York, where it was held the authorities could exclude certain buildings or regulate apartment building in areas affected.

Metropolitan and regional planning has developed rapidly, especially around the larger cities. The New York metropolitan district, suggested by the Merchants' Association of New York, was defined by the United States Census Bureau, which will furnish 1930 census figures according to the new boundaries, as well as the 1927 Census of Manufactures' figures. Instead of being bounded by a line 10 miles from the limits of the city and parallel to them, the new district extends in a circle 40 miles from the city hall out on Long Island, up state into Westchester and Rockland counties and into New Jersey, covering 3,768 square miles and a population of 9,472,500. The new area is important also as a unit for reasons

of transit and recreation purposes. Industrial reasons control the efforts of the past year of more than a half-hundred cities to urge the setting up of boundaries for metropolitan regions according to which census figures are asked.

An international zone is proposed by the Niagara Frontier Planning Board, and in Philadelphia a tri-state district is under consideration.

#### PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

It has been said that these regional planning schemes are connected with a growing demand on the part of our urbanized population for non-urban conditions, or at least a demand for the space of open and wooded areas. At least there is an increasing demand for extra-urban parks, country parks, regional parks, and municipal parks outside city boundaries. New York is developing state and interstate parks; other notable instances occur in New Jersey, in Illinois in the Cook County Forest Preserve, and in the Rockford County Park System, also in the large extra-urban park of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

During 1927 the *Park Manual*, a huge survey of parks and playgrounds in parks throughout the country, was prepared of material collected in previous years. In its many pages can be detected much evidence of an increased willingness on the part of boards of education, park boards, and public recreation boards to plan co-operatively in securing and utilizing properties. The Playground and Recreation Association, which conducted the park study, reported as two of the newest developments an emphasis on home play and nature study.

Advance figures from the 1927 *Recreation Yearbook of the Playground and Recreation Association of America* show increases in the expenditures for recreation and in the number of workers (see Table I). Table II shows the increase in league activities in 1927 over 1928.

It should be noted that the increase in number of leagues in 1927 over 1926 is accounted for in large measure by the increased number of cities reporting. The total number of leagues reported for 1927 is 8,424; total number of teams, 61,545; of players, 1,134,907; of spectators, 25,671,879. Figures for both 1927 and

1926 showing the number of teams, players, and spectators for each type of league listed shows an increase proportionate in general to the number of leagues in each year.

No figures for 1927 are available at this writing for the other items in the 1927 *Yearbook*. A few items are here listed, however,

TABLE I

Item	1927 (Dollars)	1926 (Dollars)
Total expenditures.....	32,191,763.32	19,202,123.25
Land, buildings, and permanent equipment.....	15,184,034.96	5,498,090.65
Upkeep and supplies.....	4,432,361.18	2,857,529.16
Salaries.....	8,471,944.61	8,222,845.74
Total paid workers.....	19,825	17,090
Men.....	8,926	.....
Women.....	10,899	.....
Year-round workers.....	2,802	2,905
Volunteer workers.....	7,025	8,625
Men.....	3,535	.....
Women.....	3,490	.....

TABLE II

Item	Leagues 1927	Number of Cities 1927	Leagues 1926	Number of Cities 1926
Baseball leagues.....	2,060	536	1,425	420
Volley ball.....	1,115	350	861	285
Playground ball.....	2,054	357	1,610	274
Football.....	338	154	301	139
Soccer leagues.....	390	132	283	103
Quoits and horseshoe.....	583	287	542	191
Bowling.....	194	73	174	70
Basket-ball.....	1,690	345	1,302	289

to indicate the general extent of recreation provision in 1926. Presumably an increase comparable to the increases in the known items will be revealed when the other figures are known. In 1926 there were 479 public agencies conducting recreation, 275 cities reporting private agencies, and 17 cities with combined departments. The funds were supplied in 392 cities by the municipality, in 139 cities by private agencies, in 221 cities by both. In 1926 790 cities reported an increase of 288 cities over the number in 1921. There were 10,123 separate play areas, an increase over 1921 of 1,515. One hundred and twenty-five cities reported 5,073 workers in train-

ing; 65 cities reported 3,094 volunteers in training. There were 5,600 playgrounds in 704 cities, 1,669 indoor recreation centers in 240 cities, 35 community houses, and 276 bathing beaches in 157 cities.

The presidential address of C. C. Hieatt before the National Association of Real Estate Boards, representing 677 boards in as many communities, in October, made as the chief plea before that body the setting aside by "realtors," in laying out new subdivisions, of plots for playgrounds as a matter of good business and of social responsibility. The note of city planning was dominant in the discussion. That note has often been sounded in 1927 in the programs of several playground groups in different cities. The Harmon Foundation had attracted attention to this plan for playground provision before, and has announced for 1928 awards amounting to \$40,000 for the purpose of improving plots set aside by real estate developers in this way. The year 1927 has revealed that city authorities are often loath to accept a piece of raw acreage in a neighborhood sparsely settled, and the effort is being made now to tempt them with beautified spots.

Planning for a city, a county, or a region involving several cities and counties and even parts of states has been a watchword of much greater potency during the year. It has stimulated officials, private social and civic agencies, and even business men and organizations to plan more widely, more permanently, and more socially.

#### GROUP ACTIVITIES

Studies in the formation of character traits have, during the year and before, thrown great doubts on many of the former assumptions of the "character building" agencies. These studies indicate that the behavior called honest or fair or noble or what not in any given situation may not be carried over into another. As a result some organizations and leaders conducting clubs, scout troupes, and the like, have questioned fundamentally their technique as well as their whole program of activities. Partly from this cause, certain studies are in progress, among them an extensive inquiry by the Boy Scouts of America to determine what results scouting activities bring about in boys' natures and characters, and a study by the Welfare Council in New York City of the activities

carried on by the settlements. Principles of the newer education, according to steps taken during the year, seem to have created determination in the Y.M.C.A. and the Girl Scouts, and possibly other organizations, to reorganize camping and club programs on lines more in accord with "liberal" principles of education.

The national council of the Girl Scouts voted to change the uniform from the khaki to a gray-green, because the general public associates with the khaki and the style the idea that girl scouting is militaristic.

In support of the general argument presented here we quote Jane Deeter Rippin, director of the Girl Scouts, who, writing of developments of the year and relating them to past years, says:

It seems to me that the great progress which has been made in Girl Scouting since the close of the war is in thinking through the fundamentals, the aims and objectives of Girl Scouting, we have come to several concrete decisions. First, that Girl Scouting is a way of life and that as leaders, our objective should be to develop those qualities of mind and body that make for happiness and creative effort now and in future years. Second, that the Girl Scout program in its entirety gives girls a training which will instill in them friendliness, faith and courage in thought and action, and a sensitiveness to the happiness of others through service to them.

#### CONCLUSION

For the whole field of social endeavor covered by the paragraphs preceding, it seems fair to say the year saw no great changes, but steady extensions all along the line, together with several inquiries into aims and results. There was a decidedly greater emphasis on planning for more extensive areas for industrial growth and for recreation, and more planning for the future. There also occurred an impact of the liberal educational principles that begins to take form in changed programs of group organizing agencies.

## RURAL LIFE

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JOHN M. GILLETTE

Professor of Sociology, University of North Dakota

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### ABSTRACT

*Farm population.*—An evaluation of American farm conditions and processes during recent years reveals that the farm population has decreased by more than 4,000,000 between 1910 and 1928, and that in general cities gained heavily at the expense of the country. *Economic situation.*—In economic directions, our farmers have not sustained their pre-war position as compared with urban businesses. Relatively farm wealth declined, the prices of farm products did not keep pace with the cost of living, farm indebtedness increased, and taxes became more burdensome. *Social conditions.*—Farmers of the United States doubtlessly made gains in certain cultural directions and in growth of associations, but were perhaps losers in neighborhood solidarity.

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### GAINS OF FARMING POPULATIONS IN CIVILIZATION

In this article we shall deal with the participation of rural communities, and more particularly farming peoples, wherever possible in the gains of civilization in recent years. Because of the lack of statistical data covering the year 1927 on most matters considered it will be necessary to satisfy ourselves with a view of the tendencies which have been operative during very recent times.

During the course of our national history, until recently, the United States often has had a rapidly and at all times a steadily increasing farm population. The country was being settled, new farm lands were being taken up, agriculture was the dominant industry by far, and manufacture was relatively secondary. Beginning with 1910, however, our nation has witnessed a growing decline in the number of farming inhabitants. The farming population numbering 32,076,000 in 1910 and only 27,699,000 on January 1, 1928. The decrease between 1910 and 1920 was 1.4 per cent; between 1920 and 1925, it was 8.3 per cent. During 1925 the decrease was 1.5 per cent; during 1926, 2.3 per cent; and during 1927, 0.7 per cent. At the same time the national population was making a substantial increase and the urban population was growing by leaps and bounds. As a consequence of this situation the

farm population is shrinking rapidly relatively to the national population. In 1910 it was 35 per cent and in 1920 it was only 29.9 per cent of the total national population.

There has been an increase of white farmers since 1900. At that date there were 4,970,000, and in 1920, 5,498,000. There was also an increase of colored farmers from 768,000 in 1900 to 950,000 in 1920. Meanwhile the number of foreign-born white farmers decreased from 670,000 in 1910 to 581,000 in 1920.

The decline in the number of inhabitants on farms would indicate a movement away from the farm, the alternative being an excess of deaths over births. In reality, however, there is a very large natural increase among farmers, or at least in the rural districts in which the farming population is the majority population. Thus, in the decade 1910-20 there was a natural increase of over 7,000,000 in the rural population, whereas the census recorded a gain of only 1,600,000. The estimated shift from rural districts to cities for the decade ending 1910 was more than 4,500,000. Probably about 66 per cent of this was from farms, as farmers constituted that percentage of rural inhabitants on the average during that decade. According to this figure, the migration from farms would have been nearly 3,000,000 persons. In like manner the estimated shift from rural to urban communities for the decade ending 1920 was nearly 6,500,000 persons. Since about an average of 63 per cent of the rural population was on farms during that decade, we may think that about 63 per cent of the migrants were agriculturists, a sum of about 4,100,000.

A review of the census figures relating to farm populations for 1925 and subsequent years warrants the conclusion that migration from farms since 1920 has gone on at a still more rapid pace than previously to that date. Were the migration sustained for a decade, the transfer of inhabitants from farms alone would amount to perhaps 5,000,000 for the decade ending 1930.

According to information issued by the Department of Agriculture, all of the nine divisions of the United States registered a net loss of farm population during the year 1926. During the next year, however, two divisions, the South Atlantic and East South Central, recorded a net increase. These facts would seem to indi-

cate that depopulation in farming districts is actual and widespread throughout the nation. We may secure a conception of the universality of this thinning out of the farm population by referring to the figures for townships. My study of about 3,000 townships whose populations were chiefly farmers, such townships being located in seventeen states distributed throughout the nation, shows that over 60 out of every 100 townships had fewer inhabitants in 1920 than in 1910. New York state stood highest, with about 94 per cent of its townships suffering a decline, while North Carolina was lowest, with slightly over 34 per cent of its townships so affected.

A consideration of the facts of the economic life of the nation since 1910 brings out the fact that the nation as a whole has enjoyed great prosperity throughout most of this period, and that farmers shared in this good fortune until about 1920, but since then have met disaster. The wealth of the nation was about \$175,000,000,000 in 1910; about \$300,000,000,000 in 1920; and is estimated as being \$400,000,000,000 now. The wages of the industrial workers have been good during most of that period and have kept pace with the rising cost of living. On the other hand, the wealth of the farmer is little greater than it was in 1910, and is much less than it was in 1920. In billions of dollars the total wealth of farmers at successive dates was as follows: 40.9 in 1910, 52.0 in 1913, 77.9 in 1920, and 57.0 in 1925. Thus there was a decrease of 26.8 per cent in farm wealth between 1920 and 1925. In that period land values went off 31 per cent, implement and machinery values 25 per cent, and live-stock values 39.2 per cent. But since in that period wholesale prices fell 30 per cent, the farmers' real wealth in these commodities, that is, wealth measured in terms of the purchasing power of money, probably fell little, if any. During the period 1913-25 all forms of wealth of farmers increased 9.6 per cent, land alone 3.8 per cent, buildings alone 50 per cent, implements and machinery alone 35 per cent, while live-stock values decreased 16.2 per cent. While farm wealth was increasing less than 10 per cent, the national wealth increased over 50 per cent.

Since we desire to measure the farmer's advance in several directions other than the one we have just considered, it will be well to adopt a measuring device which we may apply to the item of

wealth and also to other factors to be treated. This is the cost of living. And we will employ the retail prices in the cities of the various sections, rather than wholesale prices, as the basis of the index of cost of living, for this is nearer than anything else we have to the farmer, and as it is also close to the mass of the consumers, it should be representative. The food index constructed by the federal government includes 51 cities; that for clothing, housing, fuel and life, furniture and furnishing, and miscellaneous comprises nineteen cities for the years 1913-17 and twenty-three cities thereafter.

The year 1913 is the basic year of the index, the index of that year representing 100. Thereafter, the more important combined index was as follows: December, 1914, 103; June, 1920, 216.5; March, 1923, 168.8; December, 1925, 177.9. Thus the cost of living rose 116.5 per cent between 1913 and 1920, decreased 22 per cent between the latter date and March, 1923, and then increased slightly over 5 per cent by December, 1925.

It thus appears that farmers were purchasing commodities in 1920 at an advance of 116.5 per cent over prices of 1913, and in 1925 at a 78 per cent advance over 1913. Meanwhile we remember that the farmers' wealth increased only about 10 per cent between 1913 and 1925.

The farmer has been selling commodities at the same time he has been purchasing commodities. He makes a living for himself and family by producing crops and stocks, fruits and dairy products, and selling these in local and world-markets. He feeds the world, the nation, the city, and in that sense is the primary producer. How has he fared in marketing his goods? Has he, like the manufacturer, been able to enjoy a great increase in the price of his goods and then comfortably sustain a slowly descending price while the forces after the Great War were settling themselves?

We shall employ the government's indices of farm prices in order to make out a case. They are made up by combining the indices of a great many commodity prices, the price of commodities being the price at the farm. Let us regard the index of all the products.

The combined index in 1914 was 102. The highest point since was reached in 1919, at 209. The lowest point since was reached in

1921, the index being 105. Then began an advance to 116 in 1921, 143 in December, 1925, and 147 for the year 1925. Of course there were variations among the indices of the different commodities, but we need not go into those details. It is observed that the combined price of farm commodities advanced 101 per cent between 1914 and 1920, 44 per cent between 1914 and 1925, and declined 28.2 per cent between 1920 and 1925. Meanwhile the farmer's cost of living advanced 116.5 per cent between 1913 and 1920, and 78 per cent between 1913 and 1925. Consequently it is evident that up to this point the farmer is not a gainer but a loser in the nation's economic prosperity.

The record of indebtedness of farmers enters into this picture of farmers and prosperity. The writer knows of no sufficient information relating to farmers' short-time loans and indebtedness. But the federal government gathers and publishes numerous data relating to mortgages on agricultural lands and buildings. The following is a review of the essential facts pertaining to owned farms since 1910:

The number of farms reporting the amount of indebtedness on land and buildings increased 13.5 per cent between 1900 and 1910, 18.5 per cent between 1910 and 1920, and 16.9 per cent during the half decade 1920-25, the number reporting in 1925 being 1,395,026. In billions of dollars the value of mortgaged owned farms in 1910 was 6.3; in 1920, 13.8; and in 1925, 10.8. But in terms of 1910 dollars, as measured by their purchasing power as determined from the wholesale price index, that is, in terms of dollars of constant purchasing power, the mortgages in billions of dollars were: in 1910, 6.3, in 1920, 6.1, and in 1925, 7.4.

The amount of mortgaged indebtedness on farms in billions of dollars was 1.07 in 1900, 1.7 in 1910, an increase of 58.9 per cent; 4.0 in 1920, a gain of 131.9 per cent; and 4.5 in 1925, an increase of 12.8 per cent. Taking 1913 as a basis of reckoning, when the amount of farm mortgages was about 2.4 billion dollars, the increase in such indebtedness by 1920 was 66.1 per cent, and by 1925 it was 87.7 per cent. The ratio of amount of indebtedness to value of farm in 1910 was 27.3; in 1920 it was 29.1; and in 1925 it was 41.9. And lest we forget we will recall that the cost of living

mounted 116.5 per cent between 1913 and 1920 and 78 per cent between 1913 and 1925.

Farmers, like others who own property, are subject to taxation for the support of the government. The taxes of farmers have followed about the same course regarding ascension and descension as the cost of living and amount of mortgage. Taking the taxes of 1914 as 100, the farmers' taxes of 1920 represented about 155, and those of 1923, about 246. There had been no descension up to the time of the latest record. Further, there is no indication that farmers have been able to free themselves of the incidence of the tax. To do so, land would have to change hands and the purchaser would have to pay the tax in the added price of the land. But little land has changed hands since 1910. The falling price of farm commodities is evidence that the taxes were not passed along to consumers.

There are several million hired laborers connected with farming, and they deserve our consideration. How did they fare while the cost of living was soaring and the farm owners were suffering reverses? With 1910-14 as 100, the index of farm labor wages in 1915 was 102, 239 in 1920, 150 in 1921, 166 in 1924, and 168 in 1925. Farm wages increased 139 per cent between 1913 and 1920, 68 per cent between 1913 and 1925, and 12 per cent between 1921 and 1925. There was a decline of 37 per cent between 1920 and 1921. The increase in wages between 1915 and 1920 was 1.3 times that of the cost of living. During the next year the decline in wages was 3.6 times that in cost of living. From that year to 1925, wages increased 8.6 times as fast as the cost of living. Between 1913 and 1925 wages increased 68 per cent while the cost of living increased 78 per cent. Agricultural laborers lost ground during the period considered, but came off better than farm owners.

In face of the foregoing facts no one can doubt that the farmer has suffered great and inequitable financial losses since 1920 in all directions. There has been much talk for several years of applying remedies. So far, opinions as to what should be done point to legislation and to self-help by co-operation. The legislative proposals chiefly concern the agricultural surplus. Of the many surplus measures introduced in Congress, the McNary-Haugen bill has received

the most attention. It was passed by both houses of Congress but was vetoed by the president. It is now again before Congress in a somewhat modified form.

It may be doubted whether legislation of that nature would accomplish all that its proponents claim. The most logical procedure would be to control production so that the surplus would have less weight in determining market prices of farm commodities. The international co-operation of farm organizations would be necessary to accomplish this. Consequently it may not be attainable. Meanwhile, surplus legislation is worth trying with the hope that it may be of some benefit.

Farmers' co-operative organizations increased from 5,424 in 1915 to 10,803 in 1925, an increase of 99 per cent. The estimated membership grew from 651,185 in 1915 to 2,700,000 in 1925, a gain of 314 per cent. The estimated amount of business grew from \$635,839,000 to \$2,400,000,000 during the ten years ending 1925, representing an increase of 277 per cent. This looks favorable, and is. But we should see the wreckages of co-operative organizations which have run a short career and died. The majority of the grain growers' associations, for example, enjoyed but a very short life. We must know such facts or our enthusiastic judgment of salvation by co-operation may lead us into great error.

Of all the commodity associations, that devoted to live stock made the greatest gains in number of associations, membership, and amount of business done. Of the nine divisions, the West North Central and the Pacific states do the greatest amount of business through agricultural co-operatives. But the East South Central and the West South Central divisions showed the greatest growth in number of organizations, membership, and amount of business done during the ten years ending 1925.

Farm tenancy of the unregulated, uneconomical type peculiar to the United States continues to increase. The percentage of tenant farms increased from 25.6 in 1880 to 38.6 in 1925, a gain of 50.1 per cent. Since 1910 the rate of increase has been less than it was before, the increase being from 37 in 1910 to 38.6 in 1925. In 1900, 23.3 per cent, and in 1920, 27.7 per cent, of all land in farms was rented, an increase of 13.2 per cent.

The greatest gain in farm tenancy between 1880 and 1925 occurred in the West North Central and the West South Central divisions, the percentages of increase being 84 and 68, respectively. In New England, the Middle Atlantic, and Pacific division, farm tenancy decreased during that time. Similarly, the greatest increase in acreage tenancy took place in the West North Central and West South Central divisions between 1900 and 1920, the percentages of increase being 35.6 and 58.5, respectively. Two divisions, New England and Middle Atlantic, showed a considerable decline in acreage tenancy.

The number of white farm tenants increased 27.4 per cent between 1900 and 1910, but only 1.1 per cent between 1910 and 1920. Negro renters increased 21.4 per cent during the first of these decades, and 4.9 per cent during the latter.

It is rather apparent that profound changes are taking place in rural society. Both the texture of rural communities as well as the relations between farmers and non-agricultural communities are being transformed. The thinning out of farm population by reason of migration to cities and elsewhere has, in some places, undermined association and close neighboring. Now the wide use of automobiles by farmers has still further reduced neighborliness and neighboring, disintegrated many of the old local communities, and replaced them by interest communities of larger diameter with centers in the larger towns.

Another factor which promises to be even more disturbing of rural populations is what may be called giant farm machinery. The advent of a new type of farm machinery, along with the automobile, promises as revolutionary changes in agriculture and farm life as was brought about by the appearance of the improved plows, seeders, harrows, cultivators, harvesters, and threshers of last century. Besides other effects, the improved machinery of last century, co-operating with the railway, steamship, and telegraph, made possible expansive farming, rapid settlement of the prairies, and world-marketing of agricultural products. The new tractor-driven big machines, such as planters and cultivators that plant and cultivate three or four rows at a time instead of one, harrows and seeders functioning on a similar scale, the "combine" which cuts

and threshes grain in one operation, and other kindred machines will place a premium on large-scale farming, or agriculture of the factory type. In certain areas with favorable kinds of crops it is possible that it may replace family farming of the small kind by capitalistic, hired-hand agriculture. In grain raising, farming could be done at two operations, one at seeding and the other at harvesting time. With the presence of improved roads and powerful, speedy automobiles and busses it would be possible for farmers and farm hands to live in distant centers and to carry on certain kinds of farming from there. But evidently many kinds of agriculture, such as dairying, tobacco growing, poultrying, live-stock raising, and the like could not be operated by this machine, long-distance method.

There are multitudes of conditions affecting marriage and the family today many of which play upon farm families. They affect the proportion of the sexes married, the age at which marriage takes place, the size of families, and the divorce rate. The census data of recent decades indicate that farmers are not postponing marriage and that a larger proportion of rural than of urban inhabitants get married. However the average size of the family is diminishing, as is the case with urbanites, though at a less rate.

Available data indicate that the urban divorce rate is much higher than among farm populations. A study made by the writer of the ratio of marriages to divorce in the great cities and in ten non-urban counties in each of eight representative states for the year 1925 shows that the rate among farmers is only about half that among inhabitants of great cities.

There have been gains made in farming districts in several other important directions. In many sections of our nation the equipment on farms, including house, home equipment, and conveniences, barns, silos, and other outdoor improvements is steadily advancing. Rural schools, likewise, have made gains in the direction of a lengthened school year in certain states, readjusted curriculum in others, standardization in some, heightened qualification of teachers generally, improved supervision, and consolidation of small inefficient schools into larger, efficient ones.

Rural society is being scientifically investigated as never be-

fore. The national Department of Agriculture has made many valuable special researches into the phases of agricultural economics. It has also fostered numerous investigations of farm populations and the standard of living among farmers. The state universities and agricultural colleges, especially the latter, have conducted excellent surveys of rural communities in state after state. The result of all this investigative work is to give the rural social sciences a more adequate foundation which will ultimately prove beneficial to farmers. The Purnell bill passed by Congress in 1925 promises much for agriculture and farm life. It provides that all experimental stations should receive \$20,000 in federal aid in 1926 and that this should be increased annually until in 1930 such stations will receive \$60,000 each. This is to promote research and experimentation in the fields of production, use, distribution, and marketing of agricultural products, to stimulate the agricultural industry, and provide for surveys and investigation of rural communities with a view to their improvement.

## THE FAMILY

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ERNEST R. GROVES

Research Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina

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### ABSTRACT

The history of the family is difficult to trace for a single year. It is impossible to record even the major events without the co-operation of correspondents representing various sections. Statistics are meager for one year. The divorce rate is still increasing. The farm family appears to be slowly decreasing. The federal legislation of greatest importance has been the continuation of the Sheppard-Towner Act. Several states illustrate the disposition to make marriage more difficult. The increased interest in parental education has been a marked feature. Studies of family problems attest the desire to know the facts. The general social trend has been toward recognizing the small family as the American standard. Popular interest has been fixed on the discussion of Lindsey's *Companionate Marriage*.

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It is difficult to summarize the history of the family for a single year. Statistics, meager at best, are almost not to be had for a year-period so recent. If the study is made to include all that pertains to the family life, it becomes too broad and intrudes into other fields of interest. If narrowed unduly, it fails to give an accurate interpretation. It is especially difficult to follow the family development in the various states, and I wish to express my appreciation for the co-operation of sociologists in different sections whose help has made this summary possible.<sup>1</sup>

### STATISTICS

The only statistical statement regarding marriages and divorces for 1927 yet issued is a report concerning Delaware, and shows an increase in marriages and a decrease in divorces over last year (see Table I).

The report of all the states for 1926 was given to the public near the close of 1927, and in brief was as follows:

. . . . There were 1,202,079 marriages performed in the United States during the year 1926, as compared with 1,188,334 in 1925. These figures represent an increase of 13,745 marriages, or 1.2 per cent. The relative increase

<sup>1</sup> I especially wish to acknowledge the assistance given me in collecting information by Ruth M. Lindquist, graduate student at the University of North Carolina.

was somewhat less than the estimated increase in the population, which amounted to 1.5 per cent.

During the year 1926 there were 180,868 divorces granted in the United States, as compared with 175,449 in 1925, representing an increase of 5,419, or 3.1 per cent. There were 3,823 marriages annulled in 1926, this being the first year for which statistics of annulments were collected.

The estimated population of the United States on July 1, 1926, was 117,136,000, and on July 1, 1925, 115,378,000. On the basis of these estimates the number of marriages per 1,000 of the population was 10.26 in 1926, as against 10.30 in 1925; and the number of divorces per 1,000 of the population was 1.54 in 1926, as against 1.52 in 1925.

TABLE I

## DELAWARE

	MARRIAGES		DIVORCES	
	1927	1926	1927	1926
Total number in the state . . . . .	1,154	1,109	163	202
Number per 1,000 of the population . .	4.7	4.6	0.67	0.84

Other states showing considerable decreases in the number of divorces were New Hampshire, with a decrease of 7.2 per cent; Wyoming, with a decrease of 6.3 per cent; Nevada, with a decrease of 5.6 per cent; and Mississippi, with a decrease of 4.4 per cent. Other states showing considerable increases include California, with an increase of 13.6 per cent; North Dakota, with an increase of 10 per cent; Vermont, with an increase of 9.7 per cent; New Jersey, with an increase of 8.8 per cent; and Kentucky, with an increase of 8.3 per cent.

The statistics of the number of marriages per 1,000 of the total population (estimated for intercensal years) show very little change, as is indicated by the following figures:

1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10.7
1922	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10.3
1923	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	11.1
1924	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10.5
1925	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10.2
1926	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10.3

On the other hand, the number of divorces per 100,000 of the general population continues to show an increase, with no year showing a decrease, as is indicated by the following figures:

1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	113
1922	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	136
1923	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	149
1924	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	152
1925	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	152
1926	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	154

These rates of divorce for 100,000 population may be slightly in error, owing to the difficulty of determining the population of the United States for each of these years, the number of divorces being quite accurate. It is of some interest, therefore, to compare the ratio of the number of divorces per year with the number of marriages per year. This is done in the following figures, which show the number of marriages to every ten divorces:

1916	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	93
1922	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	76
1923	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	74
1924	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	69
1925	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	67
1926	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	66

The divorce rate, which has been tabulated ever since the Civil War, continues to show a rapid annual gain, and there is, so far, no evidence of an approaching decline.

Professor Galpin, of the United States Department of Agriculture, reports that "there is a statistical presumption that the farm family is slowly decreasing in number of members in all states." He also says: "The farm population per farm in the United States: census of 1910, 5.04; census of 1920, 4.90; census of 1925, 4.55. The overpopulation of farms being somewhat generally recognized may prove a deterrent to farm birth-rate. Some parts of rural Germany I found had reached a stable equilibrium of farm population."

#### LEGISLATION

One of the most important appropriations of Congress was that providing for the continuation until June 30, 1929, of the Shep-

pard-Towner Act designed to promote the welfare of mothers and infants.

Amendments and new laws in several states seem to indicate a desire to make the marriage contract a more difficult one to enter. Pennsylvania forbids the granting of a license to all under sixteen; Minnesota has raised the minimum age at which girls may marry to sixteen, with the exception of those not less than fifteen who have received the consent of their parents. In New York a similar law requires the consent of parents for girls between fourteen and sixteen, and another prevents the justices of the peace from acting as celebrants of civil marriages if the boy is under eighteen or the girl under sixteen. All persons under twenty-one years of age are required to wait five days after applying for a license before they may obtain it. Connecticut also stipulates a five-day period for all applicants, regardless of age, while in California the period is a three-day one. In North Carolina a physical examination is now a requirement for both contracting parties, and the conditions under which the examination is carried out are specified.

Nevada has cut the period of residence which is necessary for persons applying for a divorce from six to three months. In New Jersey the waiting period between the preliminary hearing and the final divorce decree has been reduced from six to three months.

Laws regarding the sterilization of the unfit for the prevention of their reproduction were passed by Idaho, Indiana, New Jersey, and North Dakota. During the year Kansas had experience in administering such a law, and the operation of the California law was studied by Paul Popenoe, who is now giving us valuable reports based on this investigation. In passing on the constitutionality of a Virginia statute, the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision upholding sterilization in a case where there had been three generations of imbeciles.

In Tennessee an act providing for an appropriation to combat venereal diseases was passed.

The legal status of married women has been altered in New Jersey by several measures. Contracts may now be made independently of the husband; dower and curtesy rights of one-half of the estate of the deceased member hold true for both widows and

widowers. A Double Domicile Act gives to married women the right to establish their domicile for the purpose of voting, taxation, and other civic matters. According to a new statute in North Dakota, married women may now serve as administrators of estates.

Laws relating to women and children that have a special bearing on the family embrace a wide variety of subjects. Revisions of the mothers' pensions acts have been made in Delaware, Nebraska, and Montana. In Missouri and New Jersey the practice of midwifery has had new regulations imposed. A plea for annulment of the adoption may be made in Iowa by foster parents if an adopted child develops insanity or venereal disease within five years after adoption.

An eight-hour day for women working in certain specified industries has become a law in Arizona, and a forty-eight-hour week for women has received favorable action by the legislature of New York. The latter, however, permits overtime under certain conditions. In North Carolina an eight-hour day for children under sixteen has been passed, affecting only those children beyond the fourth grade.

Penalties for maintaining houses of prostitution were provided in Michigan and Washington. In New York the Gedney birth control bill sponsored by women's organizations in the state was defeated.

#### EDUCATION

The interest in adult education, especially along the lines of home management, child study, and parenthood, increased in 1927. The following statement shows the scope of the work and the number of individuals reached by only one of the national agencies for such education, the States Relations Service of the United States Department of Agriculture: "The work among the farm women related to foods, nutrition, clothing, house furnishings, home management, health and demonstrations of improved home practices, and 14,800 community clubs with 285,000 members were conducted. As a general result of the activities of the extension forces and the farm people associated with them, over

4,000,000 instances of the adoption of improved farm and home practices were reported."<sup>2</sup>

When the National Association for Organizing Family Social Work met in Buffalo in October to celebrate the semicentennial anniversary of the founding of the first organization in America for family welfare, Frank J. Bruno, chairman of the Committee of Organization, stated the objective of the conference in the following words: "It is an attempt to focus on the contemporary family whatever light is available from the various sciences, disciplines, and skills of the present day." The Kansas Conference of Social Work gave its entire program to a discussion of family problems.

In March the first American Homes Congress was held in Des Moines under the auspices of the American Home Department of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and delegates from local clubs all over the country represented their groups in a discussion of the present-day American home. Of more than national significance was the fifth Pan-American Congress, held in Havana, Cuba, in December for the purpose of promoting in the Americas a program which will maintain and safeguard conditions for wholesome child development. The section on the family of the American Sociological Society demonstrated by both its program and attendance a vigorous and increasing interest in the scientific study of the family and its problems.

Much literature relating to marriage and the home in magazine and book form appeared during the year. The *Survey*, the *Family*, and *Progressive Education* are among the periodicals which have devoted an entire issue to one or more phases of the modern family. *Children, the Magazine for Parents* rapidly increased its circulation, and by the end of the year reached journalistic security.

Most significant, perhaps, was the notable addition of courses on the family in normal schools and colleges and experiments in pre-marriage education. The second session of the Vassar Institute of Euthenics continued the success of the preceding year. The Parenthood Conference of Southern California at Los Angeles revealed an interest surprising even to its promoters. A similar con-

<sup>2</sup> A. C. True, "Extension in 1927," *Journal of the American Association of University Women*, April, 1928.

ference for the Northwest held at St. Paul was also a great success. At the Merritt-Palmer School at Detroit was held an unusual conference on home problems attended by specialists.

#### STUDIES

In 1927 the growth of interest in the investigation of the family was attested by studies finished, continued, and started.<sup>3</sup> In New York City, under the auspices of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, Dr. D. V. Hamilton proceeded with his investigation of the marriage experience of a hundred married men and a hundred married women. Successful marriages, relatively neglected previously, received attention in a study started by Mrs. C. G. Woodhouse, of the Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, and in an investigation begun at the Institute of Social Research at the University of North Carolina. The publishing of the report of the League of Nations on traffic in women and children was a notable event.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The following social conditions as related to the family appear true of 1927. In the cities architecture continued its adjustment to the no-child type of family, and in the villages and suburbs we had, according to the testimony of real estate agents, an increased demand for small houses adapted to the childless or the small family. The employment of married women in all-day jobs increased. The progressive school authorities showed a disposition to remove their regulations preventing married women from teaching, and even, as in Washington, D. C., to allow married teachers, in cases of pregnancy, to hold their jobs while taking the necessary absence.

The attack on the morals of youth abated somewhat, and popular interest turned to suggestions for marriage reform. In an agitation for divorce by mutual consent, former Judge Ben Lindsey took a spectacular place, and by calling this a companionate marriage, introduced a new term into the newspaper vocabulary, at the same time destroying the precision of "companionate marriage" as previously used in sociological literature.

<sup>3</sup> See Mrs. C. G. Woodhouse, "The Field of Research on the Economic and Social Problems of the Home," *Journal of Home Economics*, Vol. XX, Nos. 3, 4, 5.

## CRIME

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C. E. GEHLKE

Professor of Sociology, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

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### ABSTRACT

This article contains little statistical material relative to crime and its treatment in 1927. It deals rather with evidences of tendencies in this field as indicated in this year. (1) Developments in the field of statistics of crime and criminals include the movement for uniform police statistics, now under way; the studies of the statistics of criminal courts by the New York State Crime Commission, by the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, by the Harvard Survey on Crime and Law in Boston, by the Cincinnati Bureau of Municipal Research, and by the newly formed Pennsylvania Crime Commission; the federal census statistics of prisoners in 1926; and the legislative efforts in this special field. (2) Crime commissions are briefly reviewed with respect to chronology, aims, and achievements. (3) Reports of crime commissions published in 1927 are summarized, namely those of New York State, California, and Minnesota. The legislation following these reports is mentioned. (4) Progress in probation is shown. (5) The research survey of the Social Science Research Council is noted.

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Ideally, this discussion of crime in the year 1927 should begin with a brief statistical summary for the entire United States, of (a) the number of crimes reported to the police, (b) the classification of these crimes, (c) number of arrests of persons accused of these crimes, (d) the results of the judicial processes which followed these arrests, (e) the number of persons in prison on the first (or last) day of the year, together with the data of commitments and releases of prisoners, (f) the number of persons on probation and on parole. None of these "ideal" data are available for the country as a whole, nor for any save rare local communities. The most recent federal census report, *Prisoners: 1923*, provides data four years old in 1927, and only for prisoners and prisons at that.<sup>1</sup> While a number of states annually report through the secretary of state or some other state official, certain of the statistical facts concerning the operation of the courts, this is not universal. Such reports are for fiscal years which do not always coincide with the calendar

<sup>1</sup> Another activity of the census bureau, an annual census of prisons and reformatories, has not yet reached the stage of publishing; but a press release of April 17, 1928, is briefly summarized in connection with the description of this new venture on pages 160-61.

year, and are hence not exactly comparable with each other. Moreover, these reports are not generally available early enough to be useful for an annual summary of which this is intended to be the first example.

This article will have to be limited largely to indicating the evidences of progress in this field and in other fields of activity connected with this general question. It will be necessary to cite some of the more recent developments in the field before the year chosen. It is to be hoped that these facts will serve as an introduction to the subject which will in future editions of this annual be continued on a basis of stricter limitation to the year for which it is a *compte rendue*.

#### I. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELD OF STATISTICS OF CRIME AND CRIMINALS

a) *Police statistics*.—In 1927 there was organized a Committee on Uniform Crime Records in the International Association of Chiefs of Police. This committee secured from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial a grant of a sum of money to finance the investigation necessarily precedent to a workable system of uniform crime records. This investigation is being directed by Bruce Smith, of the National Institute of Public Administration, for the committee referred to, with the assistance of an advisory committee of seven men technically conversant with the problems involved. The main outlines of the study involve the standardization of securing the facts relating to the crime, the facts relating to the offender, facts relating to the functioning of the agencies of criminal justice, and the compilation and presentation of statistical materials. Though the completion of this program does not imply a nation-wide adoption by all police departments, it is a necessary step in the direction of clearing up this most neglected of all phases of statistics of crime.

b) *Statistics of the operation of criminal courts*.—In addition to the routine collection of court statistics referred to before as carried on by the governments of a number of the states, this year was signalized by four studies in the field of court statistics carried on in New York State, in Illinois, in Boston, and in Cincinnati.

The New York study was carried on as part of the work of the new York State Crime Commission.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE I  
CONDENSED CASE MORTALITY TABLE FOR NEW YORK CITY  
(BY PERCENTAGES OF NUMBER OF ARRESTS)

Arrests (number)	19,468
Arrests (percentage)	100.00
Police custody	
Eliminated	1.97
Preliminary hearing	
Eliminated	56.91
The grand jury	
Eliminated	12.24
The trial court	
Eliminated	8.31
Sentenced	20.57
Sentences suspended	5.50
Imprisoned or fined	15.42

TABLE II  
CONDENSED CASE MORTALITY TABLE FOR NEW YORK STATE (BY PERCENTAGES  
OF CASES HELD FOR THE GRAND JURY)

	Entire State	New York City	Upstate Cities (Population 100,000 or Over)	Upstate Cities (Population 5,000- 100,000)	Upstate Rural
Held for grand jury					
Number	11,354	8,005	1,177	1,228	994
Percentage	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Grand jury					
Eliminated	26.93	29.77	16.14	20.28	25.00
The trial court					
Eliminated	18.36	20.21	15.80	15.22	9.85
Sentenced	54.71	50.02	68.06	64.50	65.15
Sentence suspended	16.13	12.52	22.18	24.76	28.07
Imprisoned or fined	38.58	37.50	45.88	39.74	37.08

A brief summary of some of the outstanding facts of this survey is presented in Tables I and II, reproduced from Tables 3a (p. 111) and 3b (p. 113) of the *Report of the Crime Commission of New York State*.

<sup>2</sup> Published as a part (pp. 95-174) of the *Report of the Crime Commission of New York State*, Legislative Document No. 94 (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., Printers, 1927).

In these tables "eliminated" means simply not progressing to the next stage of procedure. The most significant point in Table I is the fact that only 15 per cent of all arrests on felony charges in 1925 in New York City led to punishment; and of all cases bound over to the grand jury in New York State, as a whole, only 39 per cent were finally punished.

The Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, modeled on the Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, began an extensive survey of criminal justice in that state, involving among other things a fairly detailed study of the statistics of court operation. This report is not yet published. The work in Boston (as yet unpublished) is to be a part of the report of the Harvard Survey on Crime and Law in Boston. The Cincinnati Survey was carried on by the Cincinnati Bureau of Municipal Research.<sup>3</sup> In addition to these studies under way or completed, certain preliminary work was done for the Pennsylvania Crime Commission (a body created by the state legislature) looking toward the establishment of regular system of collection of such data by the state government.<sup>4</sup>

As a bit of evidence of the widespread interest of the public in this general field, the National Crime Commission published (December 5) a pamphlet on *Criminal Statistics and the Identification of Criminals*, a report of the Subcommittee on Pardons, Parole, Probation, Penal Laws, and Institutional Correction.

c) *Statistics of prisoners and prisons*.—Reference has already been made to the United States census report *Prisoners: 1923*. This type of report has been published twice before: for 1904 and for 1910. The census bureau was engaged in 1927 "in the first of a series of proposed annual censuses of state and federal prisons and reformatories, schedules for the year 1926 having been received for 96 out of a total of 99 institutions. For use in connection with this annual census the bureau issued about a year ago a manual of criminal statistics which contained, in addition to the necessary instructions for the reports from the prisons and reformatories, a

<sup>3</sup> A brief summary of this has appeared: *What Happens to Felony Cases in Cincinnati*, Bureau of Municipal Research, Pamphlet No. 5, May, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that the data presented by such a statistical study naturally are of a year or two previous to the year of collection or publication.

series of suggested outlines for statistics to be compiled by or for other agencies, including police departments, courts, prosecutors, and parole and probation agencies. These brief suggestions, it was hoped, might contribute in some measure to the standardization of records and reports in the field of statistics of crime, or at least form the starting-point for more effective methods of standardization."<sup>75</sup> This annual census is certain to be of great value to the student, as it will reflect annual rather than decennial tendencies. It is obvious, however, that it cannot solve the problem of crime

TABLE III  
ADMISSIONS TO STATE AND FEDERAL PRISONS AND REFORMATORIES

	NUMBER-OF INSTITUTIONS (1926)	PRISONERS RECEIVED FROM COURTS DURING THE YEAR					
		1926	1923	1910	Number per 100,000 of General Population		
					1926	1923	1910
State institutions (total reported for 1926) . . . . .	92	41,942	33,298	26,415	37.4	31.2	29.9
Federal institutions . . . . .	4	5,010	3,703	987	4.3	3.3	1.1

statistics in general because it lacks statistics of crimes reported and judicial statistics.

A brief excerpt from the press release of the summary of this report (dated April 17, 1928) will give some idea as to the type of data being collected and will reveal certain trends (see Table III). It must be kept in mind that these figures are from state and federal prisons and reformatories, and so are a picture of the group of prisoners convicted of the more serious offenses. Returns were received for 44 states, covering 92 out of a total of 95 state prisons and reformatories. Complete returns were received for the four federal penal institutions covered by the census. Three states—Alabama, Florida, and Idaho—failed to furnish reports, and Delaware has no state prison nor reformatory.

<sup>75</sup> Quotation from a paper by Leon E. Truesdell, of the United States Census Bureau, entitled "The Problem of Collecting and Standardizing Statistics of Crime in Forty-eight Sovereign States," read before a section of the American Statistical Association in Washington, December 29, 1927. Published in *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXIII, New Series No. 161 A (March, 1928), Supplement, 128.

Table III reveals the fact that there has been a very notable increase in the commitment rate of prisoners. In the state prisons we note an increase of only 1.3 per 100,000 from 1910 to 1923—thirteen years—and 6.2 per 100,000 from 1923 to 1926—three years. The causes of this are not obvious; it may be due to greater efficiency of the machinery of justice, to the greater severity of sentencing, or to an increase in crime.

The number of prisoners in these 96 institutions on January 1, 1927, is of course larger than the number admitted during the preceding year (see Table IV).

TABLE IV  
PRISONERS IN STATE AND FEDERAL PRISONS AND REFORMATORIES ON JANUARY 1

	JANU- ARY 1, 1927	JANU- ARY 1, 1926	JANU- ARY 1, 1923	JANU- ARY 1, 1910	NUMBER PER 100,000 OF GENERAL POPULATION			
					1927	1926	1923	1910
State institutions (total re- ported 1926-27) . . . . .	89,294	83,721	72,474	61,933	79.2	75.3	68.3	70.2
Federal institutions . . . . .	6,803	6,445	4,664	1,904	5.8	5.5	4.2	2.1

Here we note a sharp rise, from 68.3 to 75.3 per 100,000 from 1923 to 1926; and even in one year, 1926-27, there is an increase of nearly 4 per 100,000. Apparently, then, this prison population is increasing at an increasing rate so far as these brief summaries are an index.

Before passing to other matters it should be noted that among the bills passed by the legislature of New York State in 1927 on recommendation of the New York State Crime Commission (a legislative creation) was one providing for the establishment, in the police department of each city in the state with two hundred thousand population and over, of a central bureau of criminal identification, records, and statistics.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the improvement of identificational records, it involves a centralization of all information for "police, courts, and various departments, bureaus, and institutions in such city dealing with criminals."<sup>7</sup> A bill providing

<sup>6</sup> *New York Times*, March 28, 1927, p. 8, col. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Senate bill No. 1156, March 1, 1927, introduced by Mr. Baumes, chairman of the Crime Commission.

for a state bureau of identification and the preparation of quarterly and annual statistics of a very extensive type relative to operation of police, courts, penal institutions, probation and parole boards, pardons, etc., by the division of criminal identification, records, and statistics was not passed.<sup>8</sup> The Missouri Association for Criminal Justice in the program of legislation which it presented to the state legislature of 1927, included a proposal for the establishment of a bureau of criminal identification, investigation, and statistics under the supervision of the department of penal institutions, and another which prescribed certain records to be maintained by the police, sheriffs, justices of the peace, courts of record, and penal institutions.<sup>9</sup> They were, however, not adopted. These are indications of an awakened interest in criminal statistics.

## 2. CRIME COMMISSIONS

Under this title are included organizations of both governmental and private creation, state-wide, or limited to a particular city, primarily aiming at research or chiefly directed toward action, such as new legislation. Some are primarily concerned with criminal laws—procedural and substantive. Others interest themselves in the operation of police, courts, penal institutions, probation and parole, causes of crime. Some are commissions with no funds; others are well financed. Some aim mostly to keep a constant check on the operation of criminal justice. Some are backed largely by business interests, and some by the organized bar.<sup>10</sup> They have,

<sup>8</sup> Senate bill No. 1152, March 1, 1927, introduced by Mr. Baumes, chairman of the Crime Commission.

<sup>9</sup> *Summary of the Legislative Program of the Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, St. Louis, 1926.*

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XVIII, No. 1 (May, 1927), p. 120.

"*Crime Commissions*."—Following is a partial list of crime commissions and similar organizations in the United States: California Commission for the Reform of Criminal Procedure, Chicago Crime Commission, Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, Baltimore Criminal Justice Commission, Michigan State Crime Commission, Minnesota Crime Commission, Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, Nebraska Crime Commission, New Hampshire Crime Commission, New Jersey State Crime Commission, Crime Commission of New York State, Cleveland Association for Criminal Justice, Memphis Crime Commission, Louisiana Commission for the Reform of Criminal Procedure, Kansas Crime Commission, Commission to Study

however, certain common characteristics. They express dissatisfaction with the present status of the administration of criminal justice in the United States, and they aim, either directly and immediately, or indirectly and ultimately, at some type of reform. At the present time they may be said to be epidemic in the United States; and they bid fair to be endemic. They differ from such bodies as the American Prison Association, the National Probation Association, the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology in being expressions of what may be called the "amateur spirit" in the field of criminology and penology, being backed mostly by business men, prominent civil lawyers, and legislators rather than by persons involved professionally or as scholars in the field.

It is impossible here to trace in any detail the history of this movement. A few landmarks may be pointed out.

The Chicago Crime Commission,<sup>11</sup> organized in 1919, has aimed from the beginning to keep an accurate record of serious crimes committed and of the operation of the machinery of criminal justice in that city. An important part of its work was of course to keep the public informed of the current situation, and thus to influence the course of justice in a helpful manner. The year 1920 saw the organization of the Section on Criminal Law of the American Bar Association. The next landmark was the survey of criminal justice in Cleveland, conducted by the Cleveland Foundation in 1921.<sup>12</sup> Following the Cleveland survey came the creation of the Cleveland Association for Criminal Justice, which has functioned in much the same way as the Chicago Crime Commission. In 1922 the Baltimore Criminal Justice Commission was organ-

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the Causes of Crime in Kentucky, Evanston Crime Commission, Crime Suppression League of Dallas, Inc.

"The following bodies have appointed special committees to study Crime Problems in connection with their regular functions: Colorado Prison Association, Indiana State Bar Association, Harvard Law School, Arkansas Bar Association, Institute for Research in Social Science, Yale University Law School."

<sup>11</sup> G. W. Kirchwey, "Breasting the Crime Wave," *Survey*, Vol. LVIII, No. 2 (April 15, 1927); J. M. Hepbron, "Local Crime Commissions: Their Origin, Purpose, and Accomplishment," *Scientific Monthly*, XXIV, 426-31.

<sup>12</sup> *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Foundation, 1922).

ized; in 1923, the American Law Institute (strictly speaking not a crime commission, though having some functions like those of some of the commissions). In 1925 the Missouri Association for Criminal Justice began its work by undertaking a survey of criminal justice that was state wide (report published in 1926).<sup>13</sup> In 1925 also the legislature of California created the Commission for the Reform of Criminal Procedure.<sup>14</sup> The legislature of New York State in 1926 created the Crime Commission, which reported to the legislature February 28, 1927.<sup>15</sup> In 1926 the Harvard Survey of Crime and Law in Boston got under way. In 1927 the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, resembling that of Missouri, began a state-wide survey of Illinois.

The National Crime Commission, organized in 1925, began as a typical agency of protest against the shortcomings of American criminal justice. It was composed at first of a number of persons distinguished chiefly for their prominence in our national life, rather than their technical equipment for dealing with these problems. It is, however, gradually assuming the functions of a national forum on the questions involved in crime. Increasingly it is drawing into its affairs the trained investigator. Its conference, held in Washington November 2 and 3, 1927, included within its list of speakers a number of persons with experience as administrators and as students of criminology. Its function is apparently to be more and more that of stimulating country-wide intelligent and informed interest in all the phases of the problem of crime. Significant of this tendency is the resolution adopted in the form of the report of the Committee on Criminal Information as is indicated by this excerpt: "Sixth, that the National Crime Commission should establish a permanent committee on criminal information, to be appointed as soon as may be, charged with the duty of securing the coordination of all efforts directed towards the end set forth above. That the personnel of this committee should represent all

<sup>13</sup> *The Missouri Crime Survey* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926).

<sup>14</sup> *Report of the Commission for the Reform of Criminal Procedure to the State Legislature* (Sacramento, 1927).

<sup>15</sup> *Report of the Crime Commission, New York State*, Legislative Document No. 94 (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., Printers, 1927).

important agencies interested in the gathering of such information."<sup>16</sup>

These are by no means all the agencies of this kind (as the footnote on p. 163 indicates), but they are representative particularly of the type of organization which is now, or has been, carrying on research and publicity with a view to its immediate or ultimate use in reform.

### 3. REPORTS OF COMMISSIONS PUBLISHED IN 1927

*The New York State Crime Commission.*<sup>17</sup>—As a legislative creation this body must report to the legislature. Its report, submitted February 28, 1927, consists of a general section, including a large number of recommendations, and a number of special reports. The general report first presents figures and testimonials to prove the effectiveness of the so-called "Baumes Laws" passed by the legislature in 1926 and effective July 1, 1926. These laws were notable for their severity, especially the one requiring the judge to sentence to life imprisonment any person convicted for the fourth time of a felony. The general tendency of the report is in the direction of greater severity in punishment. The Commission has not, however, shut its eyes to the fact that parole and probation have never had a fair trial because of the unwillingness of the communities to finance them adequately for the maintenance of proper standards. Among the recommendations in this field is one for the unification of the seven or more different agencies doing probation work in Greater New York. The penal recommendations suggest classification on psychiatric grounds, and an addition to the institution for defective delinquents at Napanoch. Much larger and better-trained police departments are recommended. New and strict legislation is suggested to cope with the professional receivers of stolen goods. The substitution of district judges for justices of the peace is proposed. Reference has already been made to the recommendations respecting records and statistics. Juries come in for considerable attention; and the waiving of jury trial, as used in sev-

<sup>16</sup> E. R. Cass, "National Crime Commission Conference," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XVIII, No. 4 (February, 1928), pp. 497 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Report of the Crime Commission, State of New York*, Legislative Document No. 94 (1927).

eral other United States commonwealths, is strongly urged. The value of the grand jury is questioned, as are also the various traditional limitations on the power of the judge in the trial. In detail no less than eighty specific recommendations are made to the legislature.

Besides the report of the subcommission on statistics, alluded to earlier in this paper, there are reports on courts, police, penal institutions, adjustment of sentences, and on causes and effects of crime. The latter report has attracted much attention, partly because it was a new departure for crime commission studies, and partly because of the publicity which a section of it (dealing with a particular area of Brooklyn) received when the inhabitants of that area protested against the unfavorable notice it caused.

The California Commission for the Reform of Criminal Procedure also made a report during the year 1927 to the legislature which had created it.<sup>18</sup> The system which the commission recommended "had this as its objective: that in administering criminal justice the proceedings shall arrive at the truth and do so with the greatest simplicity, swiftness, and certainty."<sup>19</sup> With these aims in mind it recommends changes which shall speed justice, e.g., by reducing continuances and delay in the trial court or court of appeals to a minimum. Pleadings shall be simplified to the degree that is found in English procedure. As for conduct of trials, the judge is to be given more power in selecting the jury and in controlling the admission of evidence and examination of witnesses. Parole and indeterminate sentence and probation are approved in principle, but are made somewhat more limited in application: e.g., relatively high minimum sentences before parole for those guilty of a second (or later) felony, or guilty of a felony while armed with a deadly weapon. The granting of bail is somewhat modified by requirement that a bail bond be a recordable lien upon real property, and that in a cash bond the money be deposited. The commission further recommends the provision of a hospital for the criminal insane, and that material witnesses be extraditable to other states.

<sup>18</sup> *Report of the Commission for the Reform of Criminal Procedure to the Legislature, State of California* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1927).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Because some of these reforms are impossible by statute, the commission proposes a constitutional amendment referendum on eight points, of which two are: to permit the jury to consider the fact that the defendant fails to take the stand in his own behalf; and one permitting the waiver of a jury trial in felony cases where both the people and the defendant desire to make such a waiver. This referendum is proposed for action at the general election of 1928.

The Minnesota Crime Commission was appointed by the governor of that state in 1926. At the end of that year it presented a report<sup>20</sup> containing its conclusions in summary, together with recommendations and the reasons therefor. In condensed form it presents the following findings: Crime is a state-wide problem. Promptness, efficiency, vigor in enforcement are essential. Certainty is more effective than severity. Public opinion must be informed and active. The Commission can recommend only the most immediate improvements. Further study is indispensable. The second part of the report, presenting the detailed findings, is to appear later.

The scope of this study is somewhat broader than that of the California commission's work. It is less exclusively legal, and its recommendations cover a wide field.

*Legislation.*—The New York legislature passed eighteen of the thirty-eight bills presented by the Crime Commission.<sup>21</sup> Most of these bills involved greater severity toward defendants. Three of those not passed were the bill providing a much greater strictness in control of the possession of pistols and machine guns (Senate bill No. 1150), the bill providing that a thief may be a witness against the receiver of stolen property—now not legally permissible (Senate bill No. 1171); the bill making the minimum term of imprisonment for second degree murder forty, instead of twenty, years (Senate bill No. 1161). This indicates that the legislature was unwilling to adopt quite as severe a tone as that of the proposers, and also that it was unwilling to remove some of the legal

<sup>20</sup> "Minnesota Crime Commission Report," *Minnesota Law Review*, Supplement, January, 1927.

<sup>21</sup> *New York Times*, March 28, 1927, p. 8, col. 1.

protections of defendants. This opposition may have been due in part (as is intimated in the *New York Times* of March 2, 1927) to the opposition of members of the legislature who in their private capacity practice law in the criminal courts. It remains to be seen whether this severity will be backed up by the public. The commission is quite confident that the so-called "Baumes Laws" have been effective in reducing crime. A supplementary statistical investigation of the operation of the courts in New York State during the first six months of the operation of these laws was made by the Commission in 1927, the results of which are not published at the time of this writing.

The California Commission secured assent to its program in large measure.<sup>22</sup> As indicated before, its recommendations center about improvements in criminal procedure which are now widely accepted among leaders of the bar, and increasing severity of punishment, as is indicated in the recommendations on probation and parole mentioned before.

The legislative program of the Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, based upon its survey (referred to before), involved a number of procedural changes, such as equalizing peremptory challenges for defense and prosecution, securing of deposition within or without the state, permitting comment on the defendant's failure to testify, etc. It provided for a strengthening of the prosecutor's office, limited changes of venue, reduced time allowed to perfect an appeal to the Supreme Court; provided an intermediate reformatory and an institution for the criminal insane, and proposed a bureau of criminal identification, investigation, and statistics, together with machinery for collecting these from the various police departments, courts, etc.

Very little of this program became legislation. The intermediate reformatory bill passed, and executions were all transferred to the state penitentiary; and one or two other minor provisions were carried out. The legislation will be proposed again in 1929.

<sup>22</sup> The present writer was unable to secure the formal bills introduced by the commission. Comparing the revised statutes (of the session of 1927) reveals an apparently complete agreement of revisions with the statements of recommendations as given in the printed report of the commission.

## 4. PROBATION

In the field of probation a few outstanding facts may be noted. The United States Civil Service Commission established eligible lists for probation officers in the federal courts. An appropriation was made by Congress for such work, though far below the needs indicated. The appointment of probation officers in ten district courts was authorized. In New York State the Probation Commission became a bureau of the new state department of correction. A similar bureau was established in the Department of Public Welfare of Ohio. The state of Indiana passed an adult probation law framed by the National Probation Association. While there is a tendency on the part of many critics to attack probation as "coddling" of the criminal, there is an increasing willingness (as revealed in the reports of the New York and California Commissions) to admit many defects to be the result, not of probation, but of a weak and ineffective procedure *called* probation. The current reports of the National Probation Association reveal a steady and nation wide improvement in this field.

## 5. GENERAL RESEARCH

It is impossible here to review all the various research projects now going forward in this field. Mention should be made, however, of the "Survey of Research in Crime and Criminal Justice" which has been conducted by the Social Science Research Council under the supervision of the Advisory Committee on Crime of the Council. A bibliography has been compiled of all material in this field available in certain of the libraries of the United States, including the large general libraries and some of the special libraries. In addition to this a bibliography of research material, local, completed, but unpublished, or locally published, was made; also a list of research projects proposed or under way; and an analysis of valuable primary success.<sup>23</sup>

## 6. CONCLUSION

The reader will be raising the question of what actually happened in this field in 1927, not what was being studied. There are

<sup>23</sup> Note by A. F. Kuhlman, *American Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XVIII, No. 1, 123-25; and report of Social Science Research Council, 1927.

two reasons for the limitation evident in the preceding pages. First, the official sources of actual data about crime and criminals are mostly still unpublished for 1927. Second, the data here given are, in the writer's opinion, the really important happenings. They are a reflection of the enormous public interest in crime. They indicate also an increasing recognition of the fact that real achievement in this field must be sought on the basis of thorough knowledge of the facts. The shift in the activities of the National Crime Commission from generalizations to specific problems is an example in point. The treatment of crime and the criminal is so deeply imbedded in our mores and our social attitudes that it is impossible to modify it until there is at least a widespread knowledge of the facts. This knowledge is in process of accumulation.

## RELIGION

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ARTHUR E. HOLT

Professor of Social Ethics, Chicago Theological Seminary

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### ABSTRACT

Three notable modifications in American religious life are coming because of changes in communication, and population shifts. The first is the interpenetration of the rural and urban communities due to the radio and automobile. The second is the migration of rural populations to the city, and the third is change in the major sources of labor supply, which is giving us an American-born industrial population which brings with it an American type of religious institution in the place of a Southern European.

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The year 1927 witnessed the most ambitious attempts at mutual understanding among its major religious groups which the Western world has seen. With the exception of the Roman Catholic church, which is of course a major exception, the larger religious groups, including the Greek Catholic churches, met together at Lausanne, Switzerland, in a conference known as the World Conference on Faith and Order. Of a similar nature was the National Conference on Comity, participated in by all American denominations except the Catholic, held at Cleveland early in 1928, but for which the preparations had been made in 1927. In agreement with this trend is the change in the statement of the missionary purpose of the most energetic of the missionary religious bodies, where the doctrine of mutual understanding is substituted for the doctrine of proselyting and supplanting. However this new attitude is described, it doubtless represents an epoch in the history of religious development of the West. Either religion is becoming more tolerant or it is considered that from the functional standpoint all religions serve a common purpose and matters of detail difference are of little importance.

The second change is the modification of rural religion due to multiplication of communication, such as the radio and automobile. The radio corporation and General Motors have headed the list on the stock exchange, and both have registered in the isolation

of the farmer and have been the means whereby a peaceful penetration of the farmer's religious ideas has been accomplished. A recent study of 225 farmers in McHenry county, Illinois, showed that 50 per cent of them had radio connection with some church on Sunday morning. This means the broadcasting, not only of the sermon, but of the music of great chorus choirs and the singing of the best soloists of metropolitan churches. The automobile has made the farmer easily accessible to urban churches. The size of the New England parish was laid out on the distance which a man could drive an ox team on Sunday morning; the modern farmer can attend a church anywhere within the range of a General Motors car.

A third movement in social change which came to a climax in 1927 and which is probably epoch-making in religion is the population shift, which since the war has been modified by the shutting off of migration from the Catholic countries of South Europe and substitution of two other movements, one a minor flow of people from North Europe and Canada, the other a major one from rural America, both of which are overwhelmingly Protestant. Not long ago I noticed on the calendar of a Protestant church in a silk-mill town this notice: "A reception will be given in this church next Wednesday evening to all the people who have come to the United States during the past year." "How is this?" I said. "I thought only a Catholic church could give such an invitation and get a hearing." "That was true," he said, "until recently; but now we can give it and we will have a house full." It is true that foreign immigration has been reduced to the point where no appreciable change can come in American religious life as a result of it even though the present migration is largely Protestant, but this is not true when we consider the migration from the American rural districts to the city, a migration which is decidedly Protestant in its religious affiliation.

First of all, let us consider the extent of this migration. Professor Sims says in his "Elements of Rural Sociology": "A survey of 10,000 representative farms by the United States Department of Agriculture led to the estimate that in 1922 about 2,000,000 persons left the farms for towns and cities. During 1923 this number was greatly increased and city drift reached a new climax. Another

study of 25,000 farms made again by the Department of Agriculture gives ground for the estimate that in 1924 some 2,075,000 left the country. Similar estimates for the year ending January 1, 1927, indicate that 2,155,000 left the farms for village and urban districts. So far this is the high-water mark of rural exodus."

Zimmerman has found by a study of 357 farm families that about 45 per cent of these people had gone to cities. The National Bureau of Economic Research has estimated that in six years ending on January 1, 1927, our farm population has been depleted by this process to the extent of 3,722,629.

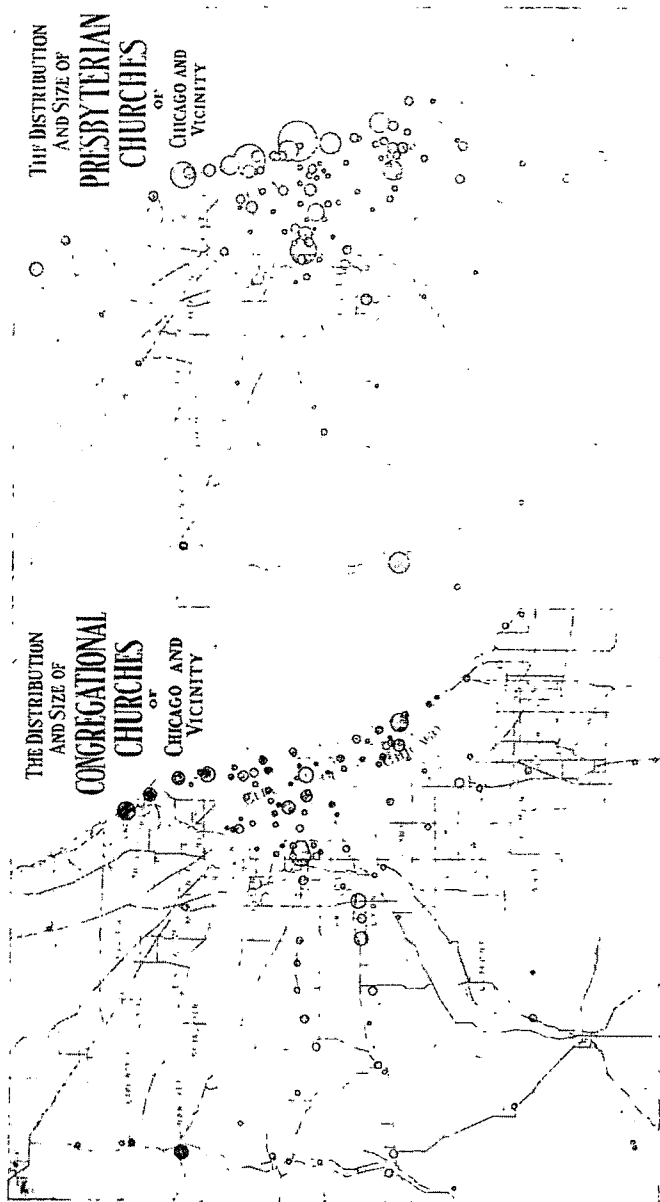
#### EFFECT OF THIS MIGRATION ON RELIGION

The first effect of this rural migration is evidently a decrease in the number and power of rural religious institutions. Professor Felton has estimated that "if the average church in the open country has 79 members it would mean that the total membership of 1,513 churches literally moved out last year and left that many empty churches behind." But this loss and consequent modification of rural institutions is not so important as the change which is being wrought in the religious trends of urban life. Here the change is so significant that it is worthy of elaborate description. It can be illustrated in terms of the distribution of the religious groups of Chicago, the key to the understanding of which is found in the population shifts due to the work-seeking, home-seeking tendency of her people. The first planting of Chicago's churches is brought about by the coming of the people who are seeking a chance to work in industry and who bring their religious tradition with them. These populations later seek better homes, and the movement toward the suburb begins, which gives the new distribution of the religious populations. The longer the time of residence, the more noticeable is the suburban trend in determining the configuration of the church group. All Chicago churches gathered at the Chicago river and then moved to the lake front or the suburbs as rapidly as possible.

The old American population is distributed today in five major sectors. It is out along the north shore; it extends in two major thrusts to the west and in two to the south, one along the south shore, and the other through Englewood and to the southwest.

# CHART I

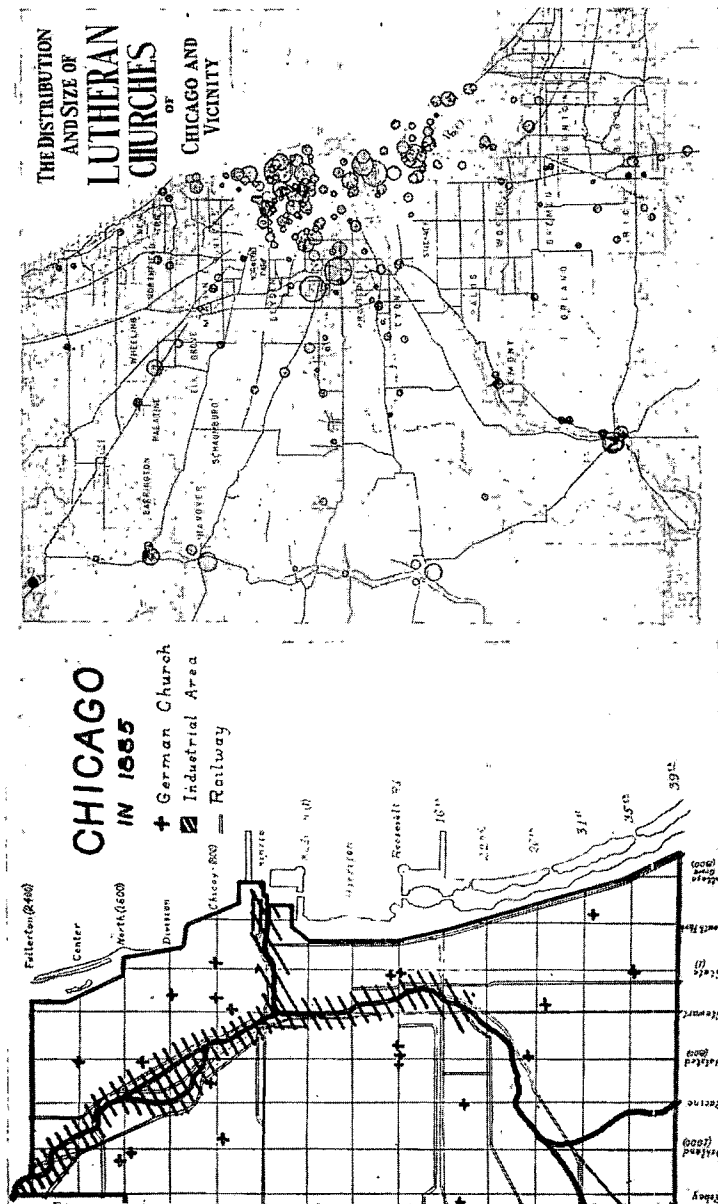
SHOWING THE PRESENT SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF TWO OLD  
AMERICAN TYPES OF CHURCHES



The chart shows the marked effects of the "better home seeking" movement, which has almost completely obscured the original distribution of these churches. It also shows that these two churches serve approximately the same constituency, and each is strong where the other is weak.

## CHART II

THE SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN 1885 AND IN 1927



The original Lutheran churches were distributed close to industries which were then adjacent to the Chicago River. The present distribution still shows the curve of the river as the base line from which the suburban trend has taken place. These churches occupy sectors in between the "Old American" churches.

Here also we find the old American type of Protestant church; the Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopalian. This is well illustrated in Chart I, which shows the present size and distribution of Congregational and Presbyterian churches.

Lying in between these major sectors are the other racial groupings which at the call of industry have moved into Chicago and have brought their religious mores with them. Most notably of these was the migration of the German and Scandinavian populations, which reached its peak in 1880-90. Chicago industry was then draped along the river; the early planting of Lutheran churches conforms even to the curve of the north and south branch of the Chicago River, and the distribution of Lutheran churches still bears the stamp upon it, as shown in Chart II.

These Lutheran churches have since been caught up in the suburban trend and are taking on a new distribution. Following this period the industry of Chicago began to shift to South Chicago and the source of labor supply changed to Southern Europe; this type of immigration reached its peak in 1910-20. This gives us the key to the distribution of the major Catholic churches, such as the Polish, Bohemian, Italian, Slovak, and Croatian churches. This is shown in Chart III.

The present post war period, whose development reached its peak in 1927, has witnessed a tapping of a new labor supply drawn from Protestant areas and the planting of new churches and a shift in the balance of numerical strength and location of the various religious groups. Some of these changes can be briefly enumerated.

The effect of this new religious migration has registered immediately on the Baptist denomination, which, from being fifth from the top in numerical strength, has now come to second, or next to the Catholic. This of course is largely due to the influx of Negro Baptists from the South. It is estimated from reliable data that 248,000 Negroes have since the war moved into the Chicago area. The largest single church in Chicago is now a Negro Baptist church, a record formerly held by a Catholic church. Not counting the "store front," there are now in Chicago 55 Negro churches with an estimated membership of 65,711.

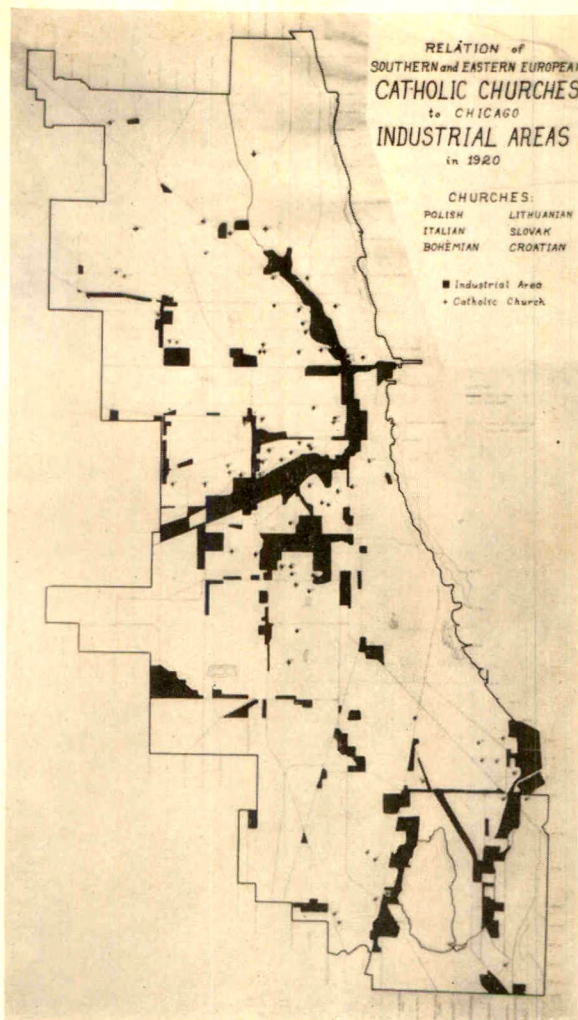
The location and size of the Negro churches which own prop-

erty is shown in Chart IV. These churches are almost without exception of recent planting.

Contemporaneous with, but less in numerical strength, has been the growth of the Mexican migration to Chicago, which has reached a total of 25,000—30,000 persons. From a religious standpoint this has resulted in a growth of Mexican Catholic churches and a new impetus of the Protestant efforts to "reach" the Catholics. A pretentious new Mexican Catholic church is now being constructed alongside the plant of the Illinois Steel Company in South Chicago.

The third noticeable religious effect of this rural migration is the appearance of rural youth in the churches located near the natural gateways to the city. These white boys and girls from the farms are coming in at a different gateway from the Negroes and Mexicans, but their presence is being perceptibly felt in the Chicago churches. If Chicago is a fair sample of urban development all over the United States, we are witnessing a new population stratum forming in some cases at the opposite end of the social scale from the old American population which planted the first churches of the old American type; its churches are Protestant and bear the same names, although differing in some ways from the earlier type. American urban social and religious life now has a bottom and a top layer of Protestantism. This will have a profound effect upon the Protestant consciousness, since it was in danger of identifying itself with the suburban class and the suburban mind. If the new source of urban population supply is to be from rural America, the effect upon the Protestant churches will be as profound as the effect of the migration from Southern Europe was upon the Catholic churches during the two decades just previous to the war.

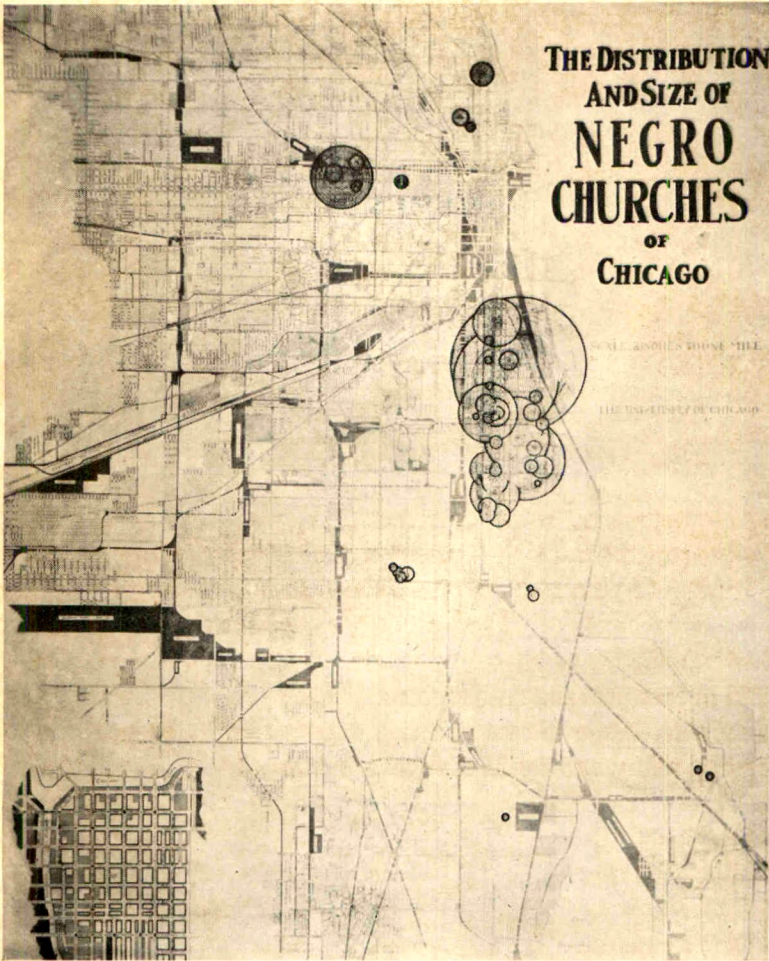
CHART III  
THE PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE SOUTHERN AND EASTERN  
EUROPEAN CHURCHES. THE DOTS REPRESENT  
CATHOLIC CHURCHES



This chart shows the close assembling of the Southern European churches along the river where the major industries of Chicago are, but industry had spread by 1900 and was carrying the churches with it. These churches show very slight influence of the suburban trend.

#### CHART IV

THE SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO CHURCHES IN CHICAGO



This chart shows the effects of post-war population shift. The fact that these workers were largely employed by the Stockyards partly accounts for the location of these churches. Other factors enter in. But the chart is eloquent of the influence of the effect on the churches of the new source of labor supply.

## EDUCATION

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GEORGE S. COUNTS

Associate Director of the International Institute of Teachers College,  
Columbia University

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### ABSTRACT

Although the year 1927 witnessed no crucial changes in education, it was marked by much educational unrest and by a continuation of lines of growth which had been under way for some years. Among the developments worthy of mention are the rapid expansion of secondary and higher institutions, the establishment of junior high schools and colleges, the movement for curriculum revision, the spread of various devices to individualize instruction, the increase of facilities for the training of teachers, the critical attack upon the college of liberal arts, the growth of educational expenditures, and the return of educational theory to a consideration of the fundamental questions of aims and values.

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In general the year 1927 witnessed no crucial changes in the development of education in the United States. This, of course, does not mean that during the twelve months under consideration the educational system remained static. Quite the contrary condition did in fact prevail. Although comprehensive statistics are not yet available, the evidence at hand suggests that the year was marked by many and rapid changes. But for the most part these changes merely carried forward lines of development which have characterized the schools of the nation since the close of the war, if not since the opening of the century. In this article, therefore, attention will be centered, not on the events of the year 1927, but rather on trends belonging to the period of which this year is a part. The more important developments may be reported under four headings, namely, the extension of educational opportunity, significant changes in educational practice, the growth of the material basis of education, and advances in educational theory.

Perhaps the most fundamental question that may be asked regarding the operation of any school system pertains to the actual extension of educational opportunity. Only as boys and girls attend the schools may the latter be said to function. In 1927, according to reliable estimate, at least twenty-eight million children

and youth were enrolled in the educational institutions of the nation. Of this huge multitude, amounting to one-fourth of the total population, approximately twenty-two and one-half millions were attending elementary schools, four and one-quarter to four and one-half millions were registered in the secondary schools, and one million to one million and a quarter were pursuing their studies in college, university, and professional school.

In the extension of the opportunities of education at the elementary-school level there have been few important changes in recent years. For almost a generation the number of children attending this institution has done little more than keep pace with the growth of population. This is, of course, due to the fact that before the close of the last century the elementary school was already reaching practically all children of appropriate age. However, in two respects the implications of this statement require qualification. In the first place, in the form of kindergarten and nursery school, particularly in the larger industrial centers, elementary education is slowly being extended downward into what have been called the preschool years. But in 1927 there were probably not more than three-quarters of a million children enrolled in these institutions. In the second place, the opportunities of elementary education are being extended through an increase in the length of the school term and through improvement in the regularity of attendance. In 1880 the average length of the school term in the United States was 130 days, and in 1925, the last year for which the facts are available, it was 170 days. By 1927 probably two or three days were added to this number. Although minor advances in the extension of elementary education may be expected to continue, the major purposes of the American people in this field were achieved long before the opening of the year 1927.

In the case of secondary education an altogether different situation exists. The year which has been made the object of study stands in the center of one of the great revolutionary epochs in the history of the secondary school. With the establishment of the public high school as an upward extension of the elementary school, America early in the nineteenth century departed from the conception of secondary education that had generally prevailed in the

Western world. But it was not until the latter part of the century that the radical nature of the experiment became apparent. With the rise of industrial society the secondary school has expanded at an unprecedented rate. In 1880 there were enrolled in the public high school but 110,000 boys and girls. By 1900 this number had increased to 519,000; by 1910, to 915,000; by 1920, to 2,199,000; by 1925, to 3,650,000; and by the close of 1927, to probably 4,000,000. In addition there was of course the private secondary school enrolment, which in 1927 must have been considerably in excess of a quarter of a million. But the major point to be observed is that for more than a generation each annual report of the growth of the secondary school population has shown, not only an absolute increase in numbers, but an increase in the rate of growth. Moreover, in the year 1927 close to one-half of the nation's children of appropriate age were enrolled in the high school. Regardless of the theories of educators or the views of statesmen, the American people are apparently committed to the universal extension of the opportunities of secondary education. The influx of children from all social classes and practically all levels of ability has already given rise to innumerable problems of method, curriculum, and organization. A new type of secondary education is in the making.

An expansion of the institutions of higher education, which may follow a course similar to that pursued by the secondary school since 1890, began after the close of the war. The number of persons attending colleges, universities, and professional schools of college grade (including normal schools and teachers' colleges) in 1890 was but 157,000. By 1895 this number had grown to 204,000; by 1900, to 238,000; by 1905, to 264,000; by 1910, to 356,000; and by 1915, to 403,000. Then came the war, which temporarily halted this invasion of the colleges; but in 1920 the registration in higher institutions in the United States rose to 597,000. Four years later, in 1924, the enormous total of 911,000 was reached. This is almost precisely the secondary school enrolment for 1910. By 1926, the last year for which complete returns are available, the million mark was passed. Whether these figures mean that the higher schools are, from the standpoint of growth,

but half a generation or so behind the secondary schools is a question which must be left to the prophets. The fact is that powerful social forces have torn the colleges and universities loose from their conventional moorings.

In addition to the general extension of educational opportunities at the higher levels of the system, which has been going on for a generation, and partly perhaps as a result of this extension, recent years have witnessed many significant changes in educational practice. The more important of these changes may be appropriately considered under the categories of structural reorganization, curriculum revision, improvement of methods, growth of teacher-training, and new departures in higher education.

No sooner did the general structure of the American educational system take form toward the close of the nineteenth century than it began to crumble. Social conditions were changing, and the American people were becoming educationally conscious. In the 1890's the eight-four-four system, that is, the system composed of the eight-year elementary school, the four-year secondary school, and the four-year college, the system which a short time before had seemed to triumph in the United States, became the object of criticism. It was said to be the joint product of indiscriminate borrowings from other countries and the operation of chance influences rather than the fruit of a careful analysis of the nature of children and the needs of society. The brunt of the attack was borne by that institution which had long been the storm center of the American educational system—the secondary school. The result was the junior high school and junior college movements.

The junior high school movement is essentially a downward extension of the secondary school to include one or more years of the traditional elementary school. It also means an enrichment of the program of studies and the introduction of less formal methods into these years; but attention here should be centered on the structural changes. In the larger communities the reorganization has taken the form of a separate institution embracing two or three or even four years covering the point of articulation between the old elementary and secondary schools, while in the smaller communities it has merely involved the inclusion of these years in an

enlarged secondary school. The movement may be said to have originated in the early years of the present century. By 1910 there were perhaps a dozen or a score of more or less conscious attempts at reorganization. Thereafter the movement went forward at an increasingly rapid rate and soon assumed the proportions of a major educational reform. In 1920 there were reported to the Federal Bureau of Education 883 so-called junior high schools; and five years later, near the close of 1925, the number rose to 2,549. In the meantime, although the institution has met with some opposition and has perhaps entered upon a period of criticism, there is no reason for believing that its growth has been checked. So the year 1927 no doubt witnessed a continuation of this movement for the reorganization of the American system of education, a movement which had already reached into communities of all sizes, from rural villages to the largest industrial cities, as well as into every state of the union and the District of Columbia.

The junior college involves the upward extension of secondary education to include the first two years of the traditional college. Though in origin antedating by a decade or so the junior high school, it has gained headway much more slowly. In 1900 there were eight junior colleges in the country. By 1910 the number had increased to twenty-seven; by 1920, to 207; and by 1927, to 325. In the last-named year there were approximately thirty-six thousand students enrolled in junior colleges. The form of the institution varies from place to place. It ordinarily comprises only the first two years of the old college, but recently, and particularly in California, it has in some cases been incorporated into an enlarged senior high school embracing the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth years of the conventional organization. Whether this heralds the approach of an eight-four-four-five system, that is, a system composed of an eight-year elementary school, a four-year junior high school, a four-year senior high school, and a university with a program ranging in length from two to five years, is a question in dispute among educators. Perhaps the junior college is merely a move in the reorganization of the traditional system and will disappear when the new organization emerges. But whatever the ultimate outcome may be, the year 1927 saw this movement

reaching into all of the great geographical divisions and showing strength everywhere but in the eastern area.

In response to the extraordinary growth of the school population and the general reorganization of the educational system, as well as because of the changing social conditions and perhaps the development of a scientific attack on educational problems, the years following the war have been marked by a great deal of activity in the field of the curriculum. From one end of the country to the other, and from the kindergarten to the university, the conventional program has been under fire. According to reports from 106 cities of all sizes in 1925, probably on the whole exhibiting a degree of favorable selection, 75 per cent had undertaken the general revision of the elementary school program during the preceding five years. A companion study of the high-school curriculum revealed general revisions for the same period in 63 of the 111 cities included in the inquiry. Some of these efforts to construct a new program of studies assumed large proportions. In 1923 the city of Denver embarked upon a program of curriculum-making which may be regarded as favorably typical of the movement. Extensive studies of social conditions were undertaken; experimentation was conducted within the system; and some thirty specialists were called in from the outside. In 1925 the principle that the curriculum is never finished and that it should undergo perpetual revision because of social changes and increase of professional knowledge was given concrete expression through the appointment of a director of the curriculum. By 1927 the first cycle in this never ending process neared completion. Similar, though on the whole somewhat less ambitious, undertakings were launched during these years in Los Angeles, St. Louis, Toledo, Rochester, Springfield, and many other cities. The twelve months of 1927 were especially marked by interest and activity in curriculum reconstruction in the public schools of the United States.

The period following the war also saw a growing dissatisfaction with the traditional methods of instruction. The growth of schools and the increase in the size of classes tended to dwarf the individual. It was but natural, therefore, that educational reformers should arise to plead for the adaptation of the teaching process to

the abilities, aptitudes, and interests of the pupil. Some advocated a return to some form of individual instruction, such as the Dalton or Winnetka plan; others thought salvation lay in the direction of a more thorough and careful classification of pupils by means of the psychological tests. That both of these approaches to the problem have been widely adopted is indicated by a study undertaken by the Bureau of Education in 1926. In that year, of the 280 cities of more than ten thousand inhabitants from which reports were received, forty-four were employing the Dalton, and forty-two the Winnetka, plan. Reports on the use of homogeneous grouping, as it is called, at the same time and in cities of the same size showed much more striking results. Of the 292 cities reporting, the plan was being used in some or all of the grades of the elementary school by 247; in the junior high school, by 204; and in the senior high school, by 143. By 1927, therefore, the larger school systems seem to have been rather thoroughly committed to the practice of grouping children in a particular grade according to ability. This mechanical device seems to be in closer harmony with the spirit of American education than are the proposals to individualize instruction.

One of the most significant movements in American education in 1927 was the movement for the professional training of teachers. In the past, in comparison with the teacher in the more advanced countries of Europe, the American teacher has been notoriously untrained. Today anything like adequate training among the rank and file of rural teachers is sadly lacking. Yet there is much evidence to suggest that this condition is rapidly changing. In 1894 there were enrolled in professional courses for teachers above the secondary school but 71,000 students. The corresponding figures for 1910 and 1920 were 96,000 and 159,000, respectively. Two years later the number reached 226,000; in 1924 it rose to 290,000; and in 1926 it advanced farther to the huge total of 444,000. Thus from 1894 to 1926, while the number of teaching positions of all kinds increased from 450,000 to 960,000, the number of persons training to be teachers increased more than sixfold. Clearly the period which the year 1927 may be thought to represent marks a

departure from the age-long American tradition of reliance upon the untrained teacher.

The spirit of unrest which has pervaded education generally in the United States since the war has played no favorites. The institutions of higher education, as well as elementary and secondary schools, have been subjected to searching criticism. The college of liberal arts in particular has been tried before the bar of public opinion. As a result, the institutions of this latter type which have not indulged in one or more experiments with the curriculum or the methods of teaching are few and far between. General survey or orientation courses in both the social and the natural sciences were introduced into the colleges from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Special and general honors courses for superior students and the English tutorial system of instruction had their vogue. Old colleges, such as Antioch, experienced a rebirth, and great state universities, such as the University of Wisconsin, have considered ways and means of overcoming handicaps of size. At Madison an experimental college was opened in the fall of 1927. A class of 120 carefully chosen Freshmen was guaranteed, through its own quarters and faculty, an independent existence within the bounds of the larger institution. Provision was made for intimate contacts between teacher and student, and many of the formalisms which have become a part of the higher education were abolished. The traditional lines between subjects were erased, and whole civilizations were made the object of study. According to the plan announced, the major part of the first year was to be devoted to an examination of a pre-scientific civilization, such as that of ancient Athens. This was to be followed in the second year by a study of nineteenth-century England or America. In 1927 final steps were also taken to launch a unique experiment in the higher education of women at Bennington, Vermont. Although the project had been under way for some time, it was not until near the close of this year that the practical step of selecting a president was taken. The object of the experiment is to shake off the bonds of conventional notions and practices regarding the education of women and to develop by means of experimentation new procedures which are

adapted to the needs of women in modern society. In 1927 the higher education in America was on the march.

The extraordinary expansion of educational institutions which has occurred in the United States during the past generation would hardly have been possible if the country had not also experienced a phenomenal increase in wealth and income. Expenditures for educational purposes have kept pace with the growth of the schools. In 1890 the total cost of public education was but \$141,000,000. In 1895 this increased to \$176,000,000, in 1900 to \$215,000,000, in 1905 to \$292,000,000, in 1910 to \$426,000,000, in 1915 to \$605,000,000, in 1920 to \$1,036,000,000, and in 1925 to \$1,946,000,000. These figures suggest an enormous growth in the cost of education, but they cannot, of course, be taken at their face value. The value of the dollar declined steadily throughout this 35-year period. If therefore the expenditures on education be reported in "1913 dollars," the change is found to be much less impressive or from \$187,000,000 to \$1,156,000,000. Moreover, during the war years the real expenditures on education decreased. Thus, although the cost of education in current dollars increased from \$605,000,000 in 1915 to \$1,036,000,000 in 1920, in terms of "1913 dollars" there was a decrease from \$600,000,000 to \$525,000,000. In the years immediately following, however, there was a very rapid advance in expenditures, so rapid in fact that by 1922 the figure of \$992,000,000 had been reached, and the losses occasioned by the war were recouped. Consequently from 1922 to 1925 changes went forward more gradually, and in all probability by 1927 the effects of the war were obliterated.

This account of educational changes in 1927 may well conclude with a brief reference to advances in educational theory. In the early years of the present century students of education gradually turned their attention from a study of the history of education and from more or less fruitless speculations about education to the application of scientific methods in a direct attack upon the problems of learning and tuition. With the subsequent development of the measurement movement more and more energy was devoted to the construction of scales, the testing of children, and

the gathering of statistics. By 1920 this movement had more or less run its course, and educators throughout the country slowly came to realize that tests and scales were at best but instruments that may be used for the most diverse purposes. The question was therefore raised in many quarters with ever increasing frequency regarding the value of the educational products measured. Such queries generated an interest in the curriculum which swept rapidly through the teaching profession and affected both theory and practice. On the theoretical side this interest perhaps culminated in the publication of the *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, in 1927. This yearbook, the product of the efforts of a committee of the Society which had been at work for several years, was devoted entirely to the theory and practice of curriculum-making. The attack upon the curriculum naturally led to a consideration of the question of values and the more fundamental educational questions. The launching of the *Journal of Educational Sociology* in September of 1927 was a concrete manifestation of this shift of attention. Thus the year under examination, while witnessing the steady advance of many educational movements which reach back to the closing years of the last century, was particularly marked by a search on the part of students of education for guidance in their efforts to put content into the huge educational structure created by industrial society.

## GOVERNMENT

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J. P. CHAMBERLAIN

Professor of Public Law and Director of the Legislative Drafting Bureau,  
Columbia University

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### ABSTRACT

The session laws of the states for 1927 show a development of the centralizing tendency in the organization of state government, and indicate that the single-headed department is gaining in the public mind as a means of carrying out the purely executive function of the government. It has not, however, displaced the board in the majority of the less populous states, where commissioners with overlapping terms still are depended on to prevent the concentration of power over the business machine of the state in the governor, which is sought by the newer system. Where regulating, rule-making, or semi-judicial functions are to be exercised, the board persists, even in the states which have gone farthest toward centralization, and various devices are employed to keep them as free from political control as is possible in a democracy. The organizing spirit is in evidence even in the most recalcitrant of all departments of government to its influence. The system of courts has been organized under a judicial council, which, however, is strictly a "guild" organization of lawyers, judges in most states arising out of, and falling back into, the mass of members of the bar, owing to our system of election of judges. Deficiencies of purely local police organization are becoming more evident with the increasing development of the automobile as a handmaid of crime, and the great mobility of the criminal. State police, and now state criminal identification bureaus, evidence the emergence of the state as an administrative unit for the protection of its citizens against criminals. Faint beginnings appear of the central prosecuting agency with advisory functions to the local prosecutors. The organization of the air is proceeding apace, with the whip hand in Congress, but with the state governments finding aerial legislative territory unoccupied by Congress, in which they can exercise their imaginations. The Radio Commission is an interesting example of an administrative board adapted to protect not only the rights of the individual, but also the rights of various geographical divisions of the country against the possible tyranny of a single head of a department.

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The process of adjusting the American governmental machinery of the states to the greatly increased burden put upon it in the form of new functions assumed, and the increased importance given to old functions, has taken up a large share of the time of the legislatures, and of those interested in better government. The time-honored system of adding a new commission or a new department to deal with each new agency of government has broken down, and the states are striving for a more orderly method of organization which will permit an orderly expansion of government to meet the new demands which are put upon it.

A serious difficulty in accomplishing this end is the lack of permanent civil service, particularly in the higher positions of government. This makes the problem of separating the political from the administrative functions of the executive government far more difficult than would be the case in a country like England, with its highly efficient civil service organization carrying on regardless of whether a Conservative, Liberal, or Labor ministry is in office, directing the political activities of the administration. An American government—that of the nation or that of a state—has no such clear distinction between its essentially political and its essentially administrative personnel. The president is theoretically responsible for both sides of the national executive, and the men who directly control both functions are appointed by him with regard rather to their political than to their business qualifications. In the states the tendency was against this combination of power in the hands of one man, and diffusion of power was accomplished by the election of the great officers of the state, who were thereby rendered independent of the governor. This system, however, has broken down with the added load on the administrative machine and the necessity for closer functioning together of branches of the greatly expanded state organization. The present tendency reverses the old current and runs in the direction of greater concentration of power in the hands of the governor by giving him a wider power of appointment and thus making it easier for him to secure administrative co-ordination. In other words, the fear of political centralization of power has yielded to the need of administrative centralization. Another device widely used in this country to prevent political control, although often at the expense of administrative efficiency, is the administrative commission. To assure its independence the members of the commission frequently have overlapping terms and are required to be of more than one party. This device is particularly important where the administrative function involved is rule-making, legislative or semijudicial. Notably in the case of civil service and public service commissions, following the model of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is this form of executive organization applied; but it is also used in such great departments as that of education, involving a primary interest of the

people, in which freedom from political influence is esteemed of the highest importance. In the national government the most recent example of such commissions is the Radio Commission, which illustrates another interesting point in American administration, geographical representation on the administrative board so that the various regions will receive fair consideration for their special interests.

Not only has the increase in the state administrative force led to reforms in organization, but through the increase in expense which it renders necessary there has come the effort, through the budget, through some form of central purchase, at least for state institutions, to avoid waste.

This short study includes the changes in administration shown in the session laws of the states and acts of Congress. The statutes are grouped to show tendencies and to suggest the conflict between the new idea of administrative efficiency by centralization under the governors and the still persistent effort to keep politics out of the business of the state by separating the political from the purely administrative function as far as possible.

#### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

It has not yet been determined exactly what are the rights of Congress to regulate the air domain of the United States and just how far the states can exercise control over acts done in the aerial territory which was formally annexed to the United States by the Air Commerce Act of 1926 (44 Statutes at Large 568)<sup>1</sup> following the precedent set by the nations of the world who ratified the Air Navigation Convention. Both the Convention and the American statute provided that the aerial domain over the territory of a country and over its coastal waters was subject to the sovereignty of that state and formed part of its territory.

As to the United States, it is of importance to determine whether the aerial territory was annexed by the Act of 1926 or whether the Act of 1926 merely proclaimed an existing state of law. If the annexation was the result of the declaration by Congress, then it could be argued that the states have no right to sovereignty in the territory above the air space which has been occupied by buildings

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, references are to statutes of 1927.

and constructions on land. The states have no right to acquire territory; only the United States can annex a new domain, and, once it is acquired, may govern it until such time as the territory is organized into a state and admitted to the Union; but it would take a very great stretch of the imagination to foresee an aerial state with its own aerial legislature passing aerial laws for a settled population of airmen.

Congress has not been bold enough to adopt frankly this position and proceed to legislate for the air space over the country as its constitutional right. It has, however, effectively taken over the legislative field, so far as the policing and control over rights are concerned, under its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce. The first expression of this power was in the Air Commerce Act of 1926. By this statute the national legislature regulated air navigation so far as it was in interstate or foreign commerce, and thereby set up standards with which the states must necessarily comply, since airplanes or aviators will rarely remain within the confines of a single state.

The Radio Act of 1927 (44 Statutes at Large 1162) is a second regulation of the aerial territory of the Republic on the theory of control by Congress of interstate and foreign commerce, but here the monopoly effect of the congressional legislation is more apparent than in the Air Commerce Act. A radio transmitting station which would have effect only within a state's boundaries is inconceivable. The jazz or the political advice originating in Chicago will inevitably be wafted over the waves of the lake to Michigan, and across the imaginary boundary line which divides Illinois from Wisconsin. A sending station in Milwaukee might seriously interfere with the use of the air by a sending station in Chicago, so that here, if ever, the need for federal control will be admitted by the most convinced state's-righter. The Act expressly maintains the control of the United States over the channels of interstate and foreign transmission, and permits sending stations to use such channels for a limited period under federal license. Thus rights to use particular wave-lengths can be held only as limited concessions from the government, and not in absolute ownership. A commission is created to be known as the Federal Radio Commission, com-

posed of five commissioners for six-year terms, appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate. Geographical considerations are respected, since one commissioner must be from each of the five zones created by the Act. The commission licenses sending stations and operators with wide powers of control. After a year, the secretary of commerce is to license and regulate stations and operators, but the board is continued to decide appeals from the decisions of the secretary. This is an interesting instance of an administrative court, established to protect the rights of individuals from an arbitrary exercise of power by the head of a department. The usual court appeal is given from a refusal to issue, or a revocation of, a license. Control of the rates to be charged for the transmission of messages is not given to the Radio Commission or to the secretary of commerce, but the foundation for control of the rates with foreign countries is laid by a provision that there shall be a condition in a license for a station, for commercial communication in foreign commerce on such terms as shall be necessary to assure just and reasonable rates and service in the operation and use of the station.

Among the statutory police regulations of the radio business is an interesting section forbidding the licensing authority to censor messages or to interfere with the right to free speech, except that no person shall utter any obscene, indecent, or profane language over the radio. Thus another group of federal crimes is created, perhaps strengthening the demand for federal police courts which has already been loudly heard as a result of the mass of minor breaches of the postal and prohibition acts.

The state of Michigan also was moved to protect the radio industry, and by Act 131 vested in the state Public Utilities Commission the power to make regulations to prohibit interference in radio reception caused by simultaneous broadcasting of transmitting stations within the state. The difficulties with state control are evidenced in another provision of the Act which attempts to regulate broadcasting from stations outside the state if "the broadcasting originates within the state and if interference is caused within the state." Presumably this means that where a transmitting station outside the state is creating interference in Michigan, the operators

of that station will not be permitted to have microphones installed in Michigan connected with the offending foreign sending station. The Commission may make rules to prohibit the use of receiving instruments which cause interference in radio reception. The legislature expressly declares that nothing shall be done under the Act in contravention to the regulations of the United States, but if the Act is enforced the question will be presented to the courts whether the United States Congress has intent to occupy the whole field of interstate commerce in radio transmission, so that what it has not regulated is intended to be left free from state interference, or whether the Congress intends the states to be permitted to take action in respect of matters not regulated by the federal authority.

Maine, chapter 215, also regulates the receiving end of radio transmission. It does not, however, intrust the function of regulation to the commission, but fines the breach of the Act by using receiving sets which unreasonably disturb certain wave-lengths to other sets.

Outside of the Radio Act, the most interesting regulation of 1927 was chapter 348, 44 Statutes at Large 1381, which created in the treasury department a Bureau of Customs and a Bureau of Prohibition, each under control of a commissioner to be appointed by the secretary without regard to civil service. Other officers in the bureaus are, however, subject to the civil service legislation. Thus the enforcement of the prohibition and narcotic laws, in purpose police and not revenue, is vested in a separate bureau in the treasury department. This new creation recognizes the necessity of separating police from revenue functions and indicates a new department in Washington uniting the Police functions in the treasury and the post-office department.

#### CONSOLIDATION AND CONTROL IN STATE GOVERNMENT

In the field of state administration the three most interesting questions are, first, the consolidation of bureaus and divisions; second, centralization of control in the governor; and, third, boards or individuals as heads of departments. New York and California took the most important strides in the year 1927, continuing the reorganization which was already well under way. In New York the object of the reorganization was to concentrate power and responsi-

bility for the business of the state in the governor, and the device used was to assemble in the separate executive departments all the various units of the state administration, with the executive heads of the departments usually commissioners appointed by the governor and the Senate to hold office during the term of the governor by whom they were appointed. Consequently the incoming governor would find the way clear to appoint heads of departments in sympathy with him and for whose activities he could be held responsible. For example, by chapter 28, the superintendent of insurance was changed from an officer appointed for an indefinite term to an officer appointed for the term of the governor, and by chapter 512, creating the Department of Public Works, the superintendent of public works was subjected to the same rule. So the labor department was put under one administrative head of this type by chapter 166.

There are in the state administration functions which are of a judicial or legislative rule-making nature, and which, therefore, would not lend themselves so readily to this system of organization. The New York legislature recognized the distinction and has met it in interesting ways. The Civil Service Commission is continued as a commission of three, appointed by the governor and the Senate for overlapping six-year terms, by chapter 440. The control over the civil service law is thus taken away from the governor as far as possible and vested in an independent commission which should not be subject to the political or personal influence of the chief of the state. Another method of dealing with the difficulty occurs in the labor department, where chapter 166 creates, in addition to the administrative head, a board of five members to exercise the important rule-making power of the department and to decide compensation cases. The members of the board are independent of the head of the department since they are appointed by the governor and the Senate, and their character as an independent body is emphasized by the fact that their terms are for six years, instead of, as in the case of the executive officers, ending with the term of the governor who appointed them, and overlap so no one governor can control the board by his power of appointment. Another interesting device further to secure a non-political administration of the department

and to carry out the labor law in the interest of the employers and employees is the Industrial Council of ten members appointed by the governor alone and containing five employers and five employees. Its power is wholly advisory, but its importance, both in watching over the administration of the department and in acting as a committee to educate the workmen and employers in the objects of the department and in the labor law, is evident. Another survival of the board theory is the board of housing, of five, continued in the new Department of Public Works, chapter 512, under the superintendent of public works. But there is an interesting distinction in that the board is appointed, not by the governor, but by the superintendent.

The principle of administrative responsibility is carried out in New York by having subordinate officers in the departments appointed, not by the governor, but by the head of the department. An interesting case of this method of centralizing authority is chapter 19, which makes administrative officers of state institutions subject to appointment and removal by the Board of Charities, the head of the department, and not by the governor.

California has a different method of appointment of the heads of the departments, also giving the governor full control, illustrated by chapter 128, creating the Department of Natural Resources under a commissioner appointed by the governor "during his pleasure." Chapter 440 sets up the Department of Industrial Relations, making its head also a director appointed by the governor during his pleasure. Chapter 251 puts the Department of Finance under a director appointed in the usual way, instead of the old Board of Control of three members appointed by the governor. The need for a board for legislative and judicial functions was met in California in the Department of Industrial Relations, by continuing the Industrial Accident Commission for the administration of compensation laws, and creating unpaid commissions of industrial welfare, of migration, and of housing. Although the Board of Control was abolished, its functions could not be transferred entirely to an individual director of a department, so an *ex officio* Board of Control was continued in the Department of Finance, to consist of the director, the chief of the division of service and supply, and the state

comptroller. The land settlement board is made part of the Department of Agriculture. It becomes *ex officio*, consisting of the director of agriculture, the state engineer, and the director of finance, instead of being composed of five persons appointed by the governor. It is worth noting that chapter 408 creates a division of schoolhouse planning in the Department of Education and not in that of Public Works. This may be explained by the fact that the schoolhouses are built by independent counties and districts so that the work of the division will be advisory.

Very important is the acceptance by California, in chapter 105, of the idea of the governor's council composed of the heads of departments which must meet monthly and report to the governor on the administration of each department. Oregon shows the trend away from direct popular control by chapter 246, which allows the governor to appoint the Public Service Commission for overlapping terms instead of electing them.

Connecticut, in chapter 14, puts in the hands of the governor direct control of the state agencies, institutions of the state, and Mothers' Pension Act, by giving him the power to appoint a state agent for a four-year term, to report directly to him. The office is not new, but the agent was formerly appointed by the state treasurer. In the future the supervision of the use of state money will be directly under the control of the governor, who is thus made immediately responsible for the relief work of the state.

The struggle in the body politic between central control by the administrative head and diffusion of power is well illustrated in Arkansas, chapter 137, which sets up boards, appointed by the governor for overlapping terms, to administer the affairs of the state penitentiary and the state welfare institutions, but which authorizes him also to appoint, to hold office during his pleasure, a central purchasing agent and a comptroller for all the institutions, and a parole officer for paroled prisoners. This act is further notable as it replaces the Central Board of Charities, which had supervisory control over institutions.

A movement away from the concentration of power in the governor appears in Connecticut, chapter 297, which creates a Department of Finance and Control under a board of ten, headed by

the governor, containing a number of elective state officers *ex officio* and three electors appointed by the governor to hold office for six years with overlapping terms. This board, with its power of investigation and control over state finance, departs far from the simple plan of business control of the state by the governor and puts the business of the state into commission. Michigan also, by chapter 12, weakens the power of the governor by permitting the state administrative board through a concurrent vote of five members to issue an order over the veto of the governor, which formerly they could not do. The board has supervision over the administrative machine and may order an interchange of employees, so that it, and not the governor, would apparently be the responsible body in state administration. An interesting decentralization occurs in two New Mexico statutes, one of which, in chapter 97, creates a state dairy commissioner to be named by the state agricultural college to enforce the food standards and dairy regulation laws. He is to act under the direction of the regents of the college, and so is completely divorced from any control by the governor. Chapter 115 creates a bureau of mines in the state university under a director appointed by the board of regents; but this is a less striking case, as the director has no administrative power, but merely collects statistics and data.

Missouri, on page 292, follows the trend of the times by consolidating its departments of Labor Statistics and Industrial Inspection into a Bureau of Labor and Industrial Inspection with a head appointed for four years by the governor; but Arkansas, by chapter 115, instead of consolidating, divides a department. The old Department of Insurance and Revenue is cut into two departments: a Department of Insurance and a Department of Revenue, each under a single commissioner appointed by the governor for a fixed time.

The interesting question of who should administer the motor law with its combination of revenue and regulation is decided differently by New Mexico, Vermont, and Florida. The last-named state, by chapter 11901, creates a state motor-vehicle commissioner appointed by the governor for four years expressly to relieve the comptroller. New Mexico, by chapter 111, consolidated under the

state comptroller, not only the collection of motor licenses and the registration of motor vehicles, but the collection of gas tax, duties formerly imposed on other departments; while Vermont, chapter 69, created a Department of Motor Vehicles, headed by a commissioner, to replace a bureau in the office of the secretary of state.

#### BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

The principle of centralization of control either in the hands of the governor for the administration at large or in a single head for a bureau or department has not gained the full confidence of the country at large. The contrary device of vesting power in a board with overlapping terms, so that the board is continuous and no governor can control it through his power of appointment, is used not only for the purpose of carrying out clearly board functions like the selection of candidates for the civil service or the control of public utilities, but is also used in numerous cases where single-headed administration would be possible. Wisconsin tried and found wanting a single-headed department of conservation, so, by chapter 426, the legislature substituted a commission of six appointed by the governor for overlapping terms. Another interesting case is the highway commission established by chapter 102 of the laws of Iowa, which consists of a board of five members appointed by the governor for overlapping terms, and thus vests an important part of the state business in a body independent of the executive head of the state. The principle is not new in Iowa highway law, but it is evident that the people of the state are satisfied with it. Delaware, by chapter 50, and Florida, by chapter 12283, confide their forests to the oversight of boards appointed for overlapping terms, and Arkansas, by chapter 172, makes the same provision for the administration of its parks, while public welfare is confided by Florida, chapter 1228, to a similar board. In these instances the executive as well as the administrative function is exercised by the board through the power which is given it to appoint its administrative officer, and thus the principle of centralization is wholly set aside. For example, the Florida boards of forestry and public welfare and the Wisconsin Conservation Commission appoint their subordinates. The Delaware Board of Forestry has the same power, and

the enlarged Texas Board of Prison Commissioners, chapter 212, employs a general manager for the prison system.

Another much-used form of organization is to make the chairman of the board its executive officer, and have him appointed by the governor. Although the law often declares that the board is the head of the department, it is in fact the rule-making organ, with a degree of supervisory power, while the administrative function rests with the chief executive through the chairman directly subject to and removable by him. Thus the legislative power in the department is made independent of the executive, and able to hamper its exercise of power by the regulations and through its right to criticize. California, by chapter 49, puts at the head of its important Department of Social Welfare a director appointed by the governor and a board of six appointed for overlapping terms. The same state, by chapter 276, confides in a board of seven, consisting also of a director and six others appointed by the governor for overlapping terms, the control of its Department of Health. Colorado, by chapter 138, creates a Gas Conservation Commission composed of a state oil inspector and three members for overlapping terms, appointed by the governor. The Commission has the legislative rule-making power of the Department, and the inspector, appointed by the governor, is the executive head.

A hybrid type of separation of powers inside a department occurs in Arkansas, chapter 221, which establishes the state board of conservation. In this case the terms are not overlapping and are only for two-year periods. The board consists of the commissioner of conservation and four "honorary associate members" who are appointed by the governor. The commissioner formerly ruled alone. One of his functions was the control of the development of the gas and oil resources of the state, including the power to space wells on private property so as to conserve the oil in any particular pool. Evidently on account of the demand for the exercise of this function and the American unwillingness to let a single man have such power, the board was created and authorized not only to make rules but to appoint a field agent as its administrative officer.

Another interesting principle is exemplified in the case of these

boards. Their members are unpaid, and are, therefore, not expected to devote themselves to public work. This is usual in respect of rule-making boards, and instances like the Industrial Board in the New York Labor Department, or the Industrial Accident Commission in the California Department of Industrial Relations, are not examples of the contrary, since they administer the compensation law, and therefore exercise a judicial as well as a legislative power. An unpaid board can exercise executive powers only through its executive officer, whose activity it can supervise.

A second point to note in respect of the commission is the requirement that trained men be appointed. The members of the California Board of Public Health are all doctors; the members of the Colorado and Arkansas boards of conservation must be experienced oil men. This point is notably in evidence in cases, now numerous, of boards to regulate particular professions. For example, Florida, chapter 12223, and Alabama, No. 334, in authorizing a real estate commission of three, require the governor to appoint persons who have been in the business.

The charm of the *ex officio* board appears to be waning but not to be entirely lost. North Dakota, for example, by chapter 158, sets up a highway commission composed of the governor and two appointed members to take the place of a commission composed of the governor, certain other public officers, and two appointed members; but Montana, by chapter 60, sets up a department of state lands under an *ex officio* board. The reorganization in California contains several *ex officio* boards, and in Wyoming, chapter 104, the board of wills and trusts, to look out for legacies to the state, is *ex officio*. An important *ex officio* board is to be abolished in Texas, page 499, if the proposed amendment to article VII, §8 of the Constitution is approved which substitutes a board of education, to be elected or appointed, for the old board consisting of the governor, comptroller, and secretary of state.

#### BUDGET

Alabama, No. 11, illustrates a reconciliation of the executive budget with the principle of election of heads of departments. Where the administration is split up among several elected officials, the governor being only one, it would be clearly a breach of the

principle of diffusion of power to permit him to control expenses of the department through the budget. So Alabama, after at first including with the governor only two of the elected heads of departments in the budget commission, amended her act to admit all of them, and, in addition, two appointees of the governor's, the chairman of the tax commission and the examiner of accounts. Oregon, by chapter 130, has put the operation of the budget under the supervision of the governor and taken it away from the direction of the board of control, thus realizing the ideal of the executive budget with the responsibility vested in the chief of the state. Pennsylvania, chapter 164, substitutes a budget secretary, named by the governor, for the secretary of the commonwealth as budget officer. Ohio, chapter 392, in its amended budget act, strengthens the governor's fiscal control by requiring the department of finance to make a monthly report on the condition of state funds, so that he may prevent in time expenditures in excess of appropriations. The budget principle, however, which involves the payment of all the state income into one fund which is then distributed according to the judgment of the budget official and the legislature, thus involving an important control, through allocation of appropriations, over the various activities of the state, is not universally maintained. In respect of schools and roads the exceptions are many, and Oregon, by chapter 297, has introduced another modification by establishing a fee based on the gross operating revenues of public utilities which is paid into the public service fund, out of which the expenses of the Public Service Commission are paid. Iowa, chapter 101, creates a similar budget-exempt fund for the maintenance of the state highway commission, consisting of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the automobile license fund; and so does Wyoming, by chapter 129, for its new Department of Commerce and Industry.

#### CENTRAL PURCHASE

Central purchase shows agreement on principle but indecision as to how it should be carried out. Idaho, by chapter 139, puts the responsibility for purchase of goods for the state directly upon the governor by authorizing him to appoint a state purchasing agent, for no specific term, who may be removed at the governor's discretion. This is a particularly interesting case of the centralization of

power in the governor, since formerly the duty of purchasing supplies was vested in the Department of Public Works. Hereafter the governor and his purchasing agent can be held directly responsible for any failure to get proper returns for state money spent for supplies. Indiana, on the other hand, by chapter 121, sets up a joint board of purchase for state institutions which is composed of one member of the board of each institution. Arkansas, by chapter 37, which restores control of state institutions to separate boards, centralized purchase under an agent appointed by the governor to hold office at his discretion. Thus the state administration is in no way responsible for this very important item in state expense, but on the other hand the danger of political control is lessened.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The movement for a better organization of the system of courts made headway in 1927. Instead of considering judges as individual fountains of justice, they are being treated as part of an administrative system who need supervision to assure good functioning, as well as supervision by the courts of appeal to assure conformity to law as dispensers of justice. Connecticut, by chapter 190, sets up a judicial council to consist of the chief justice of the supreme court or another justice of the court or a former justice, appointed by the chief; one judge or former judge of the superior court, one judge of the common pleas, and one of a city court, all appointed by the chief justice; and one state attorney, and not more than four attorneys, whom the governor names. The council reports to the governor biennially on the work of the judicial system with recommendations for betterment, and may submit to the judges suggestions for improved rules of practice. This last power is important as, if it is well used, it will tend to place in the courts themselves the power over rules of procedure and practice now so generally left to the action—or neglect—of the legislatures.

Kansas, chapter 187, forms her judicial council out of one justice of the supreme court, two judges of different judicial districts, four resident lawyers, the chairman of the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives, and the chairman of the judiciary committee of the Senate, all except the last two to be appointed by the chief justice of the supreme court. The term is four years, and

one-half the membership changes every two years. The duty of the council is to study the judicial business of the state, rules of procedure, and the condition of dockets, and to report to the governor.

The people of California amended their constitution in the fall of 1926 for the same purpose, by adding to article VI, 1 (a). The council is to consist of the chief and one associate justice of the supreme court, three judges of the district court of appeals, four judges of the superior courts, one of a police and one of an inferior court, all appointed by the chief justice. The council supervises the administrative work of the court, makes recommendations to the governor and legislature relating to procedure, and establishes rules of practice. North Dakota, by chapter 124, takes a similar step. The council is composed of all the judges of the supreme court, one judge of a county court selected by the supreme court, the attorney-general, the dean of the state university law school, and five members of the bar chosen by the Executive Committee of the State Bar Association. In North Dakota, California, and Kansas the council is strictly an organ of the legal fraternity, only judges and lawyers being concerned in its membership; while in Connecticut the political power merely intervenes to the extent of naming part of the members. The two chairmen in the Kansas Council are practically certain to be lawyers, and their purpose on the Council is to form a link between the legislature and the judiciary, so that legislative action on the recommendations of the Council will be easier to secure. The "guild" organization of the bar is more complete than that of other professional groups, since the judges who must finally pass on the acts of the "guild" are themselves lawyers, not public functionaries, like judges on the Continent of Europe.

#### CRIMINAL ORGANIZATION

An interesting development of the state government resulting from the need of some central organs for the control of crime is particularly evident in the establishment of state criminal identification bureaus, which are becoming very common. Through the national bureau in Washington and through co-operation between the state bureaus it is possible that a country-wide net will be spread for the detection of criminals and for the securing of infor-

mation in respect of second- and third-termers, which will permit a better application of the laws punishing recidivists more severely than debutants in crime. In 1927 four states have established bureaus: Utah, chapter 84; Rhode Island, chapter 977; Indiana, chapter 216; and Minnesota, chapter 224. Here again uncertainty as to the best method of administering the bureau is in evidence. In Rhode Island and Minnesota it is put under the attorney-general; in Indiana it is made subject to the secretary of state; and in Utah an old notion in American administration appears. The head of the bureau is a board composed of the attorney-general, a city chief of police, and a county sheriff, appointed by the governor to serve during their terms of office. In every case the superintendent of the bureau is appointed by the officer or board which controls it, and he in his turn appoints the subordinates, thus in both cases recognizing the principle of responsibility of the head of the bureau.

The beginnings of a state system of criminal prosecution appear in the Minnesota and Indiana statutes. Indiana requires the assistant superintendent to be a practicing lawyer and expressly directs him to co-operate with prosecuting attorneys, and puts on the bureau the duty of conducting investigations to secure evidence against accused persons. Minnesota, while it entitles its organ the "Bureau of Criminal Apprehension," does not go quite so far. It limits the activities of the superintendent to aiding sheriffs, on their request, to co-ordinate their work with other peace officers "in detecting and apprehending criminals and in enforcing the criminal law of the state." Another use of the central bureau is developed in Rhode Island and Utah, which require that police authorities send to the bureau a record of all stolen, lost, and found property, thus creating a source of information on a state-wide scale which should help in the present campaign going on against the receivers of stolen goods as at least one of the roots of all crime. The principle of state-wide information in respect of stolen goods has been widely applied in automobile legislation requiring information in a central state office of stolen or lost automobiles, so that this is the extension of an accepted, rather than the introduction of a totally new, idea.

An organ of state enforcement of criminal law, of the sheriff type, is the state sheriff created by chapter 51, Nebraska. He is a permanent officer who will have to enforce the laws, particularly the laws against stock raising, another evidence of the reorganization of the social system to meet the strain put upon the old-fashioned localized system of organization which more or less well met the need of the farming era. Another duty of the state sheriff is to supervise the deputy sheriffs who may be appointed by the governor in case of need, a sort of state posse comitatus. A step back toward enforcement of the law is Colorado, chapter 49, which creates the state police, and a step forward is Idaho, chapter 41, authorizing the governor to name a parole officer to have charge of the criminals. The lawmakers of Idaho have great confidence in the possibilities of the individual the governor will find. The parole officer is not only to supervise the conduct of paroled criminals but also to assist in keeping up the morale of the state penitentiary.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT

To determine general trends in municipal administration it would be necessary to consider not only the various amendments modifying charters or referring to particular cities, but also, since the spread of municipal home rule, the various home-rule cities. Such a task would go beyond the scope of this article. There are, however, a few general laws of interest. In many states statutes indicate the tendency toward the election of administrative officers. Iowa, for example, gives the council in cities and towns power to appoint the city engineer, and auditor instead of having them appointed by the board of supervisors. New Jersey, by chapter 17, makes the logic of the law providing that appointments to any office or to membership on a board or other agency in the city under the General Law must be made by the mayor, but puts an effective check on the exercise of power by chapter 223, which forbids the mayor from holding office for a definite term without the approval of the governing body of the municipality. The home rule movement around the offices has not altogether disappeared. The political American, as is evident from a pro-



the constitution of Wisconsin, Session Laws, page 98, to prohibit a county sheriff's serving more than two terms in succession. The county as an administrative unit, a movement noticeable in respect of schools, appears in chapter 306 of Michigan, permitting county boards of supervisors to provide a county health department with a health officer appointed by the board. Two or more counties may even unite into a district with a district health officer. Thus a unit able to pay a health officer and provide a base for expense wide enough to create a worth-while health service is substituted for the former plan of permitting townships and villages to combine. County budgeting is made obligatory by South Dakota, chapter 79.

#### CONCLUSION

The student of state government, after going through the statutory changes for the year, feels like a Newton on the shore of the ocean of knowledge with a seashell in his hand. Beyond the statutes lie the administrative decisions, the administrative rules and orders, and the various devices for enforcing the law, penal as well as educational. Filling out the skeleton of administrative orders and the statutes lies the mass of official reports, administrative and legislative. Before this mass of material the boldest individual must quail, and it is evident that only by joint action of experienced men and scholars, each working in a limited field, can any fair judgment be formed of the relative efficiency of different schemes of organization and administrative devices in the forty-eight states of the Union and in the federal government.

## GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, 1849-1928

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After a long illness George E. Howard died at Lincoln, Nebraska, June 9.

Professor Howard was the seventh president of the American Sociological Society, holding this office during 1917.

He began his academic work as professor of history in the University of Nebraska in 1879; was later head of the history department of Stanford University 1891-1901; professorial lecturer in the University of Chicago, 1903-04; and professor of institutional history 1904-06 and professor of political science and sociology in the University of Nebraska from 1906 until 1924, when he retired.

His outstanding contribution to sociological literature was his work, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, chiefly in England and in the United States, published in three volumes, in 1904.

The editors of the *Journal* plan to publish in a later issue an article on the life and work of Professor Howard.

## NEWS AND NOTES

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Notes of interest to the readers of the *Journal* should be in the hands of the editor of "News and Notes" not later than the tenth of the month preceding publication.

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*American Sociological Society.*—The twenty-third annual meeting of the Society will be held in Chicago, December 26–29, 1928. Meeting at the same time and place are the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Farm Economic Association, the National Community Center Association, and the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology.

The central topic of the general meeting of the American Sociological Society is "The Rural Community." Papers will be presented on the different aspects of rural life from the standpoints of social psychology, human ecology and population, social statistics, social research, and social biology. The various sections of the Society will hold separate meetings to discuss subjects of special interest in rural sociology, the family, the community, the sociology of religion, sociology and social work, educational sociology, the teaching of sociology, and the relation of sociology and psychiatry.

*Section on Rural Sociology.*—Eben Mumford, chairman of the Committee on the Section on Rural Sociology of the American Sociological Society, announces the following sub-committee personnel for the present year: *Research*, J. H. Kolb, chairman, University of Wisconsin; J. A. Dickey, University of Arkansas; Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University. *Teaching*, F. R. Yoder, chairman, Washington State College; H. L. Hypes, Connecticut Agricultural College; B. F. Coen, Colorado Agricultural College. *Extension*, B. L. Hummel, chairman, University of Missouri; R. B. Tom, Ohio State University; W. E. Garnett, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station. *Publications*, Dwight Sanderson, chairman, Cornell University; Thos. L. Harris, West Virginia University; C. C. Zimmerman, University of Minnesota. *Population*, C. Luther Fry, chairman, Institute of Social and Religious Research; Warren S. Thompson, Miami University; R. E. Stewart, Iowa State College.

*Membership of the Society.*—The names and addresses of members received into the Society since the *Proceedings* went to press and therefore not included in the membership list published in that volume, are as follows:

- Ammon, Ralph E., R. 7, Madison, Wis.  
 Anderson, Clarence O., 6007 Dorchester Ave., Chicago  
 Blanton, Annie Webb, Box 1742, University, Austin, Tex.  
 Blumenthal, Albert B., Philipsburg, Mont.  
 Campbell, James R., 303 Ramsay St., Stillwater, Okla.  
 Chaddock, Robert E., Columbia University, New York  
 Chapman, C. C., 223 Worcester Bldg., Portland, Ore.  
 Cooke, Mary, 409 Water St., Waukegan, Ill.  
 Covert, Mary A., Department of Home Economics, College of Emporia, Emporia, Kans.  
 Daniel, W. A., American Missionary Association, 287 Fourth Ave., New York  
 Daykin, Walter L., Department of Sociology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.  
 Douglass, Paul F., 358 Terrace Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio  
 Fristoe, Eva M., South Vermillion St., Pontiac, Ill.  
 Fritschel, Edgar G., 2100 Cedar St., Milwaukee, Wis.  
 Goldfeld, Abraham, 132 Goerck St., New York  
 Hatch, Duane Spencer, 401 Cornell St., Ithaca, N. Y.  
 Healey, James C., 507 West St., New York  
 Hess, Rev. Le Roy J., Upper Ridgewood Community Church, Ridgewood, N. J.  
 Hochhauser, Edward, 67 W. 47th St., New York  
 Hopkirk, Howard W., Child Welfare League of America, 130 E. 22d St., New York  
 Jenkins, Ira I., Lingnan University, Canton, China  
 Jersawit, Mrs. Violet A., 161 W. 75th St., New York  
 Kassowitz, Karl E., 141 E. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.  
 Kimball, Lindsley F., 146 Linden Blvd., Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Kops, H. R., 206 N. Mills St., Madison, Wis.  
 Leh, L. L., 5750 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago  
 Lothrop, Margaret M., Stanford University, Calif.  
 McEvilly, Mrs. J. V., 421 W. Gilman St., Madison, Wis.  
 Mattice, Alton E., 233 S. Jackson Ave., Glendale, Calif.  
 Mehus, O. Myking, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio  
 Merritt, G. B., 1022 S. Hickory St., Ottawa, Kans.  
 Miller, Allen, 5731 Kenwood Ave., Chicago  
 Munnich, John H., 5701 Drexel Ave., Chicago  
 Parr, Paulina, 5848 University Ave., Chicago  
 Paustian, E. C., 1693 Capital Ave., St. Paul, Minn.

Pierce, David H., 82 Horatio St., New York  
 Reavis, Tolbert Fanning, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Remland, Benjamin S., 96 Henry St., New York  
 Rotnem, Mrs. Marion Bjorhus, 708 E. 32d St., Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Schafer, Marvin R., 5815 Drexel Ave., Chicago  
 Spaulding, Gerald, Oconomowoc, Wis.  
 Stevens, Kathleen H., 145 Loma Drive, Los Angeles, Calif.  
 Sullivan, Dr. Henry Stack, Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, Towson, Md.  
 Thompson, Edgar T., University of Chicago, Chicago  
 Volker, Edgar W., 3444 Wenonah Ave., Berwyn, Ill.  
 Walker, Marjorie J., Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla.  
 Walters, Mrs. J. M., 705 Harrison St., Madison, Wis.  
 Ward, Miss Jane Shaw, 324 Downing St., Denver, Colo.  
 Whitley, Robert L., Commerce, Tex.  
 Wickware, Francis G., D. Appleton & Co., 35 W. 32d St., New York

*German Sociological Congress.*—The sixth annual German Congress will be held in Zürich September 17-19. The papers to be discussed include the following: "Competition," by Professor Leopold von Wiese and Dr. K. Mannheim; "Migration," by Professors Oppenheimer and Honigsheim; and the "Origins of Art," by Professor Thurnwald. Communications may be addressed to the chairman of the committee on local arrangements, Dr. Manuel Saitzew, Zürich, Asylstr. 26.

*American Country Life Conference.*—In co-operation with the University of Illinois, the American Country Life Association held the eleventh annual conference at Urbana, Illinois, June 19-20-21, 1928. "Rural-Urban Relations" was the central topic.

Topics announced included "Town-Country Co-operation," R. K. Bliss; "The Rural Home," Blanche Rowe; "Farm Income and Farm Life," H. C. Taylor; "Rural Youth," Ernest Burnham; "Rural Organization," C. V. Gregory; "The Rural Church," Sam A. Guard; "Rural Leadership Training," E. L. Morgan; "Rural Government," John A. Fairlee; "Community Planning," John Nolan; "Rural Schools," Katherine M. Cook; "Rural Health," C. E. Lively; "Rural Recreation," H. D. Meyer; "Utilities and Transportation," T. A. Coleman; and "Community Score Cards," Aubrey Williams. Addresses by A. D. Lynch, Peoria; C. J. Galpin, United States Department of Agriculture; David Kinley, president, University of Illinois; Mrs. A. H. Reeve, National Congress Parents and Teachers; K. L. Butterfield, president, American Country Life Association; M. H. Hunter, University of Illinois; and John C. Watson, Chicago, were also planned.

*Ohio Sociological Society.*—The Fourth Annual Meeting was held in Columbus, April 6–7, 1928. Among those presented were "What We Have Done to China," by Guy W. College; "Public Opinion in the United States," by Newell Lin College; "The Place of the Sociologist in the Clinic for," by Charles W. Coulter, Ohio Wesleyan University; "The of Stuckenberg," by C. Terence Pihlblad, Wittenberg College; under way in the state was also presented. Officers for the year are: president, Frederick G. Detweiler, Denison University; I. E. Ash, Ohio University; secretary-treasurer, J. University of Cincinnati; editor, H. A. Miller, Ohio State University. A summary of the papers is published in the May issue of *Sociologist*.

*Social Science Research Council.*—The Social Science Research Council announces the following Grants-in-Aid voted at its meeting (April 7, 1928):

To Dr. Louise Overacker, Wellesley College, for the study of the Use of Money in Elections, \$1,000.

To Professor C. C. North, Ohio State University, for the study of a program for Co-ordinating Social Activities in the Larger American Cities, \$250.

To Dr. C. Luella Gettys, to complete a study of the Effect of Ship, \$800.

To Professor T. R. Garth, University of Denver, to complete a study of Racial Psychology, \$500.

To Mrs. Flora May Fearing, Ohio State University, for the study of the Voting Behavior of a Small Community (Palmyra, Ohio) on the budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1928, and on the budget for the fiscal year 1928–29.

To Professor Carl N. Llewellyn, School of Law, Columbia University, to complete a study on the Relation of Law to Society and Social Sciences, \$1,650.

To Mr. Judson King, Washington, D. C., for the publication of a study of the Use of the Initiative and Referendum in the United States, \$1,500 on the budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1928, and \$2,100 on the budget for the fiscal year 1928–29.

To Professor F. J. Klingberg, University of California, Berkeley Branch, to complete a study of the Effect of Anti-Slavery Social Reform in England, \$300.

*Social Science Research Fellowships.*—The Social Science Research Council announces today the appointment of twenty-one Research Fellows for the year 1928-29. The fellowships are in the fields of anthropology, economics, human geography, political science, law, psychology, sociology, and history. Fourteen universities, from Oregon to Harvard, are represented by the Fellows selected, and the latter will gather their material from all parts of the globe.

The fellowships are granted to young American investigators, both men and women, of outstanding promise in the social sciences. All are under thirty-five years of age and have received the Doctor's degree.

Following is the list of Fellows and their research problems:

#### *Anthropology*

Ruth L. Bunzel (Columbia University): "Social Adjustments in a Primitive Pueblo Community." Place of study: New Mexico.

Charlotte Day Gower (Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago): "An Ethnological and Sociological Study of a Typical Sicilian Village Community as a Contribution to the Background of the Problem of the Sicilian Immigrant to the United States." Place of study: Sicily.

Margaret Meade (American Museum of Natural History): "The Mental Development of Young Children among a Primitive People." Place of study: Melanesia.

#### *Economics*

William Thomas Ham (Harvard University): "Employment Relations in the Construction Industries of England, Germany, and France." Place of study: England, Germany, and France.

Elmo Paul Hohman (Northwestern University): "A Comparative Study of American and European Seagoing Labor in the Twentieth Century, with Special Reference to the Operation of the LaFollete Seamen's Act." Place of study: Leading ports of Europe and the United States.

Helen Fisher Hohman (University of Chicago): "The Development of Population Theory in England During the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Influence of Population Doctrine on Problems of Poverty." Place of study: England.

George Shorey Peterson (University of Michigan): "The Development of the Motor Transport Industry, with Special Reference to Its Adjustment to Existing Transport Agencies and Its Public Control." Place of study: United States and England.

Max Judd Wasserman (University of Illinois): "The Effects of

Monetary and Credit Inflation in France, with Particular Reference to French Business Enterprise." Place of study: France.

Leonard L. Watkins (University of Michigan): "A Comparative Study of New York and London Money Markets." Place of study: London.

#### *Human Geography*

Robert Burnett Hall (University of Michigan): "A Study of Rural Japanese Communities, with Special Reference to the Readjustments Resulting from Migration to Higher and Lower Latitudes." Place of study: Japan.

#### *Political Science*

Harold F. Kumm (University of Minnesota): "The Limits of Executive and Administrative Discretion in Administrative Law." Place of study: New York.

Harold D. Lasswell (University of Chicago): "Possible Uses of Psychiatric Methods in the Study of Political Personalities." Place of study: Boston.

Rodney L. Mott (University of Chicago): "English and European Legal Concepts Similar to the American Constitutional Concept of Due Process of Law." Place of study: London and Paris.

#### *Law*

Alexander Hamilton Frey (Yale Law School): "The Economic Consequences of No-par Value Shares and of Non-voting Shares." Place of study: New York.

#### *Psychology*

Thomas D. Cutsforth (University of Oregon): "The Psychopathic Personality of the Blind as a Factor in their Economic Maladjustment." Place of study: Boston.

Arthur W. Kornhauser (University of Chicago): "A Critical Survey of Current Thought and Research on the Psychological Aspects of Labor Unrest and Industrial Morale." Place of study: England and Germany.

#### *Sociology*

Helene Leland Witmer (University of Minnesota): "Some Effects of the English Social Insurance Acts upon Pauperism." Place of study: England.

#### *History*

Arthur Scott Aiton (University of Michigan): "The Family Compact and International Relations in the Eighteenth Century." Place of study: Spain, France, and England.

Helen M. Allen (University of London): "British Commercial Policy in North America from 1783 to 1793." Place of study: England.

Frederick B. Artz (Oberlin College): "A Social and Intellectual History of the Bourbon Restoration, 1815 to 1830." Place of study: France and the United States.

Michael Kraus (College of the City of New York): "Investigation of Non-Political and Non-Commercial Relations between the American Colonies and Europe in the Eighteenth Century." Place of study: New York and London.

*Fellowships in the Economic and Social Aspects of Agriculture.*—In the last issue the *Journal* reported the inauguration by the Social Science Research Council of a new series of research fellowships for men and women engaged in research in the economic and social aspects of agriculture. A total of \$150,000 has been set aside for this purpose over the coming five years by the Council. The aim of the fellowships is to help meet the urgent need for trained research personnel revealed by a survey of agricultural research recently completed by the Council's Advisory Committee on Research in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology.

The Council announces the appointment of the first group of eighteen Fellows for the coming year. Appointments are for one year each at stipends ranging up to \$2500. Following is the list of Fellows and the institutions with which they are at present connected: Edward J. Bell, Jr., Montana Agricultural Experiment Station; M. R. Benedict, South Dakota State College; Knute Bjorka, Iowa State College; Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University; Harry C. Hensley, University of Missouri; J. A. Hodges, Kansas State Agricultural College; John B. Hutson, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics; A. R. Gans, University of Vermont; Clarence M. Purves, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics; Walter J. Roth, University of Minnesota; R. J. Saville, North Carolina State College; Marvin A. Schaers, University of Wisconsin; Conrad Taeuber, University of Minnesota; Arthur L. Walker, New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts; D. W. Watkins, Clemson Agricultural College; Arthur F. Wileden, University of Wisconsin; Rex E. Willard, North Dakota Agricultural College; Edwin A. Willson, North Dakota Experiment Station. Alternates to whom fellowships will be given if funds become available through the dropping out of any of the above appointees: John A. Commons, University of Wisconsin; Robert C. Ross, University of Illinois; Burton D. Seeley, Colorado Experiment Station.

*A Conference on the Family.*—The program of the Kansas State Conference of Social Work held at Wichita, March 16-17, was organized around the subject of the family and social work, from the standpoint of psychiatry, sociology, psychology, and biology. The following papers were presented: "Emotional Conflicts That Wreck Family Life" by Dr. G. L. Harrington, Kansas City; "The American Family in Social Change" by E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago; "Conflicts between Parents and Children" by Helen Gregory, National Committee on Visiting Teaching; "The Eugenic Program" by Dr. H. H. Lane, University of Kansas. The college teachers of sociology in Kansas held a meeting with Professor Walter Burr of the Kansas State Agricultural College as chairman on the subject "Training for Parenthood as a Purpose in the Teaching of Sociology."

*The American Council of Learned Societies.*—Volume I of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, soon to be issued by the Council, will contain approximately eight hundred biographies of Americans no longer living. The *Dictionary*, when complete, will contain sixteen thousand biographies, in twenty volumes. The editor-in-chief, Allen Johnson, may be addressed at 602 Hill Building, Washington.

On the recommendation of the Committee on Aid to Research the Council has made, for the year 1928, grants totaling \$4,510 to twenty American scholars. Of these, ten are in the maximum sum of \$300, three are of \$200 each, and seven are in smaller amounts (\$175, \$160, two of \$150, \$125, \$100, and \$50). Eleven grants are to assist studies in history or biography; five are for studies in philology or literature; and one each is for research in political science, economics, archaeology, and the history of science.

*Wieboldt Foundation.*—The Annual Report for 1927 of the Foundation announces the completion of a study of domestic discord, with special emphasis on its analysis and treatment, by Dr. Ernest R. Mowrer, author of *Family Disorganization*, and an analysis by Alice Miller of the motion picture experience of ten thousand children, including Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, children in school, and children in correctional institutions. These studies are now in press.

*Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic.*—Longmans, Green and Company announce the publication, in their Social Science Series edited by Professor Ernest R. Groves, of *The Child and Society: An Introduction to the Social Psychology of the Child*, by Dr. Phyllis Blanchard. This work is in part based upon the author's experience as psychologist in child guidance clinics.

*The American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded.*—The Association held its annual meeting in Atlantic City, May 31 to June 2. During the session the following phases of mental deficiency were discussed: the sociological aspects, pathological aspects, psychological aspects, administrative aspects of institutions for the care and training of mental defectives, and the delinquency aspect.

Officers of the Association are as follows: president, Edard R. Johnstone, who is the director of the Training School at Vineland, New Jersey; vice-president, George E. McPherson, M.D., who is superintendent, the Belchertown State School, at Belchertown, Massachusetts; secretary-treasurer, Howard W. Potter, M.D., clinical director of Letchworth Village at Thiells, New York.

*Brown University.*—On April 15 the professors and members of the corporation of the University gave a farewell banquet to Professor James Q. Dealey, head of the department of social and political science, and to Professor Henry B. Gardner, head of the department of economics, both of whom were retiring from active work in the University.

In 1895, Professor Dealey received his Doctor's degree from the University and was appointed assistant professor of social and political science. In 1898, he became associate professor, in 1905 full professor, and in 1919 head of the department. In 1921, he was exchange professor at the College of Shanghai, China. He is the author of *Textbook of Sociology* (with Lester F. Ward); *Sociology*; *The Family in Its Sociological Aspects*; *Sociology: Its Development and Applications*; in addition to other books in the field of political science. In 1920, Dr. Dealey was president of the American Sociological Society.

Professor Dealey's work at the University as student and teacher parallels the development of the department of social and political science. Professor George G. Wilson was the first head of the department. From 1906-13, Lester Frank Ward was professor of sociology in the department. The other members of the department at the present time are Associate Professor Harold S. Bucklin; Assistant Professor Harold A. Phelps; Mrs. Bessie B. Wessel, lecturer and director of ethnic research; Assistant Professor Leland M. Goodrich; and Assistant Professor Matthew C. Mitchell. From 1891 to 1927, 208 students had received degrees for major and minor work done in the department, 18 receiving Doctor's, and 190 Master's degrees. The history of the department of social and political science, 1891-1927, recently published, provides an interesting and valuable account of the work of Dr. Dealey and his colleagues.

*Cornell University.*—Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station has recently published Memoir 111, "A Population Study of Three Townships in Cortland County, New York" and Memoir 112, "A Survey of Sickness in Rural Areas in Cortland County, New York" by Dwight Sanderson.

Miss Mary Eva Duthie, extension instructor in rural social organization, will give courses in rural dramatics at the summer school at the University of Virginia.

Mr. H. C. Hoffsommer, formerly instructor in social and economic science, North Dakota Agricultural College and now doing graduate work in this department, has been appointed an assistant for the coming year.

Mr. R. G. Foster who is on leave from the Cooperative Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture has been appointed an assistant and is engaged in a study of the Sociology of the Rural Family.

Robert Redfield, of the University of Chicago, is giving courses in sociology and anthropology during the Summer Quarter.

*University of Iowa.*—Professor George R. Davies, of the University of North Dakota, has accepted an appointment in the department of sociology, and begins work in September.

*University of Missouri.*—Dr. Howard E. Jensen (Ph.D. University of Chicago 1920), professor of sociology in Butler College, will join the staff in sociology in September, with the rank of professor.

Dr. Charles A. Ellwood, chairman of the department of sociology, has returned from a sabbatical year abroad, spent largely in the study of social conditions in Italy, France, Austria, and Germany. Before returning to the University of Missouri he will teach for six weeks in the summer session of the University of Wisconsin.

*New York School of Social Research.*—Alfred A. Knopf announces the publication of *The Child in America*, by Dr. W. I. Thomas and Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas. The material in this work is based upon visits to over twenty of the important centers in the United States and Canada where studies were made of child welfare institutes, visiting teacher movements, juvenile court procedure, etc.

*Ohio State University.*—McGraw-Hill Book Company announces the publication during the summer of *Principles of Sociology*, by Professor F. E. Lumley.

*University of North Carolina.*—As a part of its program on parental education, the department of extension teaching announces a home study course, "The Family and Marriage," offered by Ernest R. Groves and Lee M. Brooks. Mr. Brooks is now conducting an extension class in New Bern, North Carolina, on this subject.

Longmans Green and Company announce the publication in the autumn of *Race and Population Problems*, by Professor H. G. Duncan.

*North Dakota Agricultural College.*—Professor P. F. Trowbridge, Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, announces its first publication dealing with the social side of agricultural life, *Rural Changes in Western North Dakota: Social and Economic Factors Involved in the Changes in Number of Farms and Movement of Settlers from Farms*, by E. A. Willson, H. C. Hoffsommer, and Alva H. Benton.

*University of Oregon.*—Dr. J. P. Lichtenberger, professor of sociology in the Wharton School of Finance, University of Pennsylvania, will be a member of the faculty of the Portland Division of the University of Oregon during the summer session.

*University of Pennsylvania.*—Alfred A. Knopf announces the publication of *Quantitative Methods in Politics*, by Professor Stuart A. Rice.

*Stanford University.*—Professor C. N. Reynolds, head of the department of economics and sociology in the University of Hawaii, will join the department of sociology next fall as an assistant professor. Mr. R. T. Lapiere, now studying at the London School of Economics, will give an introductory course in sociology during the summer quarter.

*Sweet Briar College.*—Longman's, Green & Company announce the publication, in the Social Science Series edited by Ernest R. Groves, of *Culture and Social Progress*, by Professor Joseph Kirk Folsom.

*University of Virginia.*—Mr. Frank W. Hoffer has been elected associate professor of sociology. Mr. Hoffer, who has been a member of the staff of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at the University of Virginia for the past year and a half, will offer courses in social problems and social origins.

Professor F. N. House gave a series of four lectures on Contemporary Sociological Theories during April and May to Professor Odum's graduate class in social theories at the University of North Carolina.

*University of West Virginia.*—Professor Ernest B. Harper, of Kalamazoo College, is teaching courses in sociology during the first term of the summer school.

*University of Wisconsin.*—Beginning September 1, Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C., will be with the Rural Sociology section of the Agricultural Economics Department, of the University. He will be primarily responsible for research work, and during the second semester will probably conduct a seminar in Rural Standards of Living.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Social Mobility.* By PITIRIM SOROKIN. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927. Pp. xvii+559.<sup>1</sup>

Sorokin's theory of social stratification and "vertical" circulation represents the work of a searching thinker who is not only in the position to draw upon an extensive literary knowledge, but who has also that kind of insight into social phenomena which only experience and the maturity of age can bestow upon a scholar. Nevertheless, this book, which, so far as my knowledge goes, is the first large-scale attempt in this field, has its defects, and the author modestly says that he is quite aware of them. If in the following critical comments more attention is paid to these weaknesses than to the merits of the book, the intention is not to belittle the work done, but rather to give some constructive ideas for the treatment of the problems of social mobility.

Sorokin understands by social mobility "any transition of an individual or social object of value—anything that has been created or modified by human activity—from one social position to another" (p. 133). He defines social positions as "the totality of" an individual's "relations toward all groups of a population and, within each of them, toward its members" (p. 6). In contrast to the position of an object in geometrical space, such social position or position in "social space" is defined by a great number of social relations or "dimensions" (p. 7).

The plurality of "social dimensions," or the variety of social relations as we would say, can for the sake of simplification be reduced into two principal classes: the vertical and the horizontal (p. 7). This distinction is indeed very common in our thinking; as the author very rightly remarks, one cannot help thinking of social relations in terms of vertical and horizontal dimensions. Consequently, changes in social position

<sup>1</sup> A review of Sorokin's *Social Mobility* was published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1928. No complaint has come to the editors emanating from Professor Sorokin or anyone acting in his behalf, but a recent letter from a distinguished member of the American Sociological Society suggests that this review was wholly inadequate. In this opinion the editors of the *Journal* concur. It happens that Dr. Rudolf Heberle has in preparation a book on the same general topic. At the suggestion of the editors, Dr. Heberle has written his own more adequate comment on Professor Sorokin's volume, as a supplement to, and in part as a correction of, the earlier review.

are thought of as movements in the horizontal or in the vertical dimensions and, in the latter case, as social ascent or social sinking (p. 8).

The vertical social mobility of individuals and social objects is the chief object of the present book, but the close connection of these phenomena with those of horizontal mobility makes it necessary to pay some attention to the latter (chap. xvi).

It is easy to see that the term "social mobility" means something different with Sorokin from the usual meaning attached to this term. What is usually called social mobility, the frequency with which people change their residence, is here conceived as a special case of horizontal social mobility. This seems to be not quite adequate, for the following reason: a movement in geometrical space is, as Professor Sorokin will admit, not as such a "social" phenomenon, and it is not necessarily identical with a change in social position; to give an example, it can be imagined that a nomadic tribe wanders without coming in contact with other tribes or individuals and without any change in its own structure (there may pass a considerable time in which no cases of birth or death occur); in such a case it would be meaningless to speak of the mobility of the tribe as "social" or "horizontal." In most cases, however, changes in social position are connected with such changes of residence, but they may be "horizontal" as well as "vertical."

Objections may be raised further against the inclusion of social objects in the concept of social mobility. The transition of individuals from one social stratum to another is always connected with a dissolution of old and an establishment of new social relations. This, however, is not necessarily the case, when, for instance, the use of automobiles or the fashion of bobbed hair is spread to a social class or a region where it was hitherto unknown. Sorokin says that such penetration of custom from one social group into another is "in a sense equivalent to a penetration of the members of the first group into the second" (p. 389). We would be inclined rather to reverse the conclusion, since the adoption of a custom hitherto confined to a certain group by another frequently is an expression for the latter group's ambition to rise into the first group. If the shifting in social position of social objects and values is included into the concept of mobility the latter becomes so vague that it is likely to cover the whole range of social changes in general. This becomes quite evident in Sorokin's book where he discusses the "shifting of citizenship" or the alterations of the political map, as a special case of horizontal mobility (pp. 399-402).

The writer thinks that it would be more fruitful and methodologi-

cally more proper to distinguish between migratory and social mobility and to restrict the concept of social mobility to the shifting in social position of individuals (and groups) and to conceive those phenomena which Sorokin labels "Social Mobility of social objects and values" as "effects" of social mobility. A very interesting field of investigation would be opened in this way, which unfortunately is rather neglected in Sorokin's book. This whole point is, however, a matter of minor concern, since the book chiefly deals with the problems of vertical mobility of human beings.

The question whether a certain change of social position means a horizontal or vertical movement, and in the second case, whether it means ascending or sinking, can evidently be decided only with regard to a given system of social stratification.

Sorokin distinguishes three different forms of social stratification: economical, political, and occupational stratification (p. 11). A society is stratified economically because of the differences in wealth (and income) of its members; it is politically stratified in so far as the social ranks are "hierarchically superposed with respect to their authority and prestige, their honors and titles"; the author goes on: "if there are the rulers and the ruled, then, whatever their names (monarchs, executives, masters, bosses) these things (!) mean, that the group is politically stratified, regardless of what is written in its constitution. . . ." From this definition and from the description of the political stratification in England and in the United States which he gives later on (pp. 70, 71), it appears that the author does not restrict the concept of political stratification to the field of the political organization in the narrow sense, and this certainly is very adequate.

Occupational stratification is conceived as (1) inter-occupational and (2) intra-occupational; the latter term is defined as the differentiation of occupational groups "into bosses of different authority and into members who are subordinated to the bosses" (p. 11; see also pp. 107-108). The main subdivisions of this form would be entrepreneurs, higher employees, and wage-earners (p. 107). In any "business corporation" or "governmental institution" we "will find a complicated hierarchy of the ranks and positions . . ." (p. 108, cf. p. 71). It is obvious that the difference between the intra-occupational and the political stratification is not at all clear. On the other hand, the various occupational groups enjoy different degrees of social prestige and thus constitute a system of inter-occupational stratification. In the more detailed analysis of this form of stratification, on pp. 99-107, one misses sufficient consid-

eration of the importance which wealth and power (the principles of the two other forms of stratification) have with regard to this form of social differentiation. As the "permanent and universal" basis of inter-occupational stratification are presented "first, the importance of an occupation for the survival and existence of a group as a whole; second, the degree of intelligence necessary for a successful performance of an occupation" (p. 100). Each of these criteria will of course in concrete cases be subject to disagreement; neither of them is capable of exact measurement. Different classes and people with different political, philosophical, and ethical ideas will come to very different judgments with regard to the "importance" of a certain occupation—and as far as "intelligence" is concerned, it is very precarious to compare the different kinds of intelligence, "necessary for the satisfactory performance of the occupational functions" of, e.g., a "great merchant" and a "great musician"; therefore such tables as that on page 103 should not be given without at least some methodological comment.

We are touching here a very important point. It is certainly true that "vertical" mobility "exists" in so far as society is thought of as stratified in various ways and as consequently a change in social position is conceived as involving either an ascending or a descending movement (if it is not thought of as horizontal). But the terms vertical and horizontal, upper and lower strata, sinking and climbing are based on criteria of no absolute validity. If, to give an illustration, a prominent trade union leader changes his social position by accepting a job as employment manager in a factory, the question whether this means a social climbing or not will be answered differently in different countries and by people belonging to different social and political groups.

In speaking of vertical mobility, we should in each concrete case make clear whether we base our judgment on a system of social ranking existing in the imagination and thought of the individuals and groups concerned, or whether we assume, as scientific observers, a more or less arbitrary system of our own conception. It is further to be considered that the statement whether a certain change in social position means sinking or climbing will have more general validity if the ranking of the two positions concerned is fixed by law than if it is defined by custom or tradition.

It is obvious that Sorokin's "economical" stratification is of much more "objective" character than his "inter-occupational" stratification. Throughout the whole book one gets the impression that the author pre-

sents the problems in too simple a fashion by neglecting these aspects of relativity which lead to many complications.

Several chapters are given to a description and analysis of the fluctuations of social stratification with special attention paid to the question whether there can be found a general trend toward a flattening of social stratification; which question the author answers in the negative way.

The second part, which deals with social mobility in general, contains a discussion of the means and ways by which vertical mobility takes place. As such "channels" of vertical circulation are discussed among others, the army, the church, the school, and political and occupational organizations.

The author then turns to a discussion of the problems of social selection and distribution in a mobile society. This discussion is continued also in the succeeding parts, which deal with the fundamental causes of stratification and mobility and with present-day mobile society.

So far as the problems of environment and heredity are concerned, Sorokin's theory of selection has already been criticized, with good arguments by Carl S. Joslyn, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (Vol. XLII, No. 1). The writer wants to draw the attention to some aspects of Sorokin's analysis of the "channels" of vertical mobility. Here the author furnishes considerable historical evidence for his statement that the army, the church, the school, etc., function as ladders for social climbing. There are further, in the next chapter, many interesting observations about the ways in which these and other institutions function as means of social differentiation. But one would like to get a clearer and more systematic analysis of the different functions of these organizations and of the differences in function which exist between different types of armies, schools, etc. Probably the modern armies of western civilization do not offer the same chances of promotion to the common soldier as did earlier types of armies, and the kind of men who have good chances in modern armies is probably somewhat different from the successful soldier of older times. In the discussion of the selective functions of the school, however, we find attempts at such a typological discrimination. On the other hand, there is no clear distinction of the twofold function of the school—and to a certain degree also of the other organizations regarded as channels—as a machinery of vertical mobility; the school in the first place serves as a mechanism of selection with regard to its pupils, but in the second place the educational system itself in its hierarchical organization represents a "channel" of vertical mobility for those who are engaged in teaching; in this second regard the school has much in common

with the church and the army as well as with any other administrative organization.

Not very much of importance is said about the effects of mobility. The reasons why this part appears so much below the level of the preceding, are, in the first place, that no sufficient attempt is made to isolate the factor mobility from other traits of social life which in modern society concur in the production of certain phenomena here considered as "effects" of mobility. In the second place, no careful casuistical analysis of the effects of the different forms of mobility is made, only occasionally certain "effects" are attributed to vertical or migratory mobility specifically. In the third place, very frequently the author neglects to distinguish different degrees of mobility; thus giving the impression that in a mobile society all individuals are equally subject to changes in social position, which indeed leads to a rather distorted view. In speaking, for instance, of the mental strain imposed on people living in a modern society (p. 510) he overlooks the fact that just those who by lack of chances for social climbing are forced to do monotonous work are suffering more, probably, than those whose social position changes frequently and in the ascending way. On the other hand, the very density of population and the "tempo" of life in a modern society are probably more important in this regard than vertical mobility.

Finally, in the author's idea of an immobile society we miss an understanding for what might be called the organic elements of such a society. Sorokin presents the individuals in an immobile society as living in separated social "boxes" (p. 509 a. o.), which circumstance prevents them from getting an understanding of the mentality and ideas of the members of other classes and results in definiteness and rigidity of their convictions and beliefs (p. 519). There is a good deal of truth in this argument, but on the other hand the stability of social stratification does not prevent frequent contacts between the inhabitants of the different "boxes"; on the contrary, under the conditions of a stable society, which in addition is usually organized on a smaller scale than modern mobile societies, some of these contacts are likely to be more intimate and enduring than in our rather chaotic mobile societies. This criticism leads us to the conclusion that a more careful and subtle distinction between the different principles, on which relations in society may be based, would be desirable. It seems to be advisable to distinguish between the symbiotic, the psychic, and the properly "social" aspects of human relations; the "effects" of vertical social mobility will probably be different with regard to each of these categories. And further "social" relationships

may be based upon custom, law, and other principles, the distinction of which would lead to a better insight into the effects of vertical social mobility.

RUDOLF HEBERLE

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

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*The Jesuit Enigma.* By E. BOYD BARRETT. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. Pp. ix+351. \$4.00.

Dr. Barrett states his puzzle in these words: "Running through the whole Romance of the Jesuits one finds the ever-present enigma, the contradiction inseparable from Jesuitism; the interchanging of opposites; wealth that is evangelical poverty; equivocation that is truth; laxity that is purity of doctrine; wrongs rendered right by the end in view; gross disobedience that is holy docility; rotting idleness that is meritorious labor in the vineyard; astute and cunning diplomacy that is dovelike simplicity; heroism that is the offspring of fear; chilling indifference that is the charity of Christ."

Of course there is nothing in this well known "contradictoriness" which is peculiar to the Jesuits; above all, there is nothing in the least enigmatical. Dr. Barrett is an eminent psychologist. It seems incredible that he cannot see that his book is really a study of "The Military Mind." If he would republish it under that title and take his illustrations from the armies and navies of the world, he would have the most intelligent indictment of militarism ever made.

The Jesuits are simply ecclesiastical militarists. They were founded by a military officer. Their head bears the title "General." Their proudest boast is their absolute obedience. They love to think of themselves as the shock troops of the papacy. Dr. Barrett has had an unequalled opportunity to study the effects of military discipline upon the human mind. No other psychologist of equal learning and ability has ever been part of a military organization for twenty years. The evils that he shows us in Jesuitism are miniatures of the enormous and terrible vices of nationalist-militarism.

Dr. Barrett tells us that courage is the outstanding virtue of the Jesuits, but that their bravery is largely the result of their training. What is this but the description of soldiers? Again arrogance is the outstanding Jesuit vice. Has Dr. Barrett ever been in a group of army or navy officers? If we substitute the United States for the Roman Catholic Church, the president for the pope, and the army and navy for the Jesuits, every

description given by Dr. Barrett fits like a glove. The Jesuits profess the most unlimited devotion and obedience to the pope, but they systematically thwart him whenever he tries to interfere with their internal organization or crosses their professional ambitions. Does not every army and navy make similar professions and practice similar tactics of obstruction? Did not the admirals of Great Britain and the United States systematically thwart their governments at the recent conference on naval limitation—all the time professing the most unlimited obedience to the said governments?

Dr. Barrett complains that in Jesuit colleges professors teach subjects about which they are ignorant, because they are ordered to do so. Dr. Barrett himself was ordered to teach sociology—about which he says he knows nothing—at Georgetown University. Can Dr. Barrett be unaware that he is voicing one of the oldest objections to the instruction given at Annapolis and West Point? Again we are told that the Jesuit order is no place for a man of independent mind. Still, it is hardly an argument against West Point that a certain cadet named Edgar Allen Poe was once dismissed for disobedience. On the contrary we can well believe that his dismissal was an excellent thing both for American literature and for the American Army. In the same way we believe that Dr. Barrett's separation from the Jesuits was an excellent thing both for science and for ecclesiastical discipline.

There is no point in drawing every stripe on the tiger. All of Dr. Barrett's criticisms are subject to the same comment. All the subjects he takes up; the soul destroying laziness, the craft and duplicity, the spy system, the repressions and explosions, and all the others are of the essence of militarism.

It has been suggested that the Jesuits should put forth a defense against Dr. Barrett's charges. They have no need to do so. They can freely acknowledge the truth of every one of them and still justify themselves by the simple statement that the evils of their society are only such as are inherent in military organization as such.

Dr. Barrett has proved, better than any man before him, that militarism produces deadly moral perversions in persons subjected to its influence. But both soldiers and Jesuits would seem to be necessary in our present world.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

*Christianity, Past and Present.* By CHARLES GUIGNEBERT. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. xxvi+507. \$4.50.

From the point of view of sociology this is the best one-volume history of the Roman Catholic church that has ever been written. The author, who is Professor of the History of Christianity in the University of Paris, deliberately omits both Eastern Orthodoxy and Protestantism from his survey, and the title of his book is therefore a misnomer. He belongs to the Roman Catholic modernist school of Tyrell and Loisy. The two great faults of this school are an excessive skepticism about the documents of early Christianity and an unwillingness to acknowledge the large amount of genuine religion to be found in the Roman Catholic church of today.

These faults are so serious that the first two chapters of this book are grotesque and the last two not much better. Guignebert's Christ is a crude and insignificant character totally incapable of originating a world-religion. Again, from the conclusion of the book no one would gather that the Roman church of the last generation counted Cardinal Newman among its princes and Father Damien among its peasants. Professor S. J. Case, with scholarship at least equal to that of Dr. Guignebert, has given us a much superior account of Christian origins, while the intellectual failures of modern Roman Catholicism have been set forth better by Tyrell and Loisy, and even by Joseph McCabe.

Though neither the beginning nor the end is of value, the rest of the book is to be highly commended. It is not a natural history of religion, but it supplies materials that can be used for a natural history. It describes the modifications of doctrine, ritual, and life that followed the spread of Christianity to successively wider groups, and it correlates the changes to the expansion. Comparisons with other religions, while not lacking, are neither numerous nor detailed enough to fix the character of the book. In short, it is a history not a sociology. But at certain points, notably the chapter on how Christianity became an autonomous religion, it approaches the sociologist's ideal of what a history should be. The author's purpose, stated in the Preface, though only partly realized in the book, marks an advance: "Religions are born, live and die—it is really the same cycle that is being everlastingly developed and consummated and then beginning once more."

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

*The Infancy of Medicine.* An Enquiry into the Influence of Folklore upon the Evolution of Scientific Medicine. By DAN MCKENZIE, M.D. (Glasgow), F.R.C.S.E., F.S.A. St. Martin's Street, London: The Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1927. Pp. xiv+421.

There are many good histories of medicine, but natural histories are rare. Because this attempts to be a natural history, the book is an interesting if not an important one. "In the beginning medicine and mysticism are one and indivisible. But the union, perfect though it is for immeasurable periods of time, nevertheless manifests a tendency, even in the most primitive communities we are acquainted with, to break up." The author's method is comparative. He is seeking to describe the process whereby magical procedure becomes more rational through experimentation. He observes similar stages in Egyptian, mediæval, and Arabic medicine. Special chapters describe "the evolution of the medical man," "the evolution of animal remedies," "the evolution of botanical remedies." The like is done for specific remedies: for example, a series of spider cures for ague is given, a development beginning with the custom of hanging a living spider around one's neck to the point where a nineteenth-century pharmacologist, reflecting upon the folk-remedy, extracted a febrifuge substance from spiders. But many such examples of the author are not impressive, because instead of following the development through a single cultural history, he picks examples here and there from various and scattered groups.

After all, the thesis is no more than sketched, and the book tends to become a miscellany of folk medicine. As such, there are interesting chapters on, for example, "Healing Wells and Waters," on colors and numbers in medicine, on the midwifery of the folk. The author's reading has apparently ramified out from an interest in Scotch folklore. His ethnological information is at that stage of innocence which quotes hardly more than Schoolcraft on the American Indians and states that "among the North American Indians" was a "medical society known as the Mide" "which permeated all the Indian nations." Much of the ethnological data are extracted from Frazer and from Ploss and Bartels. There are chapter bibliographies. The author makes no mention of Mad-dox' book on *The Medicine Man*, of Rivers' *Medicine, Magic, and Religion* or—a more important omission—of Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science*.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*The Secret Empire. A Handbook of Lodges.* By THEODORE GRAEBNER, Editor of *Lutheran Witness*, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri. St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1927. Pp. xii+243. \$1.25.

*The Religion of Masonry. An Interpretation.* By JOSEPH FORT NEWTON, Editor, *The Master Mason*. Washington, D.C.: The Masonic Service Association of the United States, 1927. Pp. xiv+160. \$1.75.

The literature on the modern secret society and fraternity can perhaps be placed in three categories: the handbook, the exposé type, and the eulogistic and romantic literature.

The first book under review combines the qualities of the first and second types of treatment. It purports to be a handbook giving bits of information about the nature and aims of forty lodges for men, a dozen or more of the secret orders for women, several junior orders, the college fraternities, and certain unclassifiable clubs such as the Rotarians and the Lions. But it is more than a handbook. From the point of view of the author—the orthodox Lutheran—it is also an exposé. He weighs these organizations and secret societies in the balance and finds most of them wanting. He claims that most of these orders are anti-Christian; that they tend to be secular in their view of life, and depend upon works and not faith for salvation; finally, the members of some of these orders in convention assembled often encourage vulgarity and even obscenity.

The book is an interesting commentary upon the age-old conflict between the church and the lodge, especially marked in the rural regions and the small towns.

The second book is eulogistic; a paen of praise of masonry. Mr. Newton, who is a minister, has discovered the religion of masonry; and it looks very different in his book than it does in the book by Mr. Graebner. Masonry is a religion: it has a faith—a faith in God, in man, and in immortality; it has a body of doctrine and a set of values; it has ritual and a set of practices; and finally, it is grounded in a philosophy of life. Masonry is then a working faith, a creed for the everyday man who happens to be a Mason. Here is an instance of a Mason turned mystic, proclaiming the universal efficacy of his faith.

The sociology of the secret society has yet to be written.

W. O. BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*The Business of the Supreme Court.* A Study in the Federal Judicial System. By FELIX FRANKFURTER and JAMES M. LANDIS. New York: Macmillan Company, 1927. Pp. x+349. \$4.00.

That such a book as this should issue from the most famous law school in the United States is nothing less than an epochal event. It evidences the broadening of research interests on the part of the instructional staff, and this is presumably not without effect upon the actual routine of law training. In view of the peculiar dependence of American polity upon the lawyer, this is truly a matter of national concern.

The present study is a chronological survey of the changes which have been proposed for and introduced in the structure of our Federal Judicial System. The principal trends are strikingly revealed. For a hundred years after the establishment of the Supreme Court the same type of cases came before it. The transformation of American life threw an almost impassable burden of petty as well as crucial business on the Court, but it was not until 1891 that a steady curtailment of the jurisdiction of the Court began.

The change in the nature of the work done by the Supreme Court is explicitly brought out in a series of tables and graphs. Controversies involving private law have declined to the advantage of those involving constitutional questions. In this the Supreme Court differs from the State Supreme Courts, the House of Lords and the Privy Council.

This is an exploratory piece of research in a field of great importance whose neglect is astounding. The principal complaint against the book is that it stays too consistently loyal to the historical order of events, and fails to cut through the other way and summarize its analytical findings about the influences which shaped the Court. All sorts of specific factors crop out at various places, such as the rôle of absentee capitalism and of special regions, but not even the index summarizes the references to "Debtors," "Creditors," "Sections."

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*About Ourselves.* Psychology for Normal People. By H. A. OVERTREET. Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy, College of the City of New York. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1927. Pp. 300. \$3.00.

If it were only about the other person this book would be delightful and above reproach. *But*, the author has an annoying habit of ending

each chapter with a series of extremely interesting questions which show that he had the reader very definitely in mind as he wrote.

It is surely unfair of a writer in the field of psychology to analyze away one's pet grievances, to see through one's private protective devices! What right has he to suggest that our fits of temper—"righteous indignation" we call them—are mere "regressions to a childhood state," that maybe we "impute unto others what is rankling in ourselves" when our friends are so mean and spiteful, that our "extreme sensitiveness" of which we are so proud may be a "sign of morbid ego-absorption"? What right, indeed, when he brings his questions home to us!

He is in somewhat safer territory when he comes to Part II and his discussion of means of avoiding the personality faults which he has brought into prominence in Part I. Here he discusses the positive values of music, painting, poetry, conversation, and shows their function in the development of an "expansive" personality which by its fundamental interest in things and people outside the ego is protected from the unloveliness and ineffectiveness of the ego-centered "contractive."

In the closing chapters he again discusses rumor, gossip, suppression, unsatisfied desires, a sense of humor, the "inter-creating mind" and its opposite.

It begins to look very much as though that much maligned man on the street were going to be forced to think pretty soon. If the psychologists are going to continue to write this kind of book in which they apply their findings to ordinary human problems what chance is there for an ordinary man to enjoy his prejudices and his tantrums or even his ill-health?

MILDRED H. McAFEE

KENTUCKY COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

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*A History of Social Thought.* By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. 2d ed. Los Angeles: Jesse Ray Miller, 1928. Pp. 668. \$4.00.

Professor Bogardus' *History of Social Thought* is certainly the best textbook on the subject published in the English language; for it is the only one, if we except Lichtenberger's *Development of Social Theory*, which is after all a different sort of thing, being composed almost entirely of studies of a relatively small number of selected writers. It will be a matter of no little satisfaction to those who have courses in this field to teach, accordingly, that Bogardus has revised and greatly enlarged his

book. The new edition is a very attractive volume, pleasing in format, and ably selected and organized as to content.

Although it is the type of reflective thought which is ordinarily known as *sociological*, to which the author devotes the largest amount of space in this volume, the comment may be made that the result is not a history of sociology, nor even a history of social science. Considerable attention is paid to ancient and medieval social philosophers, and a substantial chapter deals with the "Sociology of Modern Christianity," which is termed "sociology" only in a very loose sense. Any objection which might be felt to this chapter on the part of some teachers, however, will probably be more than canceled by the satisfaction they will find in the excellent concluding chapter, "Methods of Sociological Research."

An attractive feature of the revised edition is the inclusion of selections from some of the more important writers studied, as supplementary materials at the end of each chapter. If this material does not have the effect of encouraging students to do without consulting the literature of social science at first hand, it will be very useful.

Though open to attack on the ground that the treatment of the various theories and authors studied is not profoundly critical or analytical, this volume is an important addition to the literature of general social theory and methodology.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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*Business Cycles and Business Measurements.* By CARL SNYDER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. Pp. xiv+326. \$6.00.

*Industrial Fluctuations.* By A. C. PIGOU. London: The Macmillan Company, 1927. Pp. xxii+397. \$8.50.

From the maze of charts and calculations in these books, one turns back to their introductory chapters for their essential point, namely, that whatever may be the immediate causes and the reliable indices of industrial fluctuations, they are incidental to the type of economic organization which has arisen in modern times. As Professor Snyder puts the matter, the self-sufficient farmer of another day had nothing to fear but the wrath of the gods; now, with London as a "vast world ledger," the points of sensitivity of each business in the world-community are multiplied in

like measure as the businesses themselves and their dealings with one another. Thus is evident an organization in which parts are sensitive to the whole, and the whole to the parts. Professor Pigou speaks of "impulses" which affect the whole industrial system. Professor Bernhard Harms (*Strukturwandlungen der Weltwirtschaft: Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, Jan., 1927) says there is a real unity of world economic life; a unity existing, as any other, in the interaction of forces. Crises, he adds, are phenomena of this interaction; i.e., they are incidental to organic unity. It is because this unity exists essentially in the mobility of persons and goods that we find it interesting.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

McGILL UNIVERSITY

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*Readings in Urban Sociology.* Edited by SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD.  
New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1927. Pp. 939. \$5.00.

This volume is a compilation of material from books and periodicals dealing with various phases of the city's life and problems. There are selections on the importance of the city as a form of social organization; the location and growth of the city, the possibilities of reducing city growth to social laws, city planning, streets, transportation and traffic, civic esthetics and architecture, public health and safety, housing, recreation, schools, and social adjustment. There are extensive bibliographies. And at the end of each chapter there are questions based upon the readings, in addition to topics for investigation and suggested field trips, provided the student happens to be resident in Chicago or New York.

The title of this book, however, is a misnomer. Most of the people quoted could not qualify as sociologists, and very few of the selections could be regarded as sociological. The readings emphasize, on the whole, programs rather than processes. Now and then there is an analytic selection, such as Burgess' article on the growth of the city. But such selections are rare. Judging from this volume, the "urban sociologist" is interested primarily in the physical and external aspects of the city. The selections on institutions have to do with the formal aspects rather than with the process and human nature aspects.

This book is significant in that it reveals the paucity of analytical and explanatory materials extant on the significant aspects of city life.

W. O. BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Political Myths and Economic Realities.* By FRANCIS DELAISI.  
New York: The Viking Press, 1927. Pp. xviii + 446. \$4.00.

Francis Delaisi is a French economist, socialist, and popularizer. He can capture and hold the attention of working-class audiences upon the problems of international exchange, or he can win the respect of more sophisticated circles by the keenness, clarity, and vigor of his written work. In this volume (written before Locarno and just translated from the French) Delaisi has set himself to the task of writing a book which would tell the world that tragic maladjustments spring from the attempt to maintain an international economic life and a provincial attitude toward world-politics.

He begins with "An Outline of Political Mythology," discussing the necessity of myths, "Propagation and Defense of the Myth," "The Rise and Fall of Myths." A second part is devoted to "The Economic Interdependence of the Modern World." He then turns to a vigorous and ingenious study of the principal myth of our time, that of nationality. His concluding part deals with "Myth versus Reality." From the disparity of myth and practice arise wars and want. We must pass "From the Polytheism of Sovereignties to Economic Monotheism."

It is obvious that the world is likely to accept some such diagnosis of itself sooner or later. When human events are on the march a book which is buttressed with fact and irradiated with sentiment may play the historic rôle of a Rousseau's *Social Contract*. If such a book arises, it will have much in common with Delaisi's.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*What Is Cooperation?* By JAMES PETER WARBASSE. New York: Vanguard Press, 1927. Pp. ix + 170. \$0.50.

This is an abridgment of the author's well known *Cooperative Democracy*. Like the parent volume, it makes interesting, even enthralling, reading. It contains chapters on the Criticism of the Present Order; Criticism of Proposed Remedies; The Economics of Cooperation; Social and Political Aspects of Cooperation; Methods of Realization; Deficiencies and Difficulties of Cooperation.

Considering that the author is president of the Co-operative League of America, the book is remarkably objective and impartial. The most valuable chapter is the one on the Deficiencies and Difficulties, which explains in a concrete and clear manner the reasons why co-operation has been a failure in the United States. Dr. Warbasse is not certain that it

will ever be the success here that it has already become in many other countries. The guiding principle of co-operation, service instead of profit, as the objective of industry, is repeatedly stressed—as it should be.

Small as the volume is, it gives a comprehensive survey of the history and present status of the movement.

It will astonish many persons to learn that the International Co-operative Congress represents more than 200,000,000 people—nearly twice the population of the United States.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

*Toward the Light.* By MARY FELS. New York: George Dobs-  
evage, 1927. Pp. 281. \$2.50.

Theoretically, we are in the habit of saying that mystics are found in every age and in every type of religion, but it is not often, after all, that we are treated to a contemporary document revealing the vigor as well as the persistence of the mystical element in life. Mrs. Fels presents us with such a document. It is somewhat in the form of the rhapsodical journal, one might almost say, of a twentieth-century Amiel. She knows her mystics at first hand, Spinoza, Hans Sachs, Jacob Boehme, just as she knows her *New Testament* and some of the recent literature of spiritual science. Throughout the book, certain fundamental themes constantly recur, wholesome marriage, compulsory arbitration, spiritual Zionism, the co-operative movement, socialization of land values, leisure and quiet for cultivating the acquaintance of the divine. With equal positiveness she argues against capital punishment, suicide, socialism, spiritualism, the use of drugs, and hell-and-death theology. Mrs. Fels' record is a human document that will repay study for many purposes, quite apart from its genuine literary merit.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

*American Parties and Politics.* History and Rôle of Political Parties in the United States. By HAROLD R. BRUCE, Professor of Political Science, Dartmouth College. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1927. Pp. x+412. \$3.75.

*An Introduction to American Politics.* By PENFIELD ROBERTS, Assistant Professor of English and History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926. Pp. viii+225. \$2.25.

Professor Bruce's book is conventional in organization and content. Its most noteworthy feature is a total lack of features. In this day of

"series" in political science the temptation to do texts like this is more than many industrious teachers can resist.

Professor Roberts has prepared a peptomized version of modern views about the nature of political parties. "It is a brief survey of American politics, intended to arouse an intelligent interest in the minds of people who have no intention of making an intensive study of the subject." One wonders why the essay is not enlivened with cartoons and other aids to attractive exposition. The technique of popularization has more tools in its kit than are used here.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*What Is Mutualism?* By CLARENCE L. SWARTZ. New York: Vanguard Press, 1927. Pp. x+238. \$0.50.

Mutualism, according to this brief outline, seems indistinguishable from Philosophic Anarchism. It aims at the abolition of interest on money through the establishment of mutual non-profit banks. It seeks to make occupancy and use the only title to land. It would abolish the tariff (gradually) as well as patents and copyright. It maintains the futility of the ballot and of political government. It strongly favors the co-operative movement and in general is opposed to all authoritarian organizations and is in favor of a reorganization of society on the basis of the utmost individual liberty and voluntary association. It would bring about this reorganization by means of passive resistance to all authority which opposes it.

The Mutualists have a number of organizations, including the Mutualist Associates and the Mutual Credit League. They publish a periodical, *The Mutualist*. In the absence, at present, in the United States, of any anarchistic organization, the Mutualists serve a useful social purpose in giving expression to the extreme libertarian ideal.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

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*What Is the Single Tax?* By LOUIS F. POST. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1926. Pp. xiii+140. \$0.50.

There is a pathetic interest attached to this little book. It was the last from the pen of the late Louis Post, a man famous during many years

for his whole-hearted support of liberal and progressive causes. When Assistant Secretary of Labor under President Wilson, his determination not be driven to the wholesale deportation of innocent aliens saved thousands of helpless victims of the public madness of the time.

The book in hand is divided into five main parts: Origin of the Single Tax; Defects of the Present Social Order; Criticism of Proposed Remedies; The Single Tax Ideal and the Single Tax Method and Program. There is an adequate bibliography and a biographical index of noted single taxers.

Post was an associate of Henry George, and his text is made up largely of quotations from *Progress and Poverty*. The more recent developments of the movement, however, are treated ably and accurately, and this little outline justifies the claim of the publishers that it is one of the best books on the subject of Single Tax!

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

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*Recreation and Amusement among Negroes in Washington, D.C.*

A Sociological Analysis of the Negro in an Urban Environment. By WILLIAM H. JONES. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1927. Pp. xv+216. \$2.50.

This book is the first in a series of sociological studies to be made by Howard University of the Negro population in Washington, D.C. This study embraces non-commercialized and commercialized recreation and some behavior sequences of inadequate recreational and amusement facilities. Under the first subject we get a very good factual survey of the recreational resources afforded for the Negro population. The brief account of the rôle of the barber shop in Negro life indicates a fruitful approach to the study of the Negro. The value of the second part, which deals with the theater, dance halls, cabarets, pool rooms, and excursions might have been enhanced by more data throwing light on human nature. The chapter in the last part which deals with Negroes who pass for white gives some of the problems of the man who lives in two worlds. The book is supplied with a map and numerous pictures of different sides of Negro life.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Economics of Farm Organization and Management.* By C. L. HOLMES, Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology in Iowa State College. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. Pp. xvi+422.

This is the first in a series of texts on agricultural economics edited by E. G. Nourse, chief of the agricultural division of the Institute of Economics, Washington, D.C. It is intended for the introductory course in economics for students in agricultural colleges or others interested in the economic phases of agriculture. Dr. Holmes's training in economic theory plus his concrete experience in conducting research at the Iowa Experiment Station has admirably fitted him to write such a book. On the one hand he introduces the student to very rigorous and involved economic theory and, on the other, he presents the material so as to make it easily understandable. Chapters xiii through xv, which present the economic principles used for guidance of farmers in their adjustments to different phases of the business cycles, were the most interesting to the reviewer. This book is a valuable contribution to the teaching of economics in the colleges of agriculture.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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*Hundred Acre Farm.* By G. T. GARRATT. London: Longman's, Green and Co., 1928. Pp. xv+142. \$2.00.

The author of this book is a dairy farmer near Cambridge, England. He gives an account of his own life and labors and incidentally that of his neighborhood for each month of the year. Thus, we have a sort of diary and yet a charming volume in which the problems of the small farmer and English country life are carefully analyzed. The student of American rural sociology will find the work informing and particularly valuable for the picture it presents of conditions similar to and yet unlike our own.

The fact that a farmer could write a book, at once suggests the different social situation here pictured. And the further fact that a "dirty-boot" farmer is describing the mode of life of which he is a part, gives an authenticity and authority to the observations that are rare in the literature of rural life.

NEWELL L. SIMS

OBERLIN COLLEGE

*Maya Cities. A Record of Exploration and Adventure in Middle America.* By THOMAS GANN, F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I., M.R.C.S. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928. Pp. 256. \$5.00.

Dr. Gann's popular accounts of his explorations in Yucatan and British Honduras almost constitute a series of yearbooks recording the progress of Mayan archeology. They convey the romance and the hardships of travel in the bush, and the zest of the ruin hunter. At the same time they record recent developments in that scientific field. The current volume reports the discovery of an early city west of the Bacalar lagoon which may help to fill in the hiatus between the Old and the New empires, and the discovery, in a small shrine near Tulum, of the first idol to be found in place, with other ritualistic paraphernalia, in a Mayan temple. There are many anecdotes and many photographs.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Evolution of the English Hymn.* By FREDERICK JOHN GILLMAN. Illustrated. Foreword by SIR H. WALFORD DAVIES. New York: Macmillan, 1927. Pp. 312. \$2.50.

The English hymns present a real opportunity for a genuine social study. They would furnish, for example, a rich body of source-material for a study of collective behavior or of social control. But the present volume gives no indication of a recognition of the possibilities. It is a semi-historical account of the origin and development of Christian hymns. The book presents numerous examples of religious verse and a considerable amount of biographical and anecdotal material about hymn writers. It is done in a pious and non-critical spirit that is most depressing. One leaves the book profoundly impressed by the pitifully low literary quality of the song material quoted. It has no scientific value even as source material.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

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*The Church in the Changing City.* By H. PAUL DOUGLASS. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927. Pp. xxxvi+453. \$4.00.

Mr. Douglass' book contains twenty-six case studies of the adaptations of downtown churches. These churches are found in seventeen

denominations in thirteen cities. These case studies are, to use Mr. Douglass' word, "contemporaneous." They make little use of historical material, and exhibit the situation rather than explain it.

Mr. Douglass says that all the churches studied "met their special problems with a certain originality and distinction." His churches represent, therefore, institutions that survived the changing conditions of urban life. A study of the churches that failed might prove even more interesting and instructive.

Y.M.C.A. COLLEGE  
CHICAGO

SAMUEL C. KINCHELOE

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*Prosperity?* Edited by HARRY W. LAIDLER and NORMAN THOMAS.  
New York: Vanguard Press, 1927. Pp. viii+286. \$0.50.

This is a symposium by Stuart Chase, Morris Hillquit, James H. Maurer, Scott Nearing, Robert Morss Lovett, and numerous others. The occasion was the annual conference of the League for Industrial Democracy held at Camp Tamiment, Pennsylvania, in June, 1927.

The writers get what consolation they may from the plight of the farmers, coal miners, and textile workers, but agree that radicalism in the United States will continue in a bad way so long as the majority of workers enjoy their present standard of living. It is remarkable that no reference is made either to prohibition or restriction of immigration as bearing on prosperity.

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

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*Indian Folk-Songs of Pennsylvania.* By HENRY W. SHOEMAKER.  
Ardmore, Pennsylvania: Newman F. McGirr, 1927. Pp. 16.  
\$2.50.

This little volume—limited to three hundred autographed and numbered copies—opens with a few miscellaneous scraps of historical information concerning the little group of "Indians" on the reservation near Corydon, Pennsylvania. The author then comments on the beauty of the Indian music and gives a metrical English version of two of the chants. The remaining pages are given to a report of the origin of a chant as told to the author of the volume by the half breed who composed it. The book contains little of sociological interest or value.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

*Europe and Africa.* Being a revised edition of *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*. By NORMAN DWIGHT HARRIS. Volume I, International Politics. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927. Pp. xviii+479. \$4.00.

This volume was written in the first instance as a chapter in the expansion of Europe which in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth profoundly changed the character of Africa. The World War, which brought about profound disturbances in every other part of the world, has also changed the political geography of Africa. For one thing, the whole of Germany's empire in Africa, comprising an area of 1,032,280 square miles, has changed hands. The problems of administration, which are difficult enough under any circumstances, have been complicated in East Africa by extensive migration from India, which has added here, as in South East Africa, a second race problem to that created by the presence of European immigrants.

The present edition of the earlier volume, published now as Volume I of the International Politics series, is intended to bring events down to date and give sufficient information in regard to the changes in political and economic conditions to make the news from that part of the world intelligible.

*Community Health Organization.* Edited by IRA V. HIRSCOCK. American Health Congress Series, Vol. II, Part IV. 370 Seventh Avenue, New York: American Public Health Association, 1927. Pp. viii+122.

This book, published under the auspices of the American Public Health Association, outlines three well-developed plans for the organization of community health-work; for a city of 100,000 population, for a city of 50,000 population, and for a county or district of 30,000 population.

*The Political Ideas of the Greeks.* By JOHN L. MYERS. New York: Abingdon Press, 1927. Pp. 436. \$2.50.

Professor Myers came to this country from Oxford to deliver these lectures on the George Slocum Bennett Foundation at Wesleyan University. They give evidence of the scrupulous scholarship and mature judgment to be expected of their author. The lectures include: "The Notion of Society," "The Notion of Ordinance and Initiative," "The Notion of Justice," "The Notion of Law in Society and in Nature," "The Notion of Freedom."

# RECENT LITERATURE

## ABSTRACTS

The abstracts and the bibliography in this issue were prepared under the direction of a member of the editorial staff by C. D. Clark, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., H. C. Griffin, E. O. Rausch, Carl M. Rosenquist, and Samuel A. Stouffer, of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago. Each abstract is numbered at the end according to the classification in the January issue of this *Journal*.

### I. PERSONALITY: THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE PERSON

**La formation des chefs d'entreprises (The Formation of Leaders of Enterprises).**—By enterprise is meant any organization all of whose energies converge toward one end or a small number of related ends. The aptitudes of a leader of an enterprise are partly innate, but the environment determines what use will be made of them. The best environments for developing leadership are a *bourgeoise* home without too much money and without too narrowly specialized interests, a large family reared with relative strictness yet sympathy, and lack of exclusive devotion to one political cult. The best education is a broad classical education constructed so as to give the youth more inventive spirit than is done by the present educational system. This should be rounded off with specialized technical, commercial, or even liberal arts courses, in the university, according to the nature of the enterprise which the youth expects to enter. Even when he goes to work, his development should not be left to chance, since present leaders should take time to help train their possible successors. —Joseph Wilbois, *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie*, VII (October–November, 1927), 723–44. (I, 4.) S. A. S.

**"Le duel des sexes" ("The Duel of the Sexes").**—Jean Pain advances in this book a psycho-sociological explanation of the general inferiority of women from the social point of view. Since the subordination of women at all times and in all places (except at a remote period in Egypt) has been a constant fact, the cause can not be wholly sociological. But neither can it have its base in intellectual, physiological, or economic inferiority of women. Sexual taboos antedated the division of labor even in elementary forms of production. M. Pain finds the origin of female social inferiority in (1) superstitions concerning the impurity of the female sex and (2) the preponderate rôle of the male in the sexual union. The woman was everywhere held to be an impure being and relatively passive. In our civilization, as superstitions tend to disappear and sexual taboos become less severe, the supposed female inferiority also tends to be ignored.—Review by G. L. Duprat in *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, XXXV (November–December, 1927), 609–11. (I, 4.) S. A. S.

**The Rise and Fall of Individualism.**—Hobbes and the various "naturalist" schools asserted that human nature was originally and fundamentally selfish, and that regard for the good of others was always a disguised form of selfishness. The social compact was invoked to explain morality and law. This individualistic picture of primitive human society rule for generations. Modern scientific inquiry has established beyond possibility of question that man was from the first social. Unselfishness is as primitive and fundamental a characteristic of human nature as selfishness. Instead of asking how a number of isolated and mutually hostile individuals were induced to submit to the restraints of social life, the problem of social evolution is to explain how the individual ever succeeded in emancipating to some degree the tyranny of the group over his actions. Individualism has been a late, a laborious, and an incomplete achievement. The leaders of bolshevism have been the first to grasp that the complete mechanization of life is the one sure means of achieving equality, and that it involves the sacrifice of the individual. Mass production and

mass tyranny narrows the range of personal choice and subjects the individual to the sway of the herd.—Philip S. Richards, *Nineteenth Century*, CIII (January, 1928), 63-75. (I, 4.) C. D. C.

### III. PEOPLES AND CULTURAL GROUPS

**Les Nègres (The Negroes).**—The family, based, not on marriage, but on descendants, is the most complete manifestation of the collectivism so highly developed by the African Negro, according to this volume by Maurice Delafosse. The family is composed, not of a couple and their children, but of all the living descendants of a common ancestor. In principle there is no limit to the size of the family, which increases from generation to generation; but in practice the size is limited by the extent of the hereditary cultivable area. When the land becomes insufficient, a fraction of the family breaks off and forms the nucleus of a new family and new community. The separation may be only partial. Various families with a tradition of a common origin may form a clan, having in some cases, the prestige of nobility. The patriarch of the original family may act as chief. When families of a number of unrelated clans get to living side by side a different type of community is formed, based on economic and political interests. Out of such associations develop, step by step, the village, province, kingdom or confederation, and empire. In these political organizations the individual can exercise some initiative and authority. But family ties remain and within the circle of the family or clan the individual is only a numerical unit whose private interests are as nothing when they clash with the interests of the whole. The family is the strongest, most vital, and most stable institution of African society.—Review in *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie*, VII (July-September, 1927), 581-83. (III, 6; II, 2.) S. A. S.

**Biología de la Democracia (Biology of Democracy).**—This work, in Spanish, by Alberto Lamar Schweyr, seeks to show that democracy is incompatible with the heredity, social constitution, and low moral and intellectual level of the South American republics. The South Americans, he holds, are biologically inferior, owing to natural deficiency and to degeneration as a result of hybridization. Popular ignorance is extreme, the proportion of illiterates in some states reaching 70-80 per cent. There is a general lack of social discipline except under the compulsion of a dictator. Parties are indispensable to popular government, but there are no parties—merely partisans. The press, where it exists, is an organ of corruption, and there is only one newspaper for every twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants. The constitutions and legislative bodies are shams. The only effective government can be a dictatorship representing strong aspirations, which, if not popular, are at least national. The right of government belongs to those who can best organize the dominating forces and keep order.—Review by G. L. Duprat in *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, XXXV (November-December, 1927), 606-8. (III, 6; VII, 3.) S. A. S.

**Det danske sind (The Danish Temperament).**—The Danish temperament is characterized by strong individualism, and, as is to be expected in consequence, social philosophy is neither accepted nor understood in Denmark. Politics plays only a minor rôle in the lives of the people, who are too selfish and too much engrossed in individual problems to become interested in the affairs of others.—Axel Garde, *Tilskueren* (January, 1928), 31-38. (III, 6.) C. M. R.

**The Negro's Inhibitions.**—The Negro of the better classes is suppressing most of his native inclinations, talents, tastes, preferences, and prejudices to avoid Caucasian ridicule and to conform. The middle class "Aframerican" is generally willing to sacrifice his staunchest black friend to obtain white skin or "good" hair. The ability to "pass" is highly valued. Negroes hesitate to accept their own men of accomplishment until the Nordic approves them. They avoid color and razors, and shun watermelon and chicken, although these are popular white dishes. Only the most emancipated and the least emancipated are unashamed of their tastes and unafraid to be Negroes.—Eugene Gordon, *American Mercury*, XIII (February, 1928), 159-65. (III, 6; IV, 2.) H. C. G.

## IV. CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION GROUPS

**Der sexuelle Komplex im amerikanischen Rassenproblem (The Sexual Complex in the American Race Problem).**—The oppressor must have an excuse for his action; hence he claims racial superiority, and hence the demand for racial purity is highest where the Negro is most oppressed. But at the same time that the Negro is excluded from the church and the theater, where contacts are casual and formal, he is admitted to the home, where, it would seem, opportunities for racial mixture are particularly numerous. It is to be noted, furthermore, that objections to race mixture are directed at freemen, not at slaves, and that, contrary to popular opinion, comparatively few lynchings are the outcome of sex crimes. From all of which it is concluded that the fundamental basis of race conflict is economic.—William Pickens, *Die neue Generation*, XXIII (December, 1927), 383–88. (IV, 2.) C. M. R.

**The United States of Europe: A Dream or a Possibility?**—At a time when national rivalries seem to be leading mankind to fresh disasters, some declare that the only hope of peace lies in the formation of a United States of Europe. Common sentiment, economic interests, and common fear have been the great centripetal forces to draw together governments and peoples in the past. At present no common sentiment, based either upon religion or nationality, can be reckoned among the forces making for European unity. Industrial developments are bringing nations together to an increasing extent. Utilization of water-power for electric purposes has ended age-long rivalries between Sweden and Denmark, Portugal and Spain, and the same tendency is at work in Central Europe. On the other hand, these effects are local, and not likely to exercise a unifying influence over the Continent as a whole. In spite of a few international cartels, economic rivalries and tariff walls continue to grow. A common peril threatening the nations of Europe might bring momentary unity, as it has in the past. The attitude adopted of recent years by the United States may at length compel them to come together for self-protection. There can be no denying that America is rapidly acquiring in every quarter of the globe the unpopularity once bestowed on Germany. In a lesser degree Great Britain is regarded with suspicion by continental neighbors. Nationalism is the chief centrifugal factor in Europe today, and makes unlikely any lasting unity on the continent. The conflicting ambitions of France and Germany, France and Italy, and the succession states of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy are grave disturbing elements. Neither international socialism nor the League of Nations—the latter a European institution in fact, if not in theory—has made any appreciable difference. A survey of the principle factors at work in international politics can only lead to the conclusion that the necessary conditions for the formation of a United States of Europe do not exist.—Charles Petrie, *Nineteenth Century*, CII (December, 1927), 782–93. (IV, 2; VII, 3.) C. D. C.

**Die gegenwärtige Phase des Faschismus (The Present Phases of Fascism).**—Fascism is volunteer militarism, given soul by a belief in the supremacy of a metaphysical fatherland embodied in a single man. There is no opposition to fascism in Italy. The Mussolini myth is successfully, if expensively, propagated even among the intellectuals. The rights of assembly and of organization are denied; every printed word is rigorously censored; three kinds of secret police spy on the people and each other by methods worse than those of Russia under the czars. A slight danger to fascism lies in the activities of exiled Italians. A greater danger grows out of the present economic crisis brought on by the huge costs of the army and the police system. High taxes mean ultimate revolution; low taxes, a weakened government.—Arturo Labriola, *Die Gesellschaft*, V (January, 1928), 29–42. (IV, 3.) C. M. R.

## V. COMMUNITIES AND TERRITORIAL GROUPS

**Do We Need Regional Governments?**—It is a common remark that we have "too much government" in the United States. But a good deal of our ineptitude in the handling of socio-political problems is the result of a shortage of governmental apparatus. Our bipartite allocation of powers and functions was devised for a nation of only four million people, living simple lives in relative isolation. Today the

population has increased thirty fold, the number of states has nearly quadrupled, and the problems of public administration have been accentuated a thousand times over. A steady erosion of state powers has inevitably gone hand in hand with the increasing complexity of our social and economic life, while Congress is heavily overburdened. Many important problems nowadays affect a group of states, a region. Examples are the Colorado River project and the proposed St. Lawrence River ship canal. The desirability of recognizing sectional groupings officially and dealing with regions as entities of government has already been conceded by Congress in the federal reserve banking system. Our national traditions present a serious obstacle to regional government. But the United States of the twenty-first century may develop regional distinctiveness as a counterpoise to mass action on a national scale.—William Bennett Munro, *Forum*, LXXIX (January, 1928), 108-12. (V, 3; VII, 3.)

C. D. C.

*La dispersion de l'homme sur la surface terrestre* (The Dispersion of Man over the Earth's Surface).—Last of the anthropoids, primitive man had the widest distribution of all primates. Probable incentives to migrations were volcanic eruptions, fires, earthquakes, floods, epidemics, exhaustion of resources, climatic changes, invasions, dangers of all sorts, and often the attraction of change. Hypotheses for man's early movements must be built out of data synthesized from zoölogy, in view of the correlation between movements of people and fauna; from history, by inference from the way historic migrations took place; from geography, in indicating factors limiting and favoring routes; from archeology and anthropology, for knowledge of the distribution of culture traits; and from ethnography and linguistics. It cannot be said that there is a poverty of data.—A. A. Mendes-Corrêa, *Scientia*, LXII (October, 1927), 201-14. (V, 4.)

S. A. S.

#### VIII. SOCIAL PATHOLOGY: PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

*The Social Basis of Mental Health.*—To investigate the social basis of mental health represents a deviation from the conventional and respectable supernatural or religious approach. We must know not only what types of institutions are likely to prove most beneficial to the human animal, but also how institutions develop, change, and control man. We must do everything possible to prevent the existence of unhealthy individual organisms. Then the proper social conditioning of the first five years of the child's life is of transcendent importance for his mental health. The old punitive and penitential conceptions of pedagogy produce an unhealthy mental atmosphere in school years. Problem children should be detected and treated before they become permanently warped. Fear, which often results in paralyzing inhibitions and intellectual and emotional retardation, should be eliminated wherever possible. We must extrovert our personalities, and this can be done by forming healthy group contacts. Organized play provides education in social co-operation and control. Sex instruction should be thoroughly scientific.—Harry Elmer Barnes, *Survey*, LIX (January 15, 1928), 490-91. (VIII, 3.)

H. C. G.

*The Panhandler Passes.*—The average age of the men served by the Bowery Y has fallen from 35 to 25 years in ten years; at the same time there has been a noticeable increase in literacy. The Y has used the Otis Intermediate Intelligence Test as a basis for separating the young men who would profit from further education from the others; and while some who made creditable scores failed in rehabilitation, yet none who made low scores succeeded. Therefore the Y secretaries feel that psychological tests have been helpful in determining degrees of intelligence. At the same time they recognize that such factors as a destructive habit or other weakness also affect the rehabilitation problem.—Ruth Millard, *Survey*, LIX (January 15, 1928), 503-4. (VIII, 4, 1.)

H. C. G.

*A College Mental Health Department.*—Mental hygiene in college is chiefly a matter of providing each student with an environment suited to his own particular requirements, of seeing that he is not subjected to any stress or strain under which he will break down or suffer harm, and, at the same time, that sufficient demands are made upon him to toughen his mental and moral fiber and to call forth the best that

is in him. To make such service possible the students should live in groups of convenient size, each one of which would have a counselor living with it. He would co-operate with the psychiatrist in more difficult cases by contributing his knowledge of the life of that particular student.—Milton Harrington, *Survey*, LIX (January 15, 1928), 510-12. (VIII, 4.) H. C. G.

#### IX. METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

- A Quantitative Scale for Rating the Home and Social Environment of Middle-Class Families in an Urban Community.—Socio-economic status is the position that an individual or a family occupies with reference to the prevailing average standards of cultural possessions, effective income, material possessions, and participation in group activity of the community. The various items involved in these four factors were arbitrarily weighted. The six correlations derived from the ratings of thirty-eight families on these four tests ranged from  $+.55$  to  $+.68$ . The significant conclusion to draw is that four entirely different and independently derived scoring methods have been applied to the measurement of the same group of families and have given correlation coefficients which are significant in size and in substantial agreement with one another. A final multiple coefficient of  $.7224$  indicates that we have made some measurable progress toward recording the essential elements that characterize the phenomena studied.—F. Stuart Chapin, *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIX (February, 1928), 99-111. (IX, 2; II, 3.) H. C. G.

#### X. GENERAL SOCIOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Typologische und statistische Methode innerhalb der speziellen Psychologie (Typological and Statistical Methods in the Special Psychology).—Types, like the old temperaments, have been formulated by a happy intuition aided by experience in life but without rigorous control of the empirical facts. Two proposed methods of giving this control are the typographical method of Jaensch and the statistical method of Wiersma and the author. (1) The typological method seeks first to study persons who possess in highest degree the fundamental characters of a given type, and then to apply these findings to average cases. Dangers are (a) bias in selection of persons thought to exemplify the type to the highest degree, (b) impossibility of controlling accidental errors, (c) erroneous conclusions due to the few number of "pure" cases available for study. (2) The statistical method surmounts these difficulties by extensive statistical research. It takes a large number of "psychographs" (drawn from biographies or gathered by research), selects those thought to represent a type, and compares their traits with those of the average. Not only do coefficients of correlation and the probable errors give scientific certitude, but also the method makes it possible to distinguish different degrees of manifestation of the type studied.—G. Heymans, *Scientia*, LXII (August, 1927), 77-92. French translation, supplement, 39-45. (X, 2.) S. A. S.

Elements and Safeguards of Scientific Thinking.—As Dewey points out, science is quite as much a method as it is subject matter. We are forced to think only when facing a problematic situation; the elements of scientific thinking are essentially the same as for any reflective thinking. It is by the increasing awareness of the safeguards that must be thrown around the successive steps in the thought-process that science has made its thinking constantly more cautious. Two things must precede the solution of any problem: the recognition of the problem and its definition. It is only when the student is facing a clearly defined problem that his observation will be purposeful. Observation must be accurate, extensive, and be done under a variety of conditions. Exceptions are to be given special attention, and all possible hypothesis must be considered. Inferences must be tested experimentally. Only one variable is permitted.—Elliott R. Downing, *Scientific Monthly*, XXVI (March, 1928), 231-43. (X, 2.) H. C. G.

**Philosophy of the Exact Sciences: Its Present Status in Germany.**—(1) *Investigations of the founders of arithmetic.* There are three main groups of writers: (a) The intuitionists, like Brouwer (a Hollander) and Weyl, who hold that mathematical conclusions are certain only so long as the mathematician restricts himself to assertions which may be verified through a finite number of steps; (b) The formalists, like Hilbert, Ackermann, Bernays, and Von Neumann, who advance a procedure whereby it is possible to establish "trans-finite" propositions in a finite manner. Deliberate fictions are justified if the extended system is free from contradiction and the procedure really leads to the desired result. Mathematics is made the object of a new branch of science, "metamathematics." (c) The investigators continuing the work of Cantor on the theory of classes. Besides these three groups, important work has been done by Hertz, Dubislav, and Carnap. Betsch, in a very searching investigation of the rôle of fictions in mathematics, concludes that mathematics does not operate, as Vaihinger maintained, with fictions. (2) *Investigations of the foundations of physics.* This work is bound up more or less closely with the theory of relativity. The problem is: What is the relation, in this field, of rational knowledge, experience, and deliberate postulation? (a) The conventionalistic point of view, as represented in an extreme form by Dingler, maintains that all universal assertions of science are postulations. Dingler rejects the a priorism of Kant, on the ground that the alleged self-evidence of axioms is no criterion of their truth. If science is not to become chaos, Dingler holds, the selection of postulates must not be left to the arbitrary choice of the investigators. It must be guided by a superior principle, that of economy. He rejects the theory of relativity because it violates the principle of economy, sacrificing the simplicity and unambiguity of the entire structure of physics in order to gain simplicity in a limited field. (b) The modern empirical point of view, in contrast, conceded to a priorism and conventionalism that single physical laws cannot be derived solely from observation and experiment. But it denies the position of conventionalism that principles are entirely independent of the facts. We may single out a certain system as the most probable, though always leaving open the possibility that new facts may expel it from this status. Empiricists are represented by Born, Einstein, Reichenbach, and Schlick. Among the problems treated extensively by this group are problems of space, causality, matter, probability, and the delimitation of strictly valid laws of nature from merely statistical laws.—Kurt Grelling (translated by Edward L. Schaub), *Monist*, XXXVII (January, 1928), 97-119. (X, 2.) S. A. S.

**Methodology and Psychology.**—By causality is meant invariable concomitance. There may be just as much right to speak of the "influence" of consciousness as of "influence" anywhere else in science. "Influence" is in no case a flowing over of some sort of imaginary material or force, but is merely identical with factually established concomitance. The problem of the psychologist is not to prove the existence of consciousness any more than the problem of the physicist is to prove the existence of electricity or friction. The psychologist merely has to decide whether there are aspects of concrete experience which the adjective "conscious" fits pertinently, or whether the description of any concrete experience is really complete without reference to consciousness as one of the essential factors. The behaviorist is able to describe the facts of conscious response only by distorting them unduly or by ignoring what seem to be important aspects. Nothing seems more characteristic of consciousness than its selective expectancy. It is a process which defines its own ends, reaching forward and seeking what is to come. The individual mind is a progressive organization of functions in functional correlation with the total social structure. It strives for universal cultural ends impossible of realization by an isolated individual. Such objectives should be for psychology methodological postulates. Apart from them, individual striving is as unintelligible as a foot or hand apart from the body. Habits are mechanisms, but mechanisms established by conscious voluntary repetition for the *purpose* of relieving attentive consciousness of part of its burden. The learning process is not to be construed in abstraction from its unifying purpose as an integration of reactions. The cultural whole is no mere agglutination of social atoms. The whole should be taken to exist logically and historically before its parts, which are only functions of the whole. The method needed for studying the purposive personality is some refinement of what we use in everyday life. By introspection and

*Einführung* we reconstruct from fragmentary overt behavior of individuals those units of personality upon which we count in whatever prediction we actually do have in social intercourse. Failures are due to our inability to identify, from fragments presented, the character of patterns or organic *Gestalten*. Such a method is not contradictory to a method of mathematical measurement. Both can exist side by side, for the world is both mechanical and teleological. Mechanism and purpose seem contradictory only when they are abstracted and each endowed with metaphysical validity.—Herbert C. Sanborn, *Philosophical Review*, XXXVII (January, 1928), 15-41. (X, 2.) S. A. S.

**History and Citizenship.**—Nations, like individuals, have their neuroses and their morbid complexes, the roots of which lie in past but frustrated effort. In the process of emergent evolution, while each fresh integration means both the new and the unpredictable, the old elements are not lost, but are retained and fused, to emerge in a new set of relations. We can provide a fresh task and a regenerative inspiration for history if we realize that the chief function of the historian is not so much to determine events in time as to disentangle the elements at work in each successive integration, to measure the values of their effects, and to differentiate their qualitative worth and contributions to national growth as a whole. It is the function of a true historical science to aid creative citizenship by placing at its disposal, not a mere register of facts, but a qualitative analysis of their "values." No philosophers but the philosophical historians will be kings in a progressive society.—C. Grant Robertson, *Contemporary Review*, CXXXIII (January, 1928), 54-64. (X, 3, 4.) C. D. C.

**Social Psychology as a Liaison between History and Sociology.**—The attack upon the use of historical data for the purpose of reaching social psychological generalizations concerning social institutions and collective behavior is based upon a misunderstanding of the nature of history and of sociology. Modern historians have shifted the emphasis from facts to meanings; and as *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* cannot be depended upon to give these meanings, the discussion of social psychological factors is valid. The institutions of the present day are a growth which cannot be properly understood apart from their historical development; thus this method would be good sociology. History is a descriptive science; and the accurate description of events involves a technique for tracing sequences of events as well as the sifting of evidence and the collection of data. Sequences can be traced only on the basis of some hypothesis of development. The data of the sociologist can be secured from the data concerning present behavior from the social survey technician, or from data concerning past behavior from the historian. The historian can furnish the data upon which the sociologist theorizes. History depends upon a knowledge of collective behavior for its social usefulness.—Edwin E. Aubrey, *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (January, 1928), 257-77. (X, 5.) H. C. G.

**The Field of Social Psychology.**—The questions What is social psychology? What are its scope and method? regularly appear in dealing with both psychology and the social sciences. The subject is still vaguely defined and touches social science on the one hand and physiology and psychology on the other. The present trend seems to be toward placing the emphasis upon the individual in his social environment, indicating both the effect of the social milieu upon the personality and also the effect of cultural processes which are a part of this social interaction. A review of the writings in the field which goes over publications since F. H. Allport's article, "The Psychological Bases of Social Science," in 1925, shows that while the scope and methods of social psychology are a little more clearly defined, there is still a great deal of disagreement as to the legitimate field and the concepts of this science.—Kimball Young, *Psychological Bulletin*, XXIV (December, 1927), 661-91. (X, 5.) L. S. C.

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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

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VOLUME XXXIV

SEPTEMBER 1928

NUMBER 2

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## POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1925 TO 1975

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P. K. WHELPTON

Scripps Foundation, Miami University

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### ABSTRACT

In view of the interest in population growth in the United States and the practical value that accurate estimates of future growth would have, there is here presented an estimate of the population of the United States by ten-year periods up to 1975, the data being given separately for urban and rural populations and also by nativity groups.

In other population estimates which have appeared from time to time, the census enumerations are generally used for calculating absolute increases, rates of increase, or as a basis for computing growth curves. In this estimate the total population is used as a point from which to start. Future trends are estimated separately for such factors as birth-rates, death-rates, immigration, and rural-urban migration. The total population at future dates is therefore the calculated result of several predicted factors, rather than an original prediction in itself.

The results show a less rapid population increase for the future, making the reckless expansion of industrial plants, real estate additions, and the like unwarranted, but perhaps allowing us to catch up with our needs in social and civic activities such as schools, hospitals, and other essential facilities.

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What is to be the growth of population in the United States during the balance of the twentieth century? Estimating the future course of population has been of interest to mankind for a long time, but it seems as though it has been especially popular in the last decade. Business executives, editors, college presidents, scientists, and men in other walks of life have been making predictions, not deterred by the unfortunate way in which actual population growth has usually erred from the predictions of earlier forecasters.

There have been exceptions to this, of course, for a man has been so wise or lucky as to have his estimate for several decades. An interesting example is Francis Bonyngne whose predictions for the United States, published and shown in Table I, did not differ from census enumerations much as 5 per cent until more than half a century has elapsed. Perhaps it is the fortunate experience of such an occasion as well as the great importance of an accurate knowledge of growth, that maintains the supply of forecasts.

TABLE I  
UNITED STATES POPULATION ESTIMATES OF BONYNGNE

YEAR	WHITE		NEGRO		TOTAL
	Bonyngne's Estimate	Per Cent Error from Census	Bonyngne's Estimate	Per Cent Error from Census	
1850.....	19,668,736	0.6	3,598,762	- 1.1	23,267,498
1860.....	26,552,793	- 1.4	4,392,943	- 1.1	30,945,736
1870.....	34,518,630	0.5	5,364,755	- 0.5	39,883,385
1880.....	43,148,287	- 0.6	6,554,298	- 0.4	49,702,585
1890.....	53,935,358	- 2.1	8,010,785	7.0	61,946,143
1900.....	67,419,197	0.9	9,894,614	12.0	77,313,811
1910.....	84,273,996	3.1	12,102,930	23.2	96,376,926
1920.....	105,342,495	11.1	14,809,044	41.5	120,151,539
1940.....	164,597,646	.....	22,192,302	.....	186,789,948
1960.....	257,183,822	.....	33,293,968	.....	290,477,790
1980.....	401,849,715	.....	49,999,132	.....	451,848,847
2000.....	627,890,175	.....	75,152,627	.....	703,042,802

\* Francis Bonyngne, *The Future Wealth of America* (New York, 1852).

Methods used in estimating future population growth have been much as the type of men who have worked on the problem. It has often been assumed that the increase in population would continue for several more decades, either at the same rate or with the same absolute gain. Bonyngne himself used the fixed rate method, assuming for whites a rate of increase of 15 per cent for 1850-60 (approximately the rate of past decades), 25 per cent for 1860-70, and 25 per cent for later decades. He estimated that the rate for future decades would be 23 per cent for slaves and 15 per cent for free whites, but only under the rates of 1830-40 and considerably below the rates of other decades before 1850. His failure to decrease

after 1880 and the white rate after 1910 accounts for the early errors in Negro estimates and for the figures all becoming fantastic during the twentieth century.

Curve artists have been quite numerous among the forecasters, their offerings including various arcs, parabolas, and logistic curves which are demonstrated to fit past growth and are prolonged to indicate the future. The estimates of Pearl and Reed are probably the best known and most discussed of this group. From a popular standpoint their predictions seem too low. In view of the fact that population increased from about 50,000,000 in 1880 to about 105,000,000 in 1920, many believe that by 2,000 it will be much larger than Pearl and Reed's estimate of 185,000,000. Certainly if the population were to grow from 1920 to 2000 at the same rate as from 1880 to 1920, it would amount to about 463,000,000, though it would not attain the mark of 703,000,000 set by Bonyngel

From a scientific standpoint the claim of Pearl and Reed that they have established a "law of population growth" by their logistic curves is questioned on several sides. Certain critics assert that it is no law of population growth, but simply a curve which may or may not fit the past and future better than other curves which have been calculated.

In view of the interest in population growth and the practical value that accurate estimates would have, the Scripps Foundation is presenting another exhibit of what the future may have in store. These predictions have one point of difference which may distinguish them. Other population estimates are based almost entirely on the size of the population in the past. These census enumerations are used for calculating absolute increases, rates of increase, or as a basis for computing growth curves. In the forecasts of the Scripps Foundation, however, the total population is used as a point from which to start. Future trends are estimated separately for such factors as birth-rates, death-rates, and immigration. The total population at future dates is therefore the calculated result of several predicted factors, rather than an original prediction in itself.

The plan followed has been to add to the population on January 1, 1920, the estimated excess of births over deaths and the net immigration during the five-year period, thus obtaining the prob-

able population on January 1, 1925. This process has been repeated by five-year periods up to January 1, 1975. Because of the large variations in the birth- and death-rates of different groups of the population, it has seemed desirable to keep native whites, foreign whites, and Negroes separate, and to subdivide each of these groups into urban and rural. Five-year age divisions have been used in every case. Children born of foreign or mixed parentage within each five-year period have been counted as part of the native-born population under five years of age at the end of the period, the foreign-born group being kept up by immigration only. Internal migration from rural to urban communities has been estimated for each group. The sexes have not been kept separate for native whites and Negroes, the present sex ratio of each being assumed to continue in the future about as at present, since it depends so largely on the ratio at birth. With foreign whites, however, immigration under the new quota regulations may be sufficiently different from the unrestricted movement of earlier years so that the sex ratio may change considerably.

Since the census population for January 1, 1920, was used as the starting-point from these estimates, it was necessary to make certain adjustments in it. As in most other censuses, there appears to have been an underenumeration of children under five years of age. This is important, not only in itself, but because it affects the numbers to which birth-rates are applied in later years. The amount of underenumeration of children under one year of age was taken as 9 per cent for whites and 25 per cent for Negroes.<sup>1</sup> The rate of omission of children 1-2 years of age in the original registration states was calculated from the 1919-20 life tables by subtracting from the adjusted births in 1918 the deaths of these births in 1918-19<sup>2</sup> and dividing the remainder by the number of children 1-2 years of age shown by the census, January 1, 1920. Assuming these states to be representative, this indicated that the census population 1-2 years of age should be increased by 8 per cent in the case of the whites and 25 per cent in the case of the Negroes. A

<sup>1</sup> Elbertie Foudray, *United States Abridged Life Tables, 1919-20*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Using the percentages in James W. Glover, *United States Life Tables*, Table

similar method was followed for births in 1917, the resulting percentages of omission for children 2-3 years of age being 4 per cent for whites and 13 per cent for Negroes. The survivors from births in 1916 agreed so closely with the census population of children 3-4 years of age that no correction was made in this or the 4-5 year age group.

#### FUTURE DEATH-RATES AND SURVIVAL RATES

The death-rates used in these population predictions were based on those in the Registration Area during 1900-04, 1910-14, and 1920-24, and on those of two low death-rate countries, Australia during 1920-22 and New Zealand during 1922, a particularly favorable year. Death-rates for the native white population in the United States during future years were estimated partly on the basis that the trend from 1900-04 to 1920-24 would continue, and partly on the basis that a situation as favorable as that of New Zealand would be reached in fifty years. More weight was given to the latter for most age divisions, the feeling being that part of the decrease in rates from 1900 to 1920 in the Registration Area was due to the continued addition of rural states with lower specific death-rates than the more industrial states already included. In the age divisions over 75 years, the 1920 death-rates in the Registration Area were lower than those in Australia or New Zealand, and their downward trend was continued. This may be over-optimistic, since it is possible that a lowering of the death-rate at younger ages will bring about a less robust population with greater mortality at older ages.

To obtain rates for native whites in urban and rural communities, five-year death-rates by five-year age divisions were calculated for the white population in cities and in rural parts from the 1910 life tables,<sup>3</sup> and the ratio of each to their average (weighted according to the 1920 proportion of urban and rural) was secured. These ratios were applied to the 1920-24 death-rates. Rates for later years were divided into urban and rural on a similar basis, but assuming a slightly more rapid decrease in the urban death-rates than

<sup>3</sup> Tables 28, 30, 32, and 34.

in the rural, since there was a greater chance for improvement in the former.

For foreign-born whites and Negroes the 1920-24 death-rates were used as a starting-point. Urban and rural rates in this period were obtained for the foreign-born whites the same as for the native born. Those for the Negroes were based on the 1919-20 life tables,<sup>4</sup> states with over 5 per cent Negroes being assumed to represent rural conditions, and twelve large cities and states with less than 4 per cent Negroes to represent urban conditions. Rates for males and females were calculated separately for foreign whites since there may be considerable change in the sex ratio of this group. For the future, the five-year urban and rural death-rates were assumed to show about the same percentage decline as those of the native whites. In all cases the decline in death-rates was assumed to be at a decreasing speed, since there is almost no indication that the *span* of life is increasing.

Subtracting the five-year death-rates from 1,000 gave the five-year survival rates which were used in the actual computations to simplify the process. These five-year survival rates as derived from the official one-year death-rates are shown in Table II, together with the estimated survival rates for native whites and Negroes during certain future years. The expectation of life that corresponds to these rates is also shown as an aid in measuring the extent of the change in them.

#### FUTURE BIRTH-RATES

Predicting the birth-rate of the United States in future years presented greater difficulties than did the death-rate. With the increasing spread of birth-control information and practice, child-bearing is coming under individual control faster than life extension. Marked decreases in specific death-rates in the future probably will come only through important medical discoveries or the accumulated results of slow progress in public health education. The birth-rate, on the other hand, by means of contraception may be cut rapidly and to a large extent, especially if childless and one- or two-child families with their economic advantages continue to meet with increasing social approbation.

<sup>4</sup> Tables 3 and 4.

TABLE II  
SURVIVAL RATES PER 1,000 PERSONS FOR 5-YEAR TERM FOR CERTAIN COUNTRIES, AND ESTIMATED  
FUTURE RATES FOR THE UNITED STATES

AGE DIVISION	Aus- tralia*	New Zeal- and†	UNITED STATES											
			Native White						Negro					
			1920-24‡			1945-49			1970-74			1920-24§		
			Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
0-4.....	968	976	954	950	958	963	969	976	933	917	938	933	951	964
5-9.....	902	903	884	887	888	885	891	893	982	970	984	982	982	989
10-14.....	902	902	888	887	888	885	890	892	973	967	975	973	975	982
15-19.....	988	988	981	981	981	985	985	987	953	950	955	953	955	960
20-24.....	984	985	976	975	977	974	979	981	943	940	945	943	946	951
25-29.....	981	983	972	969	975	971	970	985	939	943	947	939	941	946
30-34.....	977	980	964	962	969	965	971	977	934	933	935	934	935	940
35-39.....	972	975	967	965	973	967	977	978	930	929	932	930	932	937
40-44.....	965	969	962	952	973	960	975	978	926	922	925	926	928	932
45-49.....	953	959	952	938	967	946	969	973	922	919	924	922	924	928
50-54.....	936	943	934	924	954	924	958	954	907	897	907	907	907	912
55-59.....	907	917	903	895	918	893	918	918	877	867	877	877	877	882
60-64.....	860	877	861	850	878	846	865	865	840	830	840	840	840	845
65-69.....	860	877	860	846	860	836	846	846	811	801	811	811	811	816
70-74.....	790	817	790	751	823	761	823	823	748	738	748	748	748	753
75-79.....	682	702	692	660	718	670	722	722	675	665	675	675	675	680
80-84.....	534	537	558	539	571	549	576	581	572	562	572	572	572	577
85-89.....	359	362	398	396	412	406	417	422	444	434	444	444	444	449
90-94.....	184	187	258	246	264	261	274	284	334	316	334	334	334	340
Expectation of life...	62.2	64.2	57.9	55.4	60.4	60.3	64.7	63.0	46.5	43.4	48.1	48.3	51.1	55.0

\* *Official Yearbook of Australia* (1924), p. 992. Calculated on the basis that the 1922 rates applied for five years.

† *New Zealand Official Yearbook* (1925), p. 139. Calculated on the basis that the average of the 1920-22 rates applied for five years.

‡ *Mortality Statistics* (1900-1904), pp. 60, 218, 374, 532, 690. Twelfth Census, Vol. II, *Population*, Part II, Table II.

§ Based on tabulation received from Mr. Batschelet, Bureau of the Census. The sources cited above provide the death-rates for one year for age groups 0-4, 5-9, etc., on the basis of which the 5-year survival rates were estimated as follows: (a) Death-rates for one year for age divisions 1-5, 2-6, 8-12, 9-13, etc., were obtained by interpolating along a smooth curve between rates for 0-4, 5-9, etc. (b) In the United States the death-rates for one year for age divisions 1-5, 2-6, 8-12, 9-13, etc., were obtained by lowering them in the same ratio that the general death-rate declined from 1920 to 1921; similarly, rates for 6, 7-11, 12-16, etc., were adjusted by lowering them in the same ratio that the general death-rate declined from 1921 to 1922, etc. (c) Subtracting the one-year death-rates from 1,000 gave the one-year survival rates. (d) The product of the one-year survival rates for age divisions 0-4, 1-5, 2-6, 3-7, and 4-8 gave the five-year survival rate for age division 0-4.

As a starting-point, birth-rates by age of mother were calculated for the five-year period 1915-19 and adjusted so that the resulting number of births equaled the sum of children under five years of age, January 1, 1920, reported by the census, and deaths since birth in this group. Specific birth-rates for 1905-9 were obtained in a similar manner. Births during 1920-26 were estimated from current *Birth Statistics* according to the method in Table XIV, and are shown in Table III. It was assumed that the births in 1925 and 1926 were representative of 1925-29, except in the

TABLE III  
BIRTHS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920-29 (THOUSANDS)

	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	Total 1920-24	1925	1926	Esti- mated total 1925-29
<i>White native mothers:</i>									
Urban*	795.8	825.4	783.7	795.6	814.6	4,015.1	800.6	778.2	3,947.0
Rural*	1,195.4	1,244.1	1,180.6	1,202.3	1,229.2	6,051.6	1,209.7	1,175.4	5,963.0
Total	1,991.2	2,069.5	1,964.3	1,997.9	2,043.8	10,066.7	2,010.3	1,953.6	9,910.0
<i>White foreign mothers:</i>									
Urban*	391.9	396.2	362.0	351.2	343.7	1,845.0	316.6	306.6	1,558.0
Rural*	120.5	122.5	111.7	108.8	106.3	569.8	98.1	95.1	483.0
Total	512.4	518.7	473.7	460.0	450.0	2,414.8	414.7	401.7	2,041.0
<i>Negro:</i>									
Urban*	83.7	86.0	78.5	78.4	81.0	408.5	80.4	80.3	401.6
Rural*	246.0	256.3	241.4	244.1	260.9	1,248.7	270.3	273.3	1,273.7
Total	329.7	342.3	319.9	322.5	342.8	1,657.2	350.7	353.6	1,675.3
Total	2,833.3	2,930.5	2,757.9	2,780.4	2,836.6	14,138.7	2,775.7	2,710.9	13,626.3

\* Based on the 1920 division between urban and rural. See *infra* for migration.

case of rural Negroes, where a reduction was made. Using these births and the calculated population for 1925 and 1930, specific rates were obtained for these two periods. They are shown in Table IV, together with those for 1905-9 and 1915-19.

Perhaps because of the effect of war and post-war conditions, there were fluctuations in the trend of the specific birth-rates for most groups between 1905-9 and 1925-29. In the native white and Negro groups these rates declined from 1905-9 to 1915-19, rose in 1920-24, and declined to a lower level in 1925-29. Rates for the urban foreign whites rose from 1905-9 to 1915-19 and then declined, while those for the rural foreign whites declined throughout. In all of the four white groups, the rates in 1925-29 were lower than in all previous years, while in both Negro groups they were

next to the highest. The behavior of the native white rates is in general agreement with that of most European countries engaged in the World War. A decline in the birth-rate during the war was followed by a partial recovery, and that in turn by a decline to still lower levels.

The trend of the Negro rates from 1905-9 to 1920-24 probably can be explained on the same basis as that of the native whites. That the 1925-29 rates did not show a greater decline may be due to a much slower spread of birth-control information among Negroes than whites.

The birth-rates of the foreign born show different trends, probably because these groups were much less affected by the war than were those of the native whites, most of the men not being subject to the selective draft. Furthermore, from 1910 through half of 1914 there was a very large immigration, much of it coming from the high birth-rate countries of Southern and Eastern Europe and settling here in certain cities. These two conditions would account for a large part of the increase in the urban foreign-born white birth-rates from 1905-9 to 1915-19, contrary to the trend of other groups.

Considering these facts, and the increasing spread of birth control, it seemed that the situation in 1925-29 might not have varied greatly from that shown if there had been no World War. In other words, the trend from 1905-9 to 1925-29 may be somewhat normal, and likely to be continued in the future. It is on this basis that birth-rates are predicted for years after 1930. For a time the rate of decline is estimated to speed up a little among Negroes on the supposition that they have not been reached by birth-control propaganda, especially in the rural parts, as have the whites. Barring this temporary exception, future declines are estimated to occur at a decreasing relative rate. The predicted birth-rates appear in Table IV.

#### IMMIGRATION

If immigration continues under the present regulations it may be possible to estimate the future movement from the quota countries fairly accurately. Equal accuracy can hardly be claimed, however, regarding immigration from Mexico and perhaps from other

## PAST AND ESTIMATED FUTURE SPECIFIC BIRTH-RATES

	URBAN					RURAL				
	1905-9	1915-19	1920-24	1925-29	1930-34	1935-39	1940-44	1945-49	1950-54	1955-59
<b>Native white women:</b>										
No. of children 0-4 (thousands) (a).....	2,518	3,240	3,711	3,686	5,993	6,629	4,864	4,968	5,611	5,581
Survival rate per 1,000 (b).....	872	906	924	934	934	960	878	910	927	936
No. of births (thousands) (c).....	2,888	3,586	4,016	3,946	6,289	6,905	5,540	5,450	6,053	5,963
Birth-rate in % of 1915-19.....	107.5	100.0	105.3	98.4	91.1	83.6	105.1	100.0	104.4	94.3
Birth-rates per 1,000 women aged (d):										
15-19.....	51.5	47.9	50.4	47.2	43.6	40.0	124.3	117.6	122.8	110.9
20-24.....	447.1	416.1	438.1	409.5	378.9	347.8	791.0	748.1	781.2	705.6
25-29.....	606.9	620.6	653.4	610.8	505.1	518.7	1,068.5	1,010.6	1,055.4	953.1
30-34.....	562.4	523.4	551.0	515.2	476.6	437.5	946.6	895.3	935.0	844.4
35-39.....	350.2	325.9	343.1	320.8	296.8	272.4	734.1	694.3	725.1	654.8
40-44.....	102.2	150.9	148.5	148.5	137.4	126.1	438.7	414.9	433.8	391.3
45-49.....	34.3	31.9	33.6	31.4	29.0	26.7	117.2	115.8	115.7	104.5
<b>Foreign white women:</b>										
No. of children 0-4 (thousands) (a).....	1,616	1,857	1,740	1,466	803	682	717	632	553	461
Survival rate per 1,000 (b).....	845	886	908	919	942	953	851	890	911	922
No. of births (thousands) (c).....	1,912	2,209	1,910	1,595	852	716	843	100.0	607	500
Birth rate on % of 1915-19.....	92.1	100.0	84.6	76.2	63.9	55.1	109.6	100.0	91.4	87.8
Birth rates per 1,000 women aged (d):										
15-19.....	86.7	98.7	85.6	78.0	67.1	58.5	154.7	147.7	138.1	134.3
20-24.....	622.4	708.6	674.7	566.1	481.5	420.1	1,287.7	1,249.1	1,149.4	1,117.3
25-29.....	809.6	1,035.8	868.2	818.5	703.7	613.9	1,502.0	1,491.0	1,394.3	1,355.4
30-34.....	862.2	913.5	792.2	721.9	620.6	541.4	1,231.8	1,168.1	1,092.4	1,061.9
35-39.....	507.3	540.0	562.2	510.5	438.9	382.8	837.7	799.6	747.8	720.9
40-44.....	497.0	538.2	293.3	297.2	229.8	200.4	402.8	441.7	413.1	401.5
45-49.....	61.5	70.0	60.7	55.3	47.6	41.5	145.2	138.6	139.6	126.0
<b>Negro women:</b>										
No. of children 0-4 (thousands) (a).....	255	305	354	337	565	603	1,160	977	1,118	1,105
Survival rate per 1,000 (b).....	749	836	860	869	921	933	800	868	866	913
No. of births (thousands) (c).....	340	368	409	402	644	646	1,270	1,120	1,248	1,131
Birth rate in % of 1915-19.....	125.9	100.0	120.0	116.2	103.2	90.0	118.8	100.0	105.9	104.1
Birth rates per 1,000 women aged (d):										
15-19.....	184.8	146.8	176.2	170.6	151.6	139.2	337.8	284.3	301.1	295.9
20-24.....	585.6	465.3	528.3	508.8	488.3	418.8	1,435.9	1,252.9	1,029.2	994.7
25-29.....	558.8	444.4	526.3	506.1	458.3	399.7	1,267.0	1,129.7	1,110.6	952.6
30-34.....	365.0	366.4	433.2	359.4	381.3	322.8	1,220.5	960.4	917.5	908.0
35-39.....	337.7	284.2	341.0	320.6	277.2	255.4	882.4	690.4	731.1	718.5
40-44.....	216.1	171.7	266.0	190.6	177.2	154.6	488.0	410.7	434.9	427.4
45-49.....	62.0	49.3	59.2	57.3	50.9	44.4	139.2	117.1	124.0	121.9

a) Living at end of interval: 1905-9, *Thirteenth Census*, I, 413; 1915-19, *Fourteenth Census*, II, 371, both adjusted for underenumeration (see text). Later years line (c) multiplied by line (b).

b) Survival rate from births distributed through 5 years to children under 5 years of age at end of period: 1920-24, calculated from *Mortality Statistics* for current years; 1905-9 and 1915-19 estimated to vary from 1920-24 in same ratio as infant mortality rates; 1925-29 and later years predicted, similar to rates in Table II.

c) For 1905-9 and 1915-19, line (a) divided by line (b); for 1920-24 and 1925-29, Table IV; for later years, line (c) multiplied by the calculated female population.

d) These rates multiplied by the census population for 1910 and 1920 and the estimated population for later years give the number of births, line (c). The birth-rates up to 1925-29 are calculated items based on either the number of children or of births. In 1930-34 and later years the rates are estimated and the numbers of births and children are calculated. The relation between the birth-rate at any age and the rates at other ages in the same group was based on the number of births by age of mother (*Birth Statistics* [1920], Table 4) and the number of women of specified ages (*Fourteenth Census*, II, 371). For this purpose the following states were assumed to be typical of the areas indicated: native whites, urban, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York; rural, Kansas, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, together with Kentucky, North Carolina, and South Carolina (each group weighed equally). Foreign whites, urban, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York; rural, Nebraska. Negroes, urban, a modifica-

American nations in years to come. Indeed, the official figures for Mexican immigrants since 1920 are claimed by some to be considerably under the actual movement, due to the number of "wet backs" who are said to cross the Rio Grande surreptitiously.

In this problem the official figures of about 2,000,000 immigrants during 1920-24 have been used for that period. The future

TABLE V  
NET IMMIGRATION, 1920-24, AND ESTIMATES FOR LATER  
5-YEAR PERIODS (THOUSANDS)

AGE DIVISIONS	1920-24*		1925-29†	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-4.....	50	50	25	25
5-9.....	60	60	30	30
10-14.....	70	70	35	35
15-19.....	174	126	87	63
20-24.....	322	218	161	109
25-29.....	262	178	131	89
30-34.....	102	78	51	39
35-39.....	34	26	17	13
40-44.....	22	18	11	9
45-49.....	14	16	7	8
50-54.....	13	7	6	4
55-59.....	13	7	6	4
60-64.....	7	3	3	2
All ages...	1,143	857	570	430

\* Estimated by age divisions from current reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

† Later 5-year periods are assumed to be the same as 1925-29.

movement has been estimated at 1,000,000 every five years, based largely on the reports from 1925 to 1927.<sup>5</sup> This may seem somewhat low, but it is believed that there is more likelihood of the quota provisions being extended to additional countries, and thus checking the movement, than of their being relaxed. The immigrants have been classified by age and sex, as is shown in Table V.

#### INTERNAL MIGRATION

Because of the differences between urban and rural rates for births and deaths it appeared desirable to keep these groups separate. This necessitated estimating the net rural-urban migration by

<sup>5</sup> Current reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration.

age divisions every five years for each race and nativity group. It is considered unimportant for the foreign born, however, on the assumption that they usually make their choice between urban and rural on their arrival as immigrants.

The percentage of the population in rural communities was calculated by race and nativity groups for 1900, 1910, and 1920 from the census. The downward trend of this percentage was estimated to continue in the future at a decreasing rate for native and foreign-born whites. The process then consisted in calculating the native white population, say in 1935, based on the population five years earlier and births and deaths during the intervening years. Applying the estimated percentage of rural gave the desired number rural, and the excess of natural increase in the rural group was considered as migrating to the urban group.

In the case of Negroes it was believed that the movement in the latter half of the decade 1910-20 was perhaps twice as great as during the earlier half, partly because of the northward movement of Negroes which apparently went on after first the World War, and later the immigration restrictions, had shut down the flow of foreigners to industrial centers. Furthermore, a study of the Negro farm population shown by the Census of Agriculture in 1920 and in 1925 indicated that the rural-urban movement during 1920-24 was also large, and resulted in a further decrease in the absolute number of rural Negroes. After 1925, however, this number was estimated to remain constant, and hence the rural-urban migration exactly equaled the natural increase of the rural group.

The percentage distribution of rural-urban migrants by age divisions was estimated somewhat arbitrarily after a study of the movement during 1910-20, and is shown in Table VI. The proportion of the population in rural communities appears in Table VII, and the number of migrants during certain years in Table VIII.

#### FUTURE POPULATION

With survival rates, birth-rates, immigration, and rural-urban migration predicted for future years, it remains only to calculate the population. The resulting figures are shown in Table IX, and the computation illustrated in Table XIII. Perhaps the most strik-

ing thing about these predictions is the small size of the 1975 figure and the rapid decrease in the rate of growth. Only 175,000,000 persons are indicated for 1975, and about 186,000,000 for 2000. The rate of increase, which was 15.0 per cent in the decade 1910-

TABLE VI  
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS\*

Age Division	Native White (Percentage)	Negro (Percentage)
0-4 . . . . .	10.1	10.8
5-9 . . . . .	9.9	8.9
10-14 . . . . .	5.4	5.4
15-19 . . . . .	15.3	12.5
20-24 . . . . .	21.6	23.2
25-29 . . . . .	13.5	17.0
30-34 . . . . .	4.5	8.9
35-39 . . . . .	3.6	8.9
40-44 . . . . .	3.6	4.5
45-49 . . . . .	2.7	
50-54 . . . . .	2.7	
55-59 . . . . .	2.7	
60-64 . . . . .	1.8	
65-69 . . . . .	1.8	
70-74 . . . . .	0.9	
All ages . . . . .	100.0	100.0

\* Based on census data for 1910 and 1920, and estimated birth- and death-rates for the decade. The percentages shown are those estimated for 1920-24. In later years the proportion 0-4 is estimated to decline because of the decline in the birth-rate.

TABLE VII  
ESTIMATED PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

	1925 (Percentage)	1950 (Percentage)	1975 (Percentage)
Native white . . . . .	47.1	36.4	31.3
Foreign white . . . . .	23.0	17.0	13.5
Negro . . . . .	61.0	47.7	42.8
Total . . . . .	45.4	35.8	31.3

TABLE VIII  
ESTIMATED RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION (THOUSANDS)

	1920-24	1945-49	1970-74
Native white . . . . .	3,433	3,100	2,279
Negro . . . . .	761	595	429

20, rises to 16.3 per cent in 1920-30, but then falls 4.7 per cent in 1965-75, as appears in Table X. No

TABLE IX  
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES (MIL)

	1920*	1930	1940	1950	1960
<i>Urban:</i>					
Native white.....	40.47	53.85	66.57	78.67	86.10
Foreign white.....	10.36	11.23	11.07	10.62	10.10
Negro.....	3.60	5.17	6.49	7.59	10.10
Total.....	54.43	70.25	84.13	96.88	106.30
<i>Rural:</i>					
Native white.....	41.07	42.83	44.01	45.03	44.10
Foreign white.....	3.36	3.10	2.62	2.18	2.10
Negro.....	7.00	6.92	6.93	6.92	6.90
Total.....	51.43	52.85	53.56	54.13	53.10
<i>Urban and Rural:</i>					
Native white.....	81.54	96.68	110.58	123.70	130.20
Foreign white.....	13.72	14.33	13.69	12.80	12.20
Negro.....	10.60	12.09	13.42	14.51	17.10
Total.....	105.86	123.10	137.69	151.01	160.50
Total, including† "other colored".....	106.29	123.60	138.25	151.62	161.00

\* Adjusted for underenumeration.

† The 1920 ratio of 405 "other colored" per 100,000 white and negro population in later years.

TABLE X  
RATE OF POPULATION INCREASE (PERCENTAGE)

	1900-1909	1910-19	1920-29	1930-39	1940-49	1950-59
<i>Urban:</i>						
Native white..	38.38	34.90	33.06	23.62	18.18	13.10
Foreign white..	41.51	8.65	8.40	-1.42	-4.07	-6.10
Negro.....	34.11	32.58	43.61	25.53	16.95	11.10
Total....	38.79	28.80	29.06	19.76	15.16	11.10
<i>Rural:</i>						
Native white..	10.03	5.98	4.29	2.76	2.32	1.10
Foreign white..	9.65	-11.99	-7.74	-15.48	-16.79	-16.10
Negro.....	4.55	3.35	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total....	9.18	3.25	2.76	1.34	1.06	0.10
<i>Urban and Rural:</i>						
Native white..	20.83	18.60	18.57	14.38	11.86	9.10
Foreign white..	30.66	2.75	4.45	-4.47	-6.50	-8.10
Negro.....	11.25	6.47	14.06	11.00	8.12	5.10
Total....	21.04	14.99	16.29	11.85	9.67	7.10

rate of growth decline, but the numerical increase d 17,200,000 in 1920-30 to 7,800,000 in 1965-75, n the larger population in the latter period.

The years of mushroom growth which have been characteristic of the United States in the last century seem to be definitely numbered. Industrial programs which are based on a doubling of population in 35 or 40 years will need to be carefully scrutinized. In the past much reckless expansion in manufacturing plants, real estate additions, and the like has later been credited to the foresight of a business genius because the rapid growth of population soon caught up with his work. In the future there will not be so great an increase in population to rush to the rescue. Irresponsible planning will likely show up as such, with hardship to those involved.<sup>6</sup>

In the field of social and civic activities the slowing up of population growth may have a different effect. Here it has been a difficult struggle in the past to keep up with the increase in numbers and provide the schools, hospitals, and other facilities needed. In fact many localities have considered themselves fortunate if they did not fall too far behind in these respects, to say nothing of keeping abreast with the rapidly growing population. From now on there should be a better chance to anticipate needs and to plan for them wisely.

Another point of interest is the similarity in trend and absolute size between these population estimates and those of Pearl and Reed, in spite of the entirely different methods by which they were obtained. Since the latter use uncorrected census figures for 1910, they are slightly below the Scripps Foundation figures at that time. There are very minor fluctuations in comparative position up to 1940, but from then to 1970 the Scripps estimate remains higher. The margin is 3,500,000 in 1970, but this amount would be reduced perhaps to 2,500,000 if the corrected 1910 population had been used by Pearl and Reed. No claim is made that the Scripps Foundation estimates represent a law of population growth. They are simply the results of an empirical process.

The age composition of the 1975 population as here predicted varies considerably from that of the present time. Dublin and Lotka<sup>7</sup> have pointed out the abnormality of the situation in 1920,

<sup>6</sup> The topics of this and the following paragraph will be developed more fully in another paper.

<sup>7</sup> Louis I. Dublin, and Alfred J. Lotka, "On the True Rate of Natural Increase," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (September, 1925).

and the trend shown here to 1975 is in line with their argument. Although the predicted 1975 population has not reached the stable age composition which they discuss, it is much nearer that condition than is the 1920 population. Both whites and Negroes, be-

TABLE XI

AGE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN 1920, AND ESTIMATES FOR LATER YEARS (PERCENTAGE)

AGE DIVISION	1920		1950		1975	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
0-4.....	11.4	12.1	9.0	10.8	7.6	9.0
5-19.....	29.1	33.9	25.4	30.0	22.7	26.8
20-44.....	38.2	37.8	38.0	37.5	36.8	38.4
45-69.....	18.4	14.3	23.1	18.5	26.9	21.8
70 and over.....	2.9	1.9	4.5	3.2	6.0	4.0
All ages.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

tween 1920 and 1975, show a marked decline in the proportion of persons under 20 years of age, and a still greater increase in the proportion 45 years of age and over. At ages 20-44, whites show a

TABLE XII

RACE AND NATIVITY COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN 1920 AND ESTIMATES FOR LATER YEARS (PERCENTAGE)

	1920	1950	1975
Native white.....	77.0	81.9	84.8
Foreign white.....	13.0	8.5	6.0
All white.....	90.0	90.4	90.8
Negro.....	10.0	9.6	9.2
Other colored*			
All groups.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* Less than a tenth of 1 per cent.

slight decrease and Negroes are almost stationary. The exact data appear in Table XI. The ratio between dependents and adults in the prime of life may not be greatly different from what it now is. There will be fewer children to support, but this will probably be offset by a larger number of dependent old persons.

Changes in the composition by race and nativity are less important, but are of some interest and are given in Table XII. Most

TABLE XIII  
METHOD OF CALCULATING THE NEGRO POPULATION

Age Division	Population January 1, 1945 (Thousands) A	Survival Rates per 1,000 Persons, 1945-49 B	Preliminary Population January 1, 1950 (Thousands) C	Birth-Rates per 1,000 Women, 1945-49 D	Rural-Urban Migrants, 1945-49 (Thousands) E	Population January 1, 1950 (Thousands) F
<i>Urban:</i>						
0-4.....	608	956	565	.....	69	634
5-9.....	597	979	581	.....	46	627
10-14.....	591	971	584	.....	28	612
15-19.....	611	955	574	152	64	638
20-24.....	670	951	584	480	119	703
25-29.....	617	948	637	458	87	724
30-34.....	607	939	585	381	46	631
35-39.....	613	932	570	293	46	616
40-44.....	546	920	571	177	23	571
45-49.....	483	894	502	51	.....	502
50-54.....	386	857	432	.....	.....	455
55-59.....	270	819	331	.....	.....	331
60-64.....	212	771	221	.....	.....	221
65-69.....	115	698	164	.....	.....	164
70-74.....	85	645	82	.....	.....	82
75-79.....	36	543	55	.....	.....	55
80-84.....	12	424	20	.....	.....	20
85-89.....	5	316	5	.....	.....	5
90-95.....	2	231	2	.....	.....	2
95 plus....	0	.....	0	.....	.....	0
Total urban	7,068	.....	7,065	.....	.....	7,593
<i>Rural:</i>						
0-4.....	940	968	1,062	.....	136	926
5-9.....	878	986	910	.....	46	864
10-14.....	864	979	866	.....	28	838
15-19.....	787	960	846	254	64	782
20-24.....	623	946	756	854	119	637
25-29.....	444	941	589	953	87	502
30-34.....	430	940	418	774	46	372
35-39.....	349	937	404	617	46	358
40-44.....	257	930	327	367	23	327
45-49.....	270	921	239	105	.....	239
50-54.....	235	902	249	.....	.....	226
55-59.....	170	873	212	.....	.....	212
60-64.....	231	840	148	.....	.....	148
65-69.....	163	782	194	.....	.....	194
70-74.....	138	699	128	.....	.....	128
75-79.....	88	585	97	.....	.....	97
80-84.....	35	452	52	.....	.....	52
85-89.....	16	340	16	.....	.....	16
90-94.....	4	247	5	.....	.....	5
95 plus....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Total rural	6,923	.....	7,519	.....	.....	6,924
Total Negro	13,991	.....	14,584	.....	.....	14,517

Column B: Table II.

Column C: For age divisions 5-9 and older, each line is the product of the line above in Columns A and B. For age 0-4, the females in Column C (using 1920 sex ratios) multiplied by the ratios in Column D gives the number of births 1945-49; this multiplied by the survival rates (Table IV) gives children 0-4, January 1, 1950.

Column D: Table IV.

Column E: Assuming the same absolute rural population in 1950 as in 1945, the age distribution of migrants shown in Table VI, and that the urban birth-rates rather than the rural birth-rates apply to this group.

Column F: Column C minus Column E. The decrease between Columns C and F in the 0-4 age division and the total Negro is due to the assumption that the urban birth-rates apply to the migrants.

marked is the cutting in half of the proportion of foreign-born whites which will result from restricted immigration. The increase in native whites a little more than offsets this decline. Negroes show a relative falling off of eight-tenths of a point in the 55 years, a slight change. Apparently this race question will not be settled by the Negroes dying out for several generations, if ever.

It is true that striking medical discoveries may cause the population to vary upward from these predictions. More likely, however, wars or a greater practice of birth control may cause a variation downward. These estimates represent simply what will happen under certain conditions of immigration, birth-rates, and death-rates, conditions that are believed to be reasonable, based on the experience of recent years.

	1919			1920	
	WHITE		NEGRO	WHITE	
	Native Mothers	Foreign Mothers		Native Mothers	Foreign Mothers
<i>ent birth registration area:</i>					
Births registered (thousands) (a) . . . . .	914.0	355.4	95.5	1,047.8	347.7
Percent of births registered (b) . . . . .	93.2	92.7	81.0	93.4	93.4
Total births (a÷b) (c) . . . . .	980.6	383.3	118.0	1,121.8	372.3
Deaths from these births (d) . . . . .	51.6	23.8	9.2	57.6	24.2
Death rate 0-1 per 1,000 births (e) . . . . .	52.6	62.1	78.0	51.4	65.0
Children 0-1, December 31 (f) . . . . .	929.0	359.5	108.8	1,064.2	348.1
Urban children 0-1, December 31 (g) . . . . .	450.0	286.4	35.8	508.4	275.8
Rural children 0-1, December 31 (h) . . . . .	479.0	73.1	73.0	555.8	72.3
<i>in United States:</i>					
Ratio of children 0-1 to those in current birth registration area (i) . . . . .	1.499	1.331	2.000	1.480	1.323
Children 0-1, December 31 (h×i) (j) . . . . .	674.6	381.2	71.6	752.4	364.9
Death rate 0-1 per 1,000 births (k) . . . . .	54.7	64.6	88.1	54.5	68.9
Births during year (thousands) (l) . . . . .	713.6	407.5	78.5	795.8	391.9
<i>in United States:</i>					
Ratio of children 0-1 to those in current birth registration area (m) . . . . .	2.130	1.620	2.917	2.048	1.566
Children 0-1, December 31 (h×m) (n) . . . . .	1,020.3	118.4	212.9	1,138.3	113.2
Death-rate 0-1 per 1,000 births (o) . . . . .	50.5	59.6	73.3	47.8	60.4
Births during year (thousands) (p) . . . . .	1,074.6	125.9	229.7	1,195.4	120.5

a) *Birth Statistics* (1919), p. 37; (1920), p. 44; (1921), p. 43; (1922), p. 60; (1923), p. 44; (1924), p. 50; (1925), p. 83; for 1926, from tables furnished by Dr. William H. Davis, of the Bureau of Census, in advance of publication.

b) For 1919 this percentage is calculated so that line (f) equals the population in *Fourteenth Census*, II, 371, increased by 9 per cent in the case of native whites and 25 per cent in the case of Negroes, to allow for underenumeration (see Elbertie Foudray, *United States Abridged Life Tables* 1920, p. 9). For 1920 and later years the percentage of births registered is estimated to have increased 0.33 annually in the case of whites and 0.66 in the case of Negroes.

d) *Mortality Statistics* (1919), pp. 162-96; (1920), pp. 180-214; (1921), pp. 298-311; (1922), pp. 350-70; (1923), pp. 128-42; (1924), pp. 130-43; (1925), pp. 44-56. It is estimated that of the deaths 0-1 dying during a calendar year, 72 per cent of the males and 71 per cent of the females were born in that year (see James W. Glover, *United States Life Tables* [1890, 1901, 1910, 1901-10, 1920]).

## THE UNITED STATES, 1919-26, INCLUSIVE

n rs	THE UNITED STATES, 1919-26, INCLUSIVE											
	1923				1924				1925			
	WHITE		NEGRO	NEGRO	WHITE		NEGRO	NEGRO	WHITE		NEGRO	NEGRO
	NEGRO	Native Mothers	Foreign Mothers		Native Mothers	Foreign Mothers			Native Mothers	Foreign Mothers		
6	134.8	1,254.4	389.6	137.7	1,368.5	394.4	156.9	1,364.6	367.1	136.5	1,347.2	359.8
1	83.0	94.4	94.4	83.6	94.7	94.7	84.3	95.1	95.1	85.0	95.4	95.4
8	162.5	1,328.8	412.7	164.7	1,444.5	416.3	186.1	1,435.4	386.1	160.7	1,412.2	377.2
5	10.8	62.9	23.3	11.8	62.7	21.5	12.8	64.3	20.3	10.9	63.3	19.8
7	66.5	47.3	56.5	71.6	43.4	51.6	68.8	44.8	52.6	67.8	44.8	52.6
3	151.7	1,265.9	389.4	152.9	1,381.8	394.8	173.3	1,371.1	365.8	149.8	1,348.9	357.4
4	46.3	611.4	313.6	46.7	649.6	311.7	53.1	641.3	287.7	52.8	627.5	279.7
9	105.4	654.5	75.8	106.2	732.2	83.1	120.2	729.8	78.1	97.0	721.4	77.7
55	1.565	1.238	1.055	1.538	1.198	1.044	1.423	1.192	1.042	1.406	1.184	1.038
1	72.5	756.9	330.8	71.8	778.2	325.4	75.6	764.4	299.8	74.2	743.0	290.3
6	76.5	48.7	58.2	84.5	44.7	53.2	77.1	45.2	53.1	76.6	45.2	53.1
0	78.5	795.6	351.2	78.4	814.6	343.7	81.9	800.6	316.6	80.4	778.2	306.6
55	2.149	1.751	1.355	2.149	1.608	1.215	2.032	1.584	1.191	2.616	1.557	1.159
6	226.5	1,146.0	102.7	228.2	1,177.4	101.0	244.2	1,156.0	93.0	253.8	1,123.2	90.1
8	61.8	46.8	55.9	65.2	42.1	50.1	64.0	44.4	52.1	61.0	44.4	52.1
7	241.4	1,202.3	108.8	244.1	1,229.2	106.3	260.9	1,209.7	98.1	270.3	1,175.4	95.1

in 1925, the last year published at the

ber of children of mixed parentage who  
the Scripps Foundation by the Bureau  
Women in the United States" (in manu-

ion of children 0-1, January 1, 1920,

under each state. The 1920 ratios are  
Negroes, where there is an appreciable

k) Line (e) multiplied by the ratio that the total infant mortality rates in the current  
registration area have to those for cities as shown in *Birth Statistics* (1919), p. 16; (1920),  
(1921), p. 25; (1922), p. 41; (1923), p. 27; (1924), p. 31; (1925), p. 2. It is assumed that the re-  
of the cities' rate to the total rate would be unchanged if places of 2,500 to 10,000 were  
with cities.

l) Line (j) divided by 1,000 minus line (k).

m) See (i). There is no appreciable trend for rural Negroes.

o) Similar to (k), but using the infant mortality rates for rural parts instead of the

p) Line (n) divided by 1,000 minus line (o).

## ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

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ELLSWORTH FARIS  
University of Chicago

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### ABSTRACT

Psychology was defined as the science of behavior some years before the appearance of "behaviorism," and the effort of this school to limit the notion of behavior to the observable movements is unwarranted. The attempt to discard all consideration of the subjective experiences neglects the middle or mediating part of the act, which is equally important with the objective and observable. Actions occur in separate and organized temporal structures with a unity that is the result of the subjective imagination. The attitude is in part the residual effect of the act, but it remains as a predisposition to certain forms of subsequent activity. The motive or intention is an integral part of the act, and no estimate of the quality of the act can be made without considering the inner experience. Objects or values also occur as the result of action and are correlates of attitudes. "The attitude is the hunger; the object is the beefsteak." Objects result from organizations of experience, and therefore are empirical, not metaphysical. Desires are incomplete acts, impulses with images of the object of satisfaction. Opinions and answers to questions about attitudes introduce a fourth factor into the problem of attitudes and their determination, and much past effort has failed because the fourth factor was not suspected. Attitudes exist as tendencies to act; they are subjective, and therefore difficult to investigate; but many invisible objects can be studied, and a great many competent men are now engaged in research with every promise of notable success.

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It is nearly twenty years since psychology was first defined as the science of behavior. The significance of this formulation lies in the recognition of the importance of action and movement and the necessity of including more than the description and explanation of mental states. The beneficial results of the new conception were destined to be delayed by the rise, a few years later, of a vigorous and aggressive group who took up the word "behavior," added an "ism," and insisted that psychology was obsolete and that movement and action could alone be made the subject of scientific investigation. Thought, feeling, and imagination were found difficult to study; so, in order to save labor, their very existence was denied. The behaviorist boasts of the fact that he has no mind, and glories in his inability to think.

While it is too early to evaluate the effect of this last chapter in our current history, it is very clear that, along with the gain that has resulted in emphasizing objective observation, there has been a loss

in more than one direction. We have witnessed, in the first place, a terrifying creation of neologisms which appear to be mere translations of our familiar terms into awkward and inferior phrases. Instead of "imagination" we read of "neuro-psychic behavior reaction patterns," and instead of "thought" we are forced to hear of "implicit laryngeal behavior," as if suppressed speech did not include scores of other structures and muscles. It may provoke a laugh for a behaviorist to refer to his indecision by saying: "On that point I have not yet made up my larynx," but a phenomenon is neither explained nor explained away by the mere coining of a new phrase.

Another effect of the behavioristic mutiny has been more serious for science. I refer to the tendency to limit the concept of action to the overt and visible. Just when the American psychologists were in a position to profit by the discoveries of Angell, Dewey, Mead, and their colleagues which enabled us to regard thought and reflection as phases of action, and to continue our researches with the insight into the nature of imagination as a constructive process made necessary because existing habits were inadequate and in order that new ways of action might be discovered—just when we had reached this point, the young men began to be informed that "the whole traditional clutter of conscious states and subjective concepts must be thrown overboard." Of course anyone who owns the ship and its contents can throw overboard any or all of the cargo, however valuable, but intelligent men will salvage it if possible. The psychologist can throw overboard tendencies to act, emotions, sentiments, wishes, and desires, but men who live and work will not throw them overboard. Courts of law will not throw them overboard, nor employers of men, nor lovers, nor parents, nor teachers. Psychologists can neglect the important aspects of human nature whenever they feel incompetent to deal with them, but then some other workers will arise who will try to make us understand what men live by, and how, and why. There is a lesson for psychologists in that other outlaw movement known as psychoanalysis, which built so formidable a structure on nothing but desires and wishes, conscious and unconscious. For it is inevitable that one extreme should beget another.

One particular phase of the current denial of the importance of the subjective aspect of experience has arisen as a criticism of the concept of attitude initiated by Symonds<sup>1</sup> and elaborated by Bain.<sup>2</sup> The spirited attack of the latter writer seems to make timely the attempt to state anew some of the more elementary aspects of the act and the relation to action of attitudes, desires, wishes, opinions, and objects. It is not proposed to make any original contribution at this time. The purpose of this article is to set forth a constructive statement of what some of us found to our surprise was not the common property of social psychologists. Let us begin with "actions."

Human life consists of actions, but between one act and another we sometimes rest. There are valleys of calm between the mountains of endeavor. Raup's excellent and suggestive volume on complacency states this calm or rest as, in some sense, the end or purpose of the striving or action. The *Gestalt* psychologists refer to the same phenomenon under the term "equilibrium." If I read Woodworth and Hollingsworth aright, the same notion is set forth in their works. From this it follows that action in general is divided into separate acts in particular. Moreover, these separate acts can be shown to have a beginning and an ending. Some of them also have a middle, which is the main reason why there must be psychologists as well as behaviorists. For it is in the middle or mediating phase of certain of our acts that subjective experiences occur and become all-important.

The actions of men are not only separate and distinct events; they have also a structure or form. There is a temporal *Gestalt*, a configuration, an organization. When an act is ended it is possible to describe its consummation in terms of experience. In our major collective activities this consummation is usually marked by a formal ceremony, hence the "dedication" of public buildings, the formal ritual of degrees in colleges, the solemn signing of peace treaties and articles of agreement. But the separate actions of individuals have the same character, and it is possible to describe accurately the feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction when the act, en-

<sup>1</sup> See *Psychological Bulletin*, March, 1927, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> See this *Journal*, XXXIII (May, 1928), pp. 940-57.

terprise, or project is done, finished, consummated. For the act is not merely a series of movements, but rather a series of movements plus some goal of endeavor, some end in view. Movements are integrated into acts by the fact that there is an imagined end and a felt unity. Even the most overt behavior receives its essential character from subjective experience. The mistress may insist that the task is not done, while the maid may contend that all is finished. There is no question of the movements performed; it is a matter of differing subjective pictures of what was intended.

But if actions have an ending they also have a beginning, and the beginning is an integral part of the act just as truly as the beginning of a race is part of a race or the beginning of a lecture is part of the lecture. And here appears another chapter of disaster in the ruthless unloading of the cargo by the behaviorists in throwing overboard desires, purposes, and subjective states. For, while there are mechanical movements, such as absent-minded acts, which have no purpose, our significant behavior has its beginning in a type of experience for which we use such words as "intent," "purpose," "motive." The effort which we have so often witnessed of late to treat the movements only and leave to some other pseudoscience the study of the subjective has the ludicrous result of identifying as identical actions which are utterly different. There *is* a difference between murder and accidental homicide, though the movements may be identical. There *is* a difference between suicide and accidental death. Dr. Cavan found, in her study of suicide, that it was highly profitable to study the "death wishes" of men, for the wish to die is incipient suicide. To give money sacrificially to aid a good cause is not the same as to give a like amount to curry favor with the public. To say that the act is the same but the motive is different is to miss the essential nature of both. The two acts are quite different, for the outer without the inner is no more the whole act than the inner apart from the outer. Behavior without purpose is accident; purpose without behavior is reverie. The planned act has both imagination and movement.

There are some acts that approach the automatic and the mechanical. Some of the reflexes would be included in this class, and certain learned activities which are evoked by an appropriate stim-

ulus. The operation of the brakes on a motor car or even the quick turning of the wheel in view of a sudden obstruction are typical of such automatisms. We may speak of these as "immediate" acts. The word "instinctively" is often used to describe the behavior, though the co-ordination is, of course, an acquisition. More important for this discussion is the class of acts which we call "reflective," actions which require deliberation, planning, reasoning, thinking out a means of meeting the exigency. These acts occur when the situation is contingent and there is no immediate means at hand to enable the action to go on to completion or consummation. There is uncertainty both within and without, both externally and internally. The *situation* is imperfectly defined since and because there is no *response* ready to be made. In the full sense of the word there is neither stimulus nor response; instead of a stimulus there is an ambiguity or vagueness toward which we would like to act, while instead of a response there is an urge or tension which we do not know how to release. "I cannot understand this letter; I do not know what to make of him; I wonder what I ought to do." It is in the attempt to solve problems by means of reflection that the phenomena of imagination, meaning, desires, and wishes force themselves on the attention of the psychologist.

In order to show that attitudes considered as tendencies to action are essential to the adequate interpretation of behavior it is mainly necessary to emphasize the temporal character of the action. Even the quickest act requires a measurable time-span, while some acts consume minutes, others take hours, and some plans require years of endeavor. No discussion of acts can be adequate which takes no account of the past and the future as well as the present. Moreover, when an act has been consummated the condition or state of the actor is altered ineluctably. To have "lived through" a great experience is to be forever changed, and every reflective act leaves some permanent effect. Some deposit remains, not only in experience, but also in behavior. There results what Pareto calls a "residue." An unpleasant experience may leave a man with a bias or prejudice which he never had before. An unexpectedly happy experience may completely alter his leaning or proclivity toward the object of his action.

An action, therefore, has a duration, and when it has run its course and has been completed there are subsequent effects which are important to reckon with. But there are two ends to a line, two limits to the duration of an act. In addition to the residual effects succeeding the act there is an important consideration with respect to the antecedent conditions of the action. For, concerned as we are with the effect a given act has had, we are equally interested in what the future action is to be. Behavior is important, and what men do is vital; but we are also interested in what they are about to do, in what they can be induced to do. Hence the necessity, the vital necessity, of considering attitudes as tendencies of action.

Mr. Symonds expresses surprise that some regard attitudes as "desirable outcomes of education." It would seem incredible that anyone could know even superficially our public schools and doubt that attitudes are considered the desirable outcomes of education. Of course in the schools some attitudes are deliberately discouraged, but others are produced by long and patient effort. The teaching of history and of literature are primarily undertaken for the purpose of producing attitudes toward this nation and other nations, toward social and moral objects which the community approves.

We are vitally concerned with the future. This is written just after the adjournment of the Democratic convention at Houston. The papers carry prophecies, analyses, appeals, and propaganda. It is highly important to know what men are going to do, how they are going to vote. It is known that the southern Democrats have certain attitudes toward the Volstead act. It is known that they have certain attitudes toward the Republican party. Other attitudes are involved. What millions of people would like to know today is what they are going to do about Governor Smith. For the attitude will determine the general character of the act.

We are not only vitally interested in what men are going to do, but we are interested in producing predispositions and proclivities that will lead them to do what we desire. Hence we have schools, evangelists, newspapers, and organizations for the purpose of altering conditions and producing tendencies to certain types of behavior.

Now there is no reason why a behaviorist should be interested

in this subject, nor any reason why he should try to discover or understand attitudes. But the psychologist has always been interested in the whole of experience, and even if both behaviorist and psychologist should alike cease to be interested in the subject it would only mean that others would arise to try to answer the pressing questions. The needs of men are imperative; it is only a question which science or sciences will arise to meet the needs, to state the problems, analyze them, devise methods of investigation, and produce valuable and serviceable generalizations and laws.

As used in this article, an attitude is a tendency to act. The term designates a certain proclivity, or bent, a bias or predisposition, an aptitude or inclination to a certain type of activity. As so used, an attitude cannot be an act, though it may be the beginning of an act. The word is sometimes used to designate the muscular set when the act is immanent, but it cannot be so limited. For as men use the word and as we deal with men there is need to speak of a man's attitude when there is no behavior immanent. Even in moments of "complacency" or calm or equilibrium referred to before we must be allowed to assume the existence of attitudes as tendencies, latent but real. One man I know well has very decided attitudes and many of these attitudes I know so well that I could state them with every assurance of accuracy. He has decided attitudes toward prohibition, the tariff, the League of Nations, and Herbert Hoover. He has these attitudes and many more. He has them all now, though at this moment he is busily engaged in an activity remote from any of the objects named. And yet he does have these attitudes now, and they are tendencies of a very definite sort, and his future actions will result from these tendencies.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The question of definition and the inconsistency in the use of the word "attitude" is a matter of much concern to Dr. Bain. This is more a matter of lexicography than of science. A word means what men mean by it, and most dictionaries patiently record all the uses of the words in the language. If one author is inconsistent, and most of them do slip, he should be held accountable for the fault, but scientific progress will not be made by mere voting about words. It is also a matter of common knowledge that other words are used instead of the word "attitude" to denote the same thing, e.g., tendency, predisposition, disposition, and habit. To the tyro this is confusing; but if we think denotatively, we cannot go far wrong. Even the word attitude could be abandoned and a meaningless symbol substituted without loss. We could speak of the element *X* which is left as a residue of a former action and predisposes to a future act or type of acts.

The nature of attitudes will be clearer if we consider them in relation to the objects and the emotionally toned objects which are appropriately called values. Here also there is evident some confusion, but the question is not really difficult. For the attitude is toward something to which the attitude is related. When equilibrium has been disturbed and a conscious and deliberate act results, one effect is the formation in experience of a new object, and the attitude or residue is the correlate of the object. At the party Romeo meets Juliet, and very shortly the girl becomes to him a beloved object, a value. We can speak of the attitude of Romeo toward the object, Juliet. They are correlative terms, arising simultaneously in experience. When the object changes, the attitude changes, *pari passu*. But it should not be difficult to distinguish my hatred from my enemy who is the object of the hatred. Until men become hopelessly unable to distinguish hunger from beefsteak there should be no difficulty in telling the difference between a value or object and an attitude.

It must be observed, however, that objects belong to experience, not necessarily to nature. Psychology is not concerned with what the object is, but with what it is experienced as. For we live in a world of "cultural reality," and the whole furniture of earth and choir of heaven are to be described and discussed as they are conceived by men. Caviar is not a delicacy to the general. Cows are not food to the Hindu. Mohammed is not the prophet of God to me. To an atheist God is not God at all. Objects are not passively received or automatically reacted to; rather is it true that objects are the result of a successful attempt to organize experience, and the externalized aspect of the organization is the object or value; the internal or subjective tendency toward it is the attitude. Let it be said again, the name by which this aspect of human nature is referred to is absolutely irrelevant. The essential point is that tendency, predisposition, organized inclination is centrally important, and that corresponding to this aspect of the experience of the person there is an externalized object of the tendency to which men give the name object or value.

Two other notions have been recently made the subject of debate, namely, wish and opinion. These are also important aspects of action, and each shall receive here a brief consideration.

A desire is not characteristic of complacency. Some desires or wishes are so weak and unimportant that this fact may be obscured, but it is easy to show that when we wish we are in a certain condition of tension. We are incomplete. The hungry man wishes for his dinner. When he has dined his wish is gone. His impulse is "satisfied"; it disappears. If one might risk a phrase, the wish could be defined as an impulse together with an image of the object of satisfaction. A wish is, therefore, one aspect or phase of an incomplete act. One convenient distinction between wishes and attitudes lies here. An attitude exists as a tendency even when latent; a wish is always more or less dynamic or kinetic. A man may be said to have an attitude toward coffee. If he be very fond of coffee he may come to wish for coffee on occasion. Having had three cups, and enjoyed them all, he still has an attitude, the same attitude, toward the object, coffee; but he does not, let us hope, wish for any more. He may wish later. He has an attitude, but no wish.

If the foregoing considerations be convincing, it follows that a wish is not the predisposition to an act, but the actual part of an act. Some acts never get completed, but if wishes are sufficiently strong and do not mean action of too difficult a nature, it should be easy to regard wishes as essential phases of actions which go on to the end. If the wish is abandoned, then the act is left incomplete. Alas, many of our castles are only air!

As to the relation of opinions and responses to questionnaires asking about attitudes, there is little that now needs to be said. We can, for the most part, rely on the verdict of the many students who hastily endeavored to investigate attitudes by this short and easy and futile method. It would seem evident that a response to a questionnaire is itself an act. If the statement concerns some object, the attitude toward the object can be assumed to exist. But when one talks or writes he usually talks or writes to someone, and the object of the action in that case is often the questioner, and not the subject which the questioner wishes to be informed about. The sad experience of Bain and others with questions and answers about attitudes might be interpreted as due to the failure to take into account the fact that in a questionnaire there are four factors instead of only three. The fourth factor being so important and being wholly neglected in the calculations, the results proved relatively

valueless. But even if the fourth factor, the questioner, be eliminated, there is no warrant that the three factors remaining would be in a one-to-one correspondence. There is every reason to say that they would not so correspond. The attitude exists, and the object of the attitude is its correlate; but the reason, the opinion, the rationalization, this is, as Pareto has shown, much more variable, and it is necessary to devise more careful methods if we are to learn what attitudes are and how they are to be discovered.<sup>4</sup>

The method of studying attitudes cannot be discussed within the limits of this paper. It is hoped to make it the subject of a subsequent discussion. Readers of this *Journal* will recall the article by Thurstone, in which a suggestive attempt has been made to apply a refined statistical method to the problem.<sup>5</sup> It is clearly more difficult than was at first assumed to construct a scale which will measure the attitudes either of a group or an individual, though the former seems the easier task. The general principle adopted by Thurstone appears to be the consistency of the responses to a series of questions in comparison with the expressions of groups whose attitudes are known from other sources than their replies.

The specialist in this field will recall the work of such men as Williams<sup>6</sup> who have revealed the usefulness and even the necessity of asserting the existence of unconscious attitudes. John Dewey, in a brilliant discussion, has shown the necessity for assuming attitudes of which the actor need not be conscious in order to interpret behavior that is inconsistent.<sup>7</sup> Thus it appears that the notion of attitudes as tendencies to act is forced upon the investigator, not only in predicting what will be done, but in interpreting the behavior of the actor in the past.

The insistence on the importance of the subjective aspect of personality need not be the occasion of any lessened interest in the central importance of action and behavior. It only means that behavior is not always patent and overt. Sometimes the river runs

<sup>4</sup> See Pareto, *Traité de Sociologie* (Paris, 1919), for a masterly discussion of the three elements, *résidues*, *derivations*, and *dérivées*.

<sup>5</sup> See Thurstone, "Attitudes Can Be Measured," this *Journal*, XXXIII (January, 1928), 529-54.

<sup>6</sup> See J. M. Williams, *Foundations of Social Science* (New York, 1920), chap. xiv.

<sup>7</sup> *New Republic*, November, 1927.

underground and its waters flow along a channel never seen by human eye and in a bed never sounded by any plummet. But it is there, and whatever methods can be devised to learn of it must be employed. The only unpardonable scientific sin would be to deny that there is any stream underground.

Thus qualified in meaning, the term "behavior" might be of the highest worth. For a man's personality and his character mean actions, since what my friend means to me is what he will do to me and for me, including what he has done. But the inner life of my friend is an integral part of his action, and it is necessary to assert the reality of the subjective experience, not as contrasted with movement, but as a connected phase of it.

What is needed is, not the denial of the difficult, but hard thinking and hard labor in the effort to devise means to wrest the secrets of nature from her in the realm of personality as men in natural science have done in their field. We need to investigate the genetic history of individual attitudes and to learn how they acquire their quality and their strength. We need to know the difference between the individual attitudes and collective or mass attitudes, for there does seem to be some essential difference. How attitudes are modified and how broken up is a problem, or rather a general class of problems on which much effort is at present being expended; but more workers are needed in this vineyard. There is also the problem of measurement and prediction. Again, there is the problem of the relation between the native and unmodifiable and the social and acquired. On this last rest such important political issues as, for example, a national immigration policy.

But this is not the place to present a list of research projects in the study of attitudes. The attempt has been to show that the notion of attitude is not only important, but essential. Some other word may prove more convenient in later usage, and some more desirable uniformities may and should be observed in the effort to communicate our thoughts to each other. But the important consideration is that the invisible and subjective experiences of men are integral and inseparable parts of their objective movements. To neglect the study of attitudes will be to fail to understand personality.

# THE LUTHERAN COMMUNITY AND AMERICAN SOCIETY: A STUDY IN RELIGION AS A CONDITION OF SOCIAL ACCOMMODATION

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HEINRICH H. MAURER  
Lewis Institute

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## ABSTRACT

The Christian projection entails the dominance of its own system of co-ordinates over the social process. It postulates a guest relationship, an outsider with his own sense of nearness and distance. In the Lutheran form it accounts for the terms of accommodation of the German to his American environment. The relationship between the in-group and the out-group as rationalized by Paul and Luther has conditioned the interaction of Germans in their in-group, a community, and with the out-group, a society. With its categories of interaction, Lutheran theology defines the situation in either case; it thus dominates the organic articulation and integration of American society; it conditions the process of assimilation of the German American therein.

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Taking for granted that social attitudes are conditioned by a basic group situation, rationalized into a system of reference, the author aims to show how in terms of such a system of reference a group reacts upon its environment, a "mind in the making" takes shape. The nest situation or social parent image so presented as a conditioning factor of social interaction is that of the German Lutheran parish, its offspring, the attitudinal set of the German-American mind. In this set, in turn, the author sees potential gradients of action, an element of dominance (a pacemaker), a condition of excitation and response (leadership) for the learning process; an integration pattern of a larger whole; the American social constitution.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Simmel, *Soziologie* (1922), p. 25. Dewey, *Experience and Nature* (1925), pp. 210, 241-42. Child, *Physiological Foundations of Behavior* (1924), chaps. xvi and xvii. For the treatment of his categories in group organic terms, the author offers no apologies; in a functional, dynamic sense none is needed. Cf. Child, *op. cit.*, p. 296. The group as a unity of interacting personalities has a surface, a contact frontier, a "within" and a "without" with specific meaning in terms of earlier experiences. It has a surface-interior pattern in terms of nearness and distance. It has structure, a system of dominance, of ascendancy and submission. It has an axis; in terms of mo-

In the light of the earlier studies in this series it seems worth while to concentrate upon a few theological categories for their function in a larger sociological field.<sup>2</sup> They are: (1) The idea of salvation and the terms of accommodation postulated by a here-hereafter conflict. (2) That accommodation presents itself as a relationship between the "spiritual man" and the "natural man," and that relationship is rationalized with the help of the categories of participation and inclusion of the former: his corpus and his calling concept.<sup>3</sup> (3) The corpus concept postulates a specific unity of interacting personalities and the calling concept entails specific terms of interaction. It has been shown how in terms of those forms and norms of interaction the "witness of the spirit" conditions the social process in the nation, how the fences of German nationalism and American sectionalism are wandering with an earlier slope.<sup>4</sup>

It has been demonstrated that the concept of eternity and salvation, the wish to remain part of a larger transcendent whole, had important sociological consequences in the case of the immigrant group under observation. The fear for the integrity of life in God's time, we may say, has sensitized the group to the problems of its

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tion toward or away from some original here or hereafter, the group thinks, feels, moves, lives.

<sup>2</sup> How a modern behavior pattern is conditioned in the Anglo-American case by Calvin's, in the German case by Luther's theology has been sketched in article I of this series, *American Journal of Sociology*, XXX, No. 3, 257-86. The purpose of articles II-VI was to show how the technique of accommodation of the Lutheran theology to "the world" influenced the terms of accommodation of the Lutheran immigrant to his environment in America (*A.J.S.*, XXX, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 408, 534, 665; XXXI, Nos. 1 and 4, 39, 485 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> For Luther's church concept, see K. Holl, *Entstehung*, etc., in *Festschrift fuer D. Schaefer*; also *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 29-30, 37, 53, 156, 171, 253-54, 270, 274. Meinecke, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, Vol. CXXI. Holl, "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus," *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad. d. Wiss.* (1922), pp. 920 ff. For the sociological significance of Luther's *Gesinnungsethik*, see Troeltsch, *Soziallehren*, pp. 440, 453, 457, 468. For a classification of types of churches, see Troeltsch, *Ges. Schriften*, II, 916, 925, 967-68. For the Lutheran calling concept, see K. Holl, *Ges. Aufs.*, p. 82, "function in einer goettlichen Ordnung"; also pp. 274-75. Weber, *Ges. Aufs.*, I, pp. 65 ff., 551; also K. Holl, "Die Geschichtedes Worts Beruf," *Sitzungsberichte d. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss.* (1924).

<sup>4</sup> See *A.J.S.*, XXXIII (January, 1928), 4, for the influence of these categories on interaction in the political field.

social integrity. In the crisis of transplantation, the spiritual man, the Christian, did much to save the German. But he would also let the dead bury their dead. What was saved and what was buried: the process of assimilation of the immigrant, we have seen, was conditioned to his notions concerning group salvation. Thus American society itself, as a unity of interacting personalities, is conditioned upon the implications of the salvation hypothesis for social interaction. This basic idea, we may say, is the pacemaker of social change.<sup>5</sup>

In the case of our group, the social mechanism of this change has been described. The situation in the colonial environment first attained meaning in terms of its theological categories. It presented itself as desperate: the old spacial backing of continuity was gone, institutional forms had been left behind, the general calling itself prejudiced by a discredited leader. In a conversation between Balaam and his ass, the ministry and the parish, the conflict situation was rationalized, the terms of interaction within the group recast; an American Lutheran church had given itself a constitution.<sup>6</sup>

How democracy was at the outset conditioned by theology to the major premise of its fundamental law has also been shown. Under that fundamental law the terms of interaction in the new group pattern were found. In proportion as the lay element had hankered for the societal pattern of group accommodation the ministry needed an institutional backing. Neither party felt safe without the other's sanction. The want of authority, of sanctions for the mores of the family farm and of the neighborhood proved greater in the new environment than the craving for a new experience in religion and otherwise. The result was a compromise. The element of superpersonality was socialized anew for the group; in terms of an organic law, the group will remain limited to the will of a parent god, and as its organ only could the general priesthood or the ministry become "powerfully excited" henceforth.<sup>7</sup>

The organic articulation of corporateness is thus clearly conditioned by the situation in the parish. The very locus of the social

<sup>5</sup> *A.J.S.*, XXX, 674-75.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 672-82.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 676-79.

process working as social pedagogy is here, in the compounding of its language symbols with elements in the new environment. The selective function of those categories in relation to the situation has been suggested in the terms of interaction of our group with the out-group. The intersocial process, we have suggested, is here dominated by the fact that the stranger-fear of the immigrant became compounded with the hereafter-fear of the Christian. The Christian in the immigrant rationalized his attitudes toward an alien "here" by compounding them with the implications of a religious "here below." A sense of transcendent wrong was revived by a purely secular animus against the mores and technique of the out-group which threatened the integrity of the parish.<sup>8</sup> The resentment of German farmers, burghers, and small-town intellectuals against "the world," against the technique of a competitive society, attained a religious and ethical meaning. Loyalty to a set of traditional attitudes became a loyalty to a truer faith, obedience to a higher law. The sectional mind of the immigrant took holy orders in an allegiance to a higher *Sittlichkeit*. The German and the Christian confirmed each other in their sectionalism and other-worldliness, and religion put the stamp of its own dualism upon a new social synthesis. The American citizenship of the German Lutherans became that of the Christian in the dispersion: it was hyphenated with a guest relationship. Just as against Hellenism his *Perusha* and *Chabarah* had saved the Jew, against Judaism his Pauline *Ecclesia* had saved the Christian, the Lutheran parish, in the early American melting-pot, shaped the German-American in the same ancient mold.<sup>9</sup> It endowed the infantile return of the frightened immigrant to his primary group-parent image with the prestige of the Pauline escape.

It also transferred with the Pauline situation pattern the associative and dissociative emphasis thereof. The mores of the primary group as sanctioned by religion now partook of the saving grace of a mana, of the "spirit which is life." Submission in obedience to the group principle as rationalized in the new constitution,

<sup>8</sup> This was the burden of article VI, *A.J.S.*, XXXI, 485 ff.

<sup>9</sup> For the social origins of the interlocal sect and its function as a substitute for earlier, genetic groups, see Max Weber, *op. cit.*, III, 395-404.

organic function in a status under an institutional trust—that was the meaning of *Freiheit* and *Sittlichkeit*. The rationalism of a secondary, derivative society, of functional associations, of American society next door was damned with the implications of the curse upon the natural man and upon the “letter which killeth.” What Paul had to say about the “bondage of the law” came to apply to American law, to the whole technique of modern society with all the formal righteousness of its “covenant of deeds.”<sup>20</sup> Thus, while Anglo-Americans with their *Gesetzesgeist* are still in the “bondage of the law,” it is the Germans who are free in their *Sittlichkeit*. It is this polarity which accounts for the hyphen of the German-American; it is this evaluative emphasis which perpetuates his sense of distance and his will to differ.

In the case of the group under observation the sociological significance of this pattern demonstrates itself. With an original universal Roman citizenship, the membership in the church universal conditioned to the polarity of spiritual and natural man, visible and invisible church, group allegiance was now lifted into the realm of creed-mindedness on the one hand, converted into a guest relationship on the other. As a result our group could be indifferent to space relations, to fatherland, and country. Whether they are in America, Canada, Brazil, or Australia, our Lutherans are sufficient unto themselves. With the assurance of membership in the “right” and only church, they retain a sense of right both absolute and universal. Assured of being the only authentic kind of Christians, they have no doubt that they have remained in America also, whether they call themselves Germans or Americans, the right and only abiding kind. They are beyond the good and evil of nationalism. Thus their conception of the state never became, strictly speaking, the national state. In coming to America they had merely moved into another province of the old universal state. As for the government, that also remains what it had always been—by the grace of God or by the curse of God—*die Polizei*.

Their group allegiance, on the other hand, is now neither the *Handgemal* of the German nor even the birthright of the Christian. If they would not eat with the one merely because he chose to call

<sup>20</sup> Gal. 4:4, 5; 5:16-24.

himself a Christian, how could they go with the other just for his being a German? In the latter case the creed sectarian principle of membership in the household of faith conditioned the integration of a modern nationality as it had conditioned a modern Christianity in the former. The group symbols of the tribes of the spiritual man and the natural man were too far apart in the logic of their theology to allow any later sociological category to include them both, to let the two find in terms of a common social object a new self. The corpus concept preserved indeed in this quarter the ideal of a perfectly socialized fellowship, the "religion of the whole"; but that whole remained the family, the parish, the neighborhood, the church. To no later group type would the American Lutherans transfer the full allegiance of their *Gemeinschaft*, the warmth of their fellowship, because from none other must they expect salvation grace.<sup>11</sup>

But where they expected eternal life for their souls, they found a longer life as Germans; the *Gnadenanstalt* of the parish saved the German with the Christian. It saved the behavior organization of the German culture group. Unlike German political nationalism elsewhere in America, the parish did not die with the first generation, nor even with the German language. With its religion it imparts to American society its ethos: a specific consciousness of kind and the behavior organization of a non-competitive group.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The effect of this attitude upon German nationalism in America will be shown in a later article. A creed as a constitutive principle of a group *qua* corporation entails here three decisive limitations on the group will: the group may not consociate with others except upon terms of its own creed; it may not differentiate within except upon lines indicated by the creed as its organic law; any expansion or change in group activities, especially any Christian endeavor through associations taking over specialized functions and co-operating with other religious associations, is *ultra vires*. For this logic, see *Synodalbericht*, West, 1897, pp. 71-72. *Theologische Quartalschrift* (1912), pp. 105-6. Cf. Simmel, *op. cit.*, pp. 312, 317, 320. The corporate structure of the church as a federation of autonomous parishes is due to the faith-law polarity which precludes any superordination and organic differentiation along societal lines; the fear of the founder of drifting away from the church, from ecclesiasticism into voluntarism, and finally the jealousy of the Germans of any delegated authority—those factors account for the principle of consociation in the synodical federation. See Walther, *Briefe*, I, 11 ff.; *Synodalbericht* (1848), pp. 33-34; Kraushaar, *Verfassungsformen*, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Inasmuch as the old synthesis united competitors for the purpose of limiting competition. Cf. Max Weber, *Ges. Aufs.*, I, 235-36; also Simmel, *passim*.

Its conservation is the work of the social pedagogy of the parish and of its parochial schools.

For the preservation of the German language in their schools, the orthodox Lutheran fellowship of the Missouri synod has made greater sacrifices than any other German society or cultured group. It is here an essential means of the religious duty of "instruction."<sup>13</sup> The parochial school is here obligatory, its maintenance a condition of membership for component parishes. The German language itself, however, is a "nonessential" in the technical language of its theology.<sup>14</sup> The kind of language which it uses is one of the "adia-

<sup>13</sup> "Instruction" and "essential," see article V, *A.J.S.*, XXXI, 49. For the general attitude toward education in the Lutheran fold, see F. W. Conrad, *A Plea for Wittenberg College* (Springfield, 1851). Compare this with the attitude toward education where it is dominated by Calvinistic premises. "Our great business here is to know and obey the laws of our creator," F. Wayland, *Occasional Discourses* (1833). The decisive theological premise in the attitude toward education is the emphasis on faith in the one case, on law in the other; in the Calvinistic case, the emphasis on law has conditioned an attitude originally favorable to the study of natural laws (science). For the attitude of the Missourians toward education, see M. 1904, pp. 22-34. *Schulblatt*, 1918; *Synodalberichte*, Michigan, 1924, pp. 193-97; also "Das Christliche Erziehungsziel," see *Theol. Quartalsschrift* (1922), p. 236. For attitude toward public high schools, colleges, etc., see *Theol. Quartalsschrift*, XVI, 283. The attitude of the group is still dominated by the conflict in the nineties (the Edwards and Bennett bills), see *Synodal Conferenz* (1890), pp. 35-42; *Allgemeine Synode, 1890* (Wiconsin, 1891). For recent attitudes and the growth of an independent system of secondary education, *Lutheran Witness* (1919). *Synodalberichte*, Iowa, 1919; West, 1921; *Syn. Conf.*, 1922, 1923; Michigan, 1924. Also "Whose Is the Child?" in *Lutheran Witness* (April 1, 1910), American Luther League pamphlets. *Lehre und Wehre* (February, 1922). *Lutheran School Journal* (April, 1922). The synod is against accrediting, against the Bible in the public schools, and against financial support of parochial schools out of public funds.

<sup>14</sup> The theological category of the adiaphora (the sphere of the permissible) deserves a monographic study both for its sociological and its pedagogical significance. It is absolutely basic here for the terms of interaction in all group relationships. Regulation of conduct within the field of the permissible is dominated by the following principles: (1) Since it is *par excellence* the sphere within which the Christian man must make his own choices, within which he is sovereign, it concerns the individual, the group *qua* community, the group *qua* corporation and the state. The individual's right to suit himself in this field is contingent on the category *scandalum*: on a neighbor right to feel scandalized, and thus on the public peace. (2) The community may not arouse conscientious scruples by its regulation in the field; and being a faith group and not a law group, it has no power of coercion. (3) The power of the state in this field is contingent on the concurrent right of the religious individual and the religious group. For rules in case of conflict, see *Lehre und Wehre*, Vol. X (1864). (4) The location of the field depends on the Christian projection as it is affected by

phora" in the theology of a group in which creed, not language, dominates consociation. It has been shown that the German language was here a principal fighting organ, not for or against this or that nationalism, but against the rationalism of the "natural man." It has been the principal médium through which the German rural neighborhood in America has made itself immune against the dissociative effect of a competitive society next door. But when in the change of generations it threatened the unity of the group, when in the course of expansion it handicapped the church, it had to go.<sup>15</sup>

the conflict situation from case to case; adiaphora may become essentials in the cognitive technique of segregation; the aloofness of the Christian from "the world" must be maintained, and thus whenever the Lutheran finds himself in this field in agreement with others he must change his mind. See *Theol. Quartalsschrift*, IX, 47. For the attitudes of the Missouri group toward movies, dancing, drink, see *Lehre und Wehre*, LVIII, 130; *Lutheraner*, XLVII, 40. *Synodalberichte*, Minnesota and Dakota, 1894; Wisconsin, 1900; Nebraska, 1912. For the attitude toward risk-taking, forestalling of future events in the economic field, see *Lutheraner*, XLIII, 69 ff.; XLV, 6; LXIV, 128; LXV, 196. *Oestl. Dist.* 1874. To the present writer the importance of this category lies: (1) in the existence in this quarter of a field which has elsewhere disappeared—on this account it has a considerable disjunctive effect in the intersocial process; (2) the emphasis upon all societal technique as pertaining to the nonessentials has made the German relatively indifferent toward the formal elements in social relationships: "Weil wir wissen dass jede organisation menschlich ist, darum arbeitet bei uns keine organisation" (*Theol. Quartalsschrift*, XV-XVI, 179). (3) The emphasis upon the "true inwardness" against "formal righteousness" affects the learning process through an unfavorable indication for suggestion-imitation by the direction in which it focuses attention, etc. That the German language has been consistently corralled within the nonessentials is obviously one of the most important implications of the category: in this case alone it had an enormous effect on social integration.

<sup>15</sup> Basic precedents: I Cor. 1:10; 14:27. *Allgemeine Syn.*, I-X, 354. *Synodal Conf.* (1872). *Synodalbericht, Allgemeine Syn.* (1857). *Lutheraner*, No. 7. The "abuse" of the parish organization for language nationalism is here supposed to entail a sectarian element (*Theol. Quartalsschrift*, XI, 31). For the technique of accommodation on the language frontier, see *Mittlere Synode*, 1903 (for a very detailed description in relation to specific empirical situations). It should be appreciated that the language frontier runs frequently not only through the neighborhood, through the parish, but even through the family itself: the older children of the same parents frequently spoke German while the younger ones had come to know English as their mother-tongue. For the *Vereinfältigungsprozess* entailed in the transition from one language to the other, see *Mittlere Syn.* (1903), p. 41. How little nationalism and how much fear of Calvinism, sectarianism, or rationalism there is behind the language policy of the group can be seen in *Theol. Quartalsschrift*, IV, 432; V, 165; XV-XVI, pp. 43, 121, 130, 178, 257; XIX, 156-60.

Subordinated as it is to the inherent interest of the parish and the church, the German language has enjoyed a loyalty which Germans did not accord it elsewhere in America. It has enjoyed an immunity which Americans might not have respected otherwise. When it took holy orders it gained prestige in the parish and benefit of clergy without. Where it survives today it is the medium of a new colonial *Kultur* with its cradle at St. Louis, its product the "man from Missouri." For it went far to make the German in America "put on the new man."

It helped the church to assimilate the German immigrant. In terms of this common medium the consociative principle of the Missouri synod affected an accommodation between Saxons, Prussians, Bavarians upon its own terms. Whatever their traditional provincial idiosyncrasies as Germans, they learned to forget them as Missourians. In terms of its idiosyncrasies, in turn, the church made them over into American Christians. The great prestige of the Missouri synod within the German protestant group made it a radiant center of attraction, not only for individuals, but for whole congregations and churches. It is exercising associative force upon neighboring synodical units through its great economic strength, its efficient educational and missionary organs. It bids fair to become the backbone of American fundamentalism. An American church though it is, it supplies with its community pattern and ministerial organs German missions in India, German immigrant parishes in Canada, Australia, Brazil. Having become the mother-church of Germans in the modern dispersions, it has recently begun to invade the *Urheimat* itself. A German creed has thus become, the world over, an integrator of a supranational consciousness of kind, an American church an object of pride and loyalty akin to patriotism, an *esprit de corps* remarkable with Germans.

Thus the logic of creed sectarianism has dominated the process of individuation, of social integration. It has arrested within the German culture group in America the drift toward modernism, toward Calvinism or revivalism, and toward a modern political Christianity. It has set down boldly the inclosure of the German parish, the fabric of the Missouri synod upon the commons of American Christianity. That church with its theological and his-

torical other-worldliness consistently applied to the social process has kept its Christians unconformed from the world and its Germans unassimilated.

For the *innerweltliche Askese*, the other-worldliness in the world of the general priesthood of Protestantism, implies not only an accommodation pattern for a particular field of social experience; it dominates the integration of the individual into society itself. It does so because it insists on the ascendancy of its own organismic pattern. That pattern with Luther is dominated by the basic polarity of faith and law, the emphasis upon justification by faith over and against righteousness in conformity with the law.<sup>16</sup> It has been suggested that the attitudes implied in this emphasis were applied to the situation in America. Here faith came to mean in the last analysis the faith in the constitutive principle, the *Wesenwille* of a type of group, a *Glaubensgemeinschaft*. But then "law" came to mean the wilfulness of its modern rival, the limited synthesis of a partnership, the *Kuerwille* of a society, a sect. But that disparages with the curses of Paul and Luther upon an ancient yoke of bondage, the very essence of the modern social order. The word *Gesetzesgeist* is a symbol covering much resentment against American society. But in the last analysis it is a gesture of defiance against modern individualism itself.<sup>17</sup> It has been shown how this dichotomy, preserved by the logic of creed fundamentalism, has condi-

<sup>16</sup> For the social logic of this fundamental dichotomy, see *Theol. Quartalsschrift* (1910), 107 ff., 188-203, 281. See *ibid.* (1918-19), pp. 153-74; also Pieper, *Dogmatik*, III, 364. It conditions attitudes toward specific groups. See South Dakota, 1919; for Congregationalists, *ibid.*, 1922; for Presbyterians, *Theol. Quartalsschrift*, XVIII (1921), 131 (the lodges).

<sup>17</sup> That the Lutheran theology defines the social situation so largely in terms of the conflict pattern faith versus law, *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft*, is of enormous importance. It forces the group to insist on its own principle of organic articulation: functional differentiation in conformity with its calling concept. See *Theol. Quartalsschrift*, XV-XVI, 182-83. It not only precludes all cooperation and competition with other groups, organized on the societal pattern, but it prejudices it against the whole rational technique of modern purposive groups. See *Theol. Quartalsschrift* (1923), pp. 215, 237, 254; *ibid.* (1920), pp. 41 ff. Thus the group disdains having its school system accredited to "the world" (27. *Synodal Conf.* [Milwaukee, August, 1920], Vols. XVIII-XXIII). Of course it also looks askance at the modern German movement as well as the American drive for a community church, "eine Lebensgemeinschaft macht die Christengemeinschaft nicht zur Volkskirche." See *Theol. Quartalsschrift* (1922-23), pp. 9, 36; XIX, 113, 147.

tioned the intersocial as well as the intrasocial process. In view of the revival of creed fundamentalism it seems worth while to enumerate here some of the implications for social interaction of this particular type.

1. Constituted upon a creed, with its limitations upon the group will, the group became exceedingly sensitive to the rivalry of the societal principle as such.<sup>18</sup> How it was prejudiced thereby in its relation to specific groups has been shown.<sup>19</sup> That this determined contact, accommodation, and assimilation there can be no doubt; it sensitized the group against any form of voluntarism.<sup>20</sup>

2. The antagonism of the group as a type against its modern rival was of course focused upon Calvinistic sectarianism, its most dangerous competitor and neighbor. Its *Gesetzesgeist*, its alleged Pharisaism, its formal righteousness was nothing but the old "yoke of bondage" again. The attitude of Paul toward the Jews and their covenant of the law, of Luther toward the Catholic church, found a new social object in America in the new sectarian principle

<sup>18</sup> For the logic of Luther's theology which conditioned interaction between groups which are not *sui generis*, see K. Holl, *Ges. Aufs.*: "Die Erbsünde ist gerade der Ichwille" (p. 53), "Freiheit vom Gesetz ist die wahr Sittlichkeit" (*ibid.*, p. 189). In America the secularization of religion is identified with the assimilation of the *Gemeinschaft* by the *Gesellschaft* (of the church as a spiritual fellowship; by the church as a partnership with the world). See "Die unsittliche Verbindung widersprechender Bekenntnisse" in *Theol. Quartalsschrift*, XVII (1920), 37; also Graebner, "Was steht der Vereinigung im Wege"; also *Synodalberichte: Mittlere* (1898), p. 30 (Michigan, 1882). West (1897), pp. 80 ff.; also *Theol. Quartalsschrift*, X, 17, 79; XI, 10-31, 79-99.

<sup>19</sup> *A.J.S.*, XXXI, 4.

<sup>20</sup> For a number of attitudes toward the ascendancy of societal patterns of interaction, such as the growing tendency to "iron out" interdenominational differences, the new technique of compromise and its effects upon the relativation of the truth concept, etc., see *Theol. Quartalsschrift* (1922), pp. 179-80; (1923), pp. 221, 254 ff. The rivalry of the two types of association, the conflict of the two attitudes in relation to a group will implied therein, seems also fundamental for the process of articulation in the fold of American Christianity and beyond. A profitable case is here the problem of co-operation between the Presbyterian and the Congregationalist churches in the case of a joint organ for Missions; the conflict between ecclesiasticism and "voluntarism" and "co-operative Christianity" in the *Presbyterian Magazine* (1853), pp. 386 ff.; (1854), pp. 80 ff. A similar conflict shook the Methodist church and affected the federal principle there. See *Southern Methodist Review*, III, 399 ff., 441 ff. This conflict situation, compounded, of course, by the rivalry of interests and interest groups who sought in the one or the other social synthesis a social ally in its fight for ascendancy, accounts to the present writer for the revival of fundamentalism in a number of instances.

of association. The liberty, the popular sovereignty which this principle involved was not the true *Christliche Freiheit*. Neither in the field of religion nor in the domain of politics could true salvation come from there.<sup>21</sup>

3. For the Lutheran citizen in turn saw in American social Christianity, in the American polity, nothing but a secularized sectarianism: Anglo-American nationalism was nothing but Calvinistic sectarianism in disguise. It was worse; it was the offspring of a doubly blasphemous adultery of the sects with Masonry and of the church with the state.<sup>22</sup>

Thus our socius in the political field must also be understood in terms of the norms of interaction which he derives from his principle of submission to his group superior in the religious field. His responses, in other words, to a given political situation are conditioned by the terms in which the social rationalism of the religious group defines the situation; he is social in terms of his own fellowship law. That law, it will be remembered, defines the liabilities of the individual to the group, the rights of minorities over against majorities. The right of a majority, we have seen, remains here contingent on the right of a concurrent minority, for neither the congregation nor the synod can make law in the modern sense of the word. Creed fundamentalism seems to have led here to a recapitulation of an earlier phase in the evolution of the consensual technique.<sup>23</sup> Thus, even in America and even in Wisconsin the Lutherans could observe that the German nature does not take kindly to Parliamentarism.<sup>24</sup> Nor did it escape them entirely that "because with us all organization is a "nonessential, therefore no organization functions with us." While this observation only refers to the effect of the theory of adiaphora, of the *Mitteldinge*, of unes-

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Synodalberichte*, Michigan, 1882; West, 1897.

<sup>22</sup> *Theol. Quartalsschrift* (1922), pp. 115-29. The evidence for this identification is overwhelming. This is also the base of his defensive system against the English language. See "Unser Uebergang ins Englische," *Theol. Quartalsschrift*, XV-XVI, pp. 43, 121, 179, 257.

<sup>23</sup> For the origin of the majority principle, see O. Gierke, in *Oxford Essays*, in Gierke, the terms of consociation of a given theology seem of enormous importance in relation to political federalism. Cf. *ibid.*, III, 10-21, 28, 39, 718; *ibid.*, II, 33, 36, 39-40, 130.

<sup>24</sup> *Theol. Quartalsschrift*, XVI, 103-20.

entials, on the German group, dividing the field between the group *qua* church and the group *qua* corporation, it also undoubtedly characterizes the German in society as well. It might be shown in detail that the difference of German over and against Anglo-American attitudes can be accounted for in terms of the distinction in his theological value-system between essentials and nonessentials. It is enough to say that the very essence of the German *Gesinnung* is a certain skepticism, if not a moral indifference, to the conventional American righteousness. But whatever legal consequences he may deny to a corporate will, he readily grants to institutionalized force. That, we have seen, is not the least consequence of the fear of the God of Luther in America.<sup>25</sup>

4. In terms of the Christian calling as defined by Luther in his theology and by the Missouri Lutherans in their corporation law, in their *Amtsbe-griff*, social relationships become defined in church and state. We have indicated the conditions which this confessional norm of conduct entails for American leadership, the party, the class concept, the state; the gradients which it entails for American national integration.

It must now have become clear that those conditions, those gradients, that this sectionalism has nothing to do with political nationalism. The conflict of the Lutheran is not with particular American religious societies such as the Presbyterians or the Methodists alone. Nor are only particular secular fellowships blasphemous, like the Masons. Nor does the German begrudge allegiance to the nation, obedience to the state. His conflict is with the new synthesis itself; it is the presumption of voluntarism which is wrong in society, and the basis of contract in public law. The German Lutheran is a nonconformist at heart because the spirit of American society has been so thoroughly outlawed by his religion. The spirit of compromise here is itself *unsittlich*: It is the essence of group treason, for it means surrender of a group trust. In "superbia," in *Selbstueberhebung*, the primary group at religion had once seen the worst obstacle to its ideal of a perfect identification. That attitude, its one capital sin (the *Ich-wille*), it projected in America onto its modern rival, the functional association, and thus damned modern society as such.

<sup>25</sup> *A.J.S.*, XXXIII, 4, and *ibid.*, XXX, 3.

5. In one more respect the Pauline escape, the Lutheran utopia, entails an element of superordination. The German salvation concept triumphs over the American category "progress." Having chosen the right road to heaven in his faith, in his *Gesinnung*, the German thinks that he is also on the right track in relation to progress. With the German ideal of *Sittlichkeit* grounded on Luther's faith, they believe that they have the better of the law: "Wir sind ueber das Gesetz schon hinaus."<sup>26</sup> It is this articulation, in terms of his theology, of his *Gesinnung*, his sense of right and freedom, his *Sittlichkeit* in terms of social attitudes which accounts for the German American. He has never quite become a modern American because he has remained a Lutheran. We shall show at a later date that precisely for the same reason he never became a modern German: he never identified himself with German nationalism as such.

<sup>26</sup> For a criticism of the "Pharisaism" of "the others," see *Theol. Quartalsschrift* (1918-19), pp. 147 ff., 155 ff., 172. Wisconsin (Mo.) 1900, pp. 45, 49. How this disparages the American ideas of progress, see *Oestl. Distr.*, 48; also North Dakota and Montana, 1922: "Die Kirche soll schliesslich nur noch organisierte Welt sein," which shows the sociological effectiveness to the last of the a priori of the Pauline other-worldliness.

## POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AMONG NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS<sup>1</sup>

JESSIE BERNARD  
Tulane University

### ABSTRACT

Political leadership among North American Indians was largely based on psychological rather than on institutional or formal mechanisms. The greatest leaders arose in the struggle with the whites for the continent. Their motives were both economic and personal. The most important personality traits of the great leaders were: striking appearance, intellectual ability, positive emotional traits such as kindness, affability, etc., dignity, moral courage, oratorical ability, courage, pride, military prowess, ambition, loyalty, diplomacy, personal magnetism, etc. The techniques used by the leaders included: the challenge, the use of epithets, ridicule, sarcasm, etc., the use of calumny and slander, the use of flattery, conspicuous dress, force, threats, magic, or oratory. The characteristics and techniques of leaders were largely determined by the nature of Indian human nature.

There are in general two approaches to the study of political leadership. One of these is a formal analysis of the social and political organization; a study of the methods of choice of leaders, functions, duties, responsibilities, remuneration, etc., of leaders. This might be called the political science approach. The other method is to tackle the problem from the standpoint of social psychology, to get at the heart of the process of leadership regardless of the structural mold it may take. Most of the monographic studies of the North American Indians concern themselves with the first type of approach. They give detailed presentations of the social and political organization of the groups studied. The present paper, on the other hand, takes up the psychological aspects of leadership, attempting to answer such questions as: What are the motives of

<sup>1</sup> Since the present article was written, my attention has been called to the paper by Hutton Webster on "Primitive Individual Ascendency," in the *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XII (1918), 46-60 (quoted by Kimball Young in his *Source Book for Social Psychology*, pp. 587-92). His conclusions tally very closely with those presented in this article. He states that "to enumerate and illustrate all the methods by which men have secured authority in rude communities would form a valuable contribution to comparative sociology." The present article is an attempt in this direction.

leaders? What are the qualities which make for leadership? What are the psychological mechanisms employed by leaders? What do followers contribute to leadership?

The history of the North American Indians, especially of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, furnishes an excellent field for such a study. The free and loose type of formal organization among them reduced leadership to an almost purely psychological level. The office of chief was frequently hereditary, to be sure,<sup>2</sup> but only on condition that the incumbent show himself worthy of the office. Lacking personal merit, he could not hold his place. Also, the hold which a leader achieved over his followers was almost entirely personal; he had no political machinery to enforce his sway.<sup>3</sup> Without any formal and legal organization to prop his authority, by sheer force of non-political technique, the individual leader had to enforce his control. In short, leadership among these Indians was as nearly reduced to the bare foundation of psychological control as it could be in a society which maintained any institutional channels for leadership at all. In view of these facts, it should be clear why political leadership among North American Indians affords such a fertile field for the study of the psychology of leadership.

The method used in this study was to secure "life-histories" of Indian chiefs, and thus to get at their personalities, methods, and techniques.<sup>4</sup> These were abstracted out of their time and space relations in order to treat them merely as units for generalization. In a way this is contrary to modern anthropological methods which aim to put all culture phenomena in their proper time and space relationships—to locate them historically and geographically. If the object of study in this paper had been the formal aspects of leadership—the political constitution of the various tribes—then

<sup>2</sup> F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians*, II, 263-64; Henry S. Schoolcraft, *The American Indians*, p. 68; *Events in Indian History* (a compilation), 552-53; Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Everyman's ed.), I, 139-40, II, 136; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, I, 155.

<sup>3</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 139-40.

<sup>4</sup> The chief, though not only, sources of these life-histories were: B. B. Thatcher, *Indian Biography*; B. Drake, *Life of Tecumseh*, *Life of Black Hawk*; Norman B. Wood, *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs*; Hodge, *op. cit.*; Parkman, *op. cit.*; Catlin, *op. cit.*; Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*; S. G. Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America*.

the abstraction would have been unjustifiable. This was more or less what Spencer, Tylor, and the classical school did. But in the case of leadership studied psychologically there seems to be sufficient basis for such abstraction. The psychological mechanisms of leadership are less in the nature of culture traits than the political organization is. The latter is definitely a culture trait, and as such should be studied. Psychological leadership seems to be a slightly different type of phenomenon. To be sure, one might argue that the traits which make for leadership and the methods used are determined by the culture and in that sense are as truly culture traits as the formal aspects. But the fact that great leaders like Pontiac, Tecumseh, and Sitting Bull could leap the boundaries of culture areas indicates that the cultural basis for leadership was general and constant throughout the whole Indian civilization, and therefore might be minimized in a psychological study.

Leadership is taken to be a social process by means of which individuals in groups are polarized, figuratively speaking.

The chief essential to leadership is always to be able to focus the attention of a group of people upon a common object of interest to them or to attach their interest, by a process of conditioning, to something which previously did not appeal to them. Sometimes the task is to make them realize or believe that they have this interest with regard to some form of behavior or object of attention and at other times it is the problem of getting them to respond effectively to that interest as a stimulus.<sup>5</sup>

Leadership "represents the process of focusing stimuli upon individuals responding in a social situation."<sup>6</sup> "Any person who is more than ordinarily efficient in carrying psycho-social stimuli to others and is thus effective in conditioning collective responses may be called a leader."<sup>7</sup> It is clear from the foregoing definitions that political leadership can only with difficulty be separated from other forms of leadership. An individual who is an effective carrier of stimuli may use his powers in a number of fields, and, in primitive groups like the North American Indians, he did. Thus it is frequently difficult to distinguish between religious and political leadership. On the whole, in this study, political leadership is taken to

<sup>5</sup> L. L. Bernard, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 528.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 520.

mean the process by which stimuli were presented as means of controlling or determining policies, and of executing these policies. Religious and military leadership are little touched upon except where the political leader embodied these types within himself. The problems of religious leadership are sufficiently complex to warrant extensive analysis, but that would go beyond the limits of this paper.

Perhaps the first point that stands out in the study of Indian leaders is the relation of leadership to crisis. The great epic of Indian life—the struggle with their white rivals for the soil—had the effect of producing a series of great leaders. The whole struggle takes on the character of a Greek tragedy. The heroes fought valiantly, but the fates were against them. They had no chance to win, yet they were compelled to fight. It was this long but acute crisis which produced the great leaders.<sup>8</sup> Of course, the crisis which calls for the greatest leaders must not be so overwhelmingly unequal as to discourage able men. There have been no great Indian leaders such as Philip or Tecumseh since the past century. Sitting Bull was perhaps the last of them. Men of ability equal to that of these predecessors might have been produced if the struggle had not become so unequal as to make leadership of a dynamic and functional sort impossible.

The great political issues to be settled were chiefly those relating to alliances with each other against the British (and Americans), and with the French and British against the American settlers. Unquestionably the fundamental basis for the various alliances made was economic. The Indians had become dependent upon the fur trade.<sup>9</sup> They had lost their economic independence, devoting their time to hunting furs for the Europeans and exchanging them for desired articles to which they had become accustomed. The nation that controlled the fur trade controlled the Indians. They flocked to the standard of the nation in whose hand the fur trade rested. This accounts in general for the policies pursued in seeking alliances. The general hostility toward the settlers (as op-

<sup>8</sup> Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 93, II, 121; Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 230, 246; Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 132.

<sup>9</sup> F. J. Turner, "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Series IX, Nos. 11-12.

posed to the traders) was, of course, based upon the encroachment of their hunting grounds.

Yet in spite of this economic motivation, evidence is not lacking to show that personal motives played a large part in the attitude of leaders. Although Pontiac understood the economic situation, as evidenced by his complaint of the quality of English goods, and his statement "You must be all sensible, as well as myself, that we can no longer supply our wants in the way we were accustomed to do with our Fathers the French,"<sup>10</sup> yet his motives against the English were confessedly personal. "When I visit the English chief, and inform him of the death of any of our comrades, instead of lamenting, as our brothers the French used to do, they make game of us. If I ask him for anything for our sick, he refuses, and tells us he does not want us."<sup>11</sup> His pride was offended by the brusque and condescending treatment accorded him by the British. This attitude of the English toward the rest of the world has aroused resentment in other able leaders. In Argentina they speak with indignation of the Englishman's division of the world into two classes, Englishmen and "natives."

The policy of hostility pursued by Logan was motivated by revenge. "This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance."<sup>12</sup> According to Thatcher, revenge and personal ambition motivated Captain Pipe.<sup>13</sup> Brant's motives in his attitude toward the Oneidas was "a terrible revenge" because they "had refused to follow his leadership, and persisted in neutrality."<sup>14</sup> Black Hawk's motives sound like Pontiac's: "You know the cause of our making war. It is known to all white men. They ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians and drive them from their homes."<sup>15</sup> In another speech he reveals his motives to be centered in the retention of his leadership.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, II, 223-24.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 135; II, 223. See also Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>12</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

<sup>13</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 123, 143.

<sup>14</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 382.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384. See p. 309.

A complete analysis of the motives of all the leaders is impossible, but it seems reasonable to conclude that in general personal pride and patriotism were closely mingled in the personality of the great leaders; that economic factors were less immediately compelling than personal ones; and that the motives of leaders were expressed in terms of personal reactions, although there was some recognition of the economic background.

What were the personal qualities of Indian leaders?

Perhaps the simplest and most elementary item of equipment of the personal leader is the possession of a striking physical personality. Size, good looks, the appearance of strength of body and of character are invaluable assets for the leader who must come in personal contact with people who are moved more by emotional stimuli to the senses than by rational considerations.<sup>17</sup>

Let us see how Indian leaders fit into this generalized description. In the case of only seventeen descriptions of leaders by biographers or commentators is the stature given. A tabulation of these seventeen cases, however, indicates that: Five were over six feet in height. Five were six feet in height. Five were under six feet in height. In the case of Tecumseh, there is a difference of opinion. Captain Floyd states his height as about six feet; Drake gives it as five feet ten inches. One is described as of "large stature." It thus appears that at least eleven out of the seventeen leaders whose size was given were of great stature. This fact must be qualified, however, by the statement that we have no statistical picture of the average stature of the Indian. Furthermore, if the data were weighted according to the greatness of the leader, it would be found that Pontiac, one of the very greatest of leaders, belonged to the group whose stature was under six feet.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, it is significant to find that unusual size did characterize so many of the leaders described.

It is more difficult to tabulate qualitative descriptions accurately owing to the difference and subjective nature of the standards of the various writers who have described Indian leaders, and to the incompleteness of the data. Nevertheless I considered it worthwhile to attempt such a tabulation. The results reveal that out of

<sup>17</sup> Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 531-32.

<sup>18</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 147.

twenty-one leaders whose appearances are described: Thirteen are described as having powerful bodies ("strong," "muscular," etc.). Eight are described as well proportioned. Six are described as handsome. Two are described as graceful. One is described as heavy-built, one as slender, one as fat, and one as portly.

The Indian leader was usually a man of striking physical personality. Pontiac had "a muscular figure . . . cast in a mold of remarkable symmetry and vigour. . . . His features, though by no means regular, had a bold and stern expression, while his habitual bearing was imperious and peremptory, like that of a man accustomed to sweep away all opposition by force of his impetuous will."<sup>19</sup> Tecumseh is described by Captain Floyd<sup>20</sup> as "one of the finest looking men I ever saw . . . straight, with large, fine features, and altogether a daring, bold-looking fellow." Osceola was "good looking, with rather an effeminate smile; but of so peculiar a character, that the world may be ransacked over without finding another just like it."<sup>21</sup> Powhatan, according to Smith, was "of personage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke . . . of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour."<sup>22</sup> Little Turtle was "strong, muscular and remarkably dignified in his manner."<sup>23</sup> Chief Joseph was "of magnificent physique, strikingly handsome and graceful, with a native dignity."<sup>24</sup> Logan "they tell us . . . was a man of splendid appearance . . . straight as a spearshaft. . . . Of commanding presence."<sup>25</sup> These excerpts might be multiplied, but they are sufficient to indicate the fact that these men possessed in a notable degree, the "simplest and most elementary item of equipment of the personal leader," namely, striking and pleasing physical appearance.

The more subjective traits necessary for leadership are, naturally, still more difficult to tabulate than even the qualitative aspects of physical personality. These subjective traits are less open to

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in, "The Ghost Dance Religion, etc.," by James Mooney, *Bur. Amer. Ethnology*, XIV, 682.

<sup>21</sup> Catlin, II, 726-27.

<sup>22</sup> Captain John Smith, *Travels and Works* (Arber Ed.), I, 375-76.

<sup>23</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 500.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

measurement and standardization than the overt ones. But a knowledge of them is of inestimable importance in understanding leadership. Schoolcraft gives "talents, courage or eloquence," as necessary personality traits of successful Indian leaders.<sup>26</sup> Thatcher gives as necessary attributes, "absolute intellect and energy. He must not only be a warrior, brave, hardy, patient, and indefatigable: but he must show talents for controlling the fortunes and commanding the respect of the community which he governs."<sup>27</sup> Parkman enumerates "courage, resolution, wisdom, address, and eloquence," as "sure passports to distinction."<sup>28</sup> Yet an analysis of the personalities of thirty-six great Indian leaders yielded the results presented in Table I.

The groupings of traits here adopted are, of course, arbitrary and artificial. They are a condensation of almost one hundred characterizing adjectives and nouns found in the literature describing Indian leaders. These are so grouped that no one leader registers in any set of traits more than once, although obviously he appears in more than one grouping. Some traits, such as great administrative skill, suggestive power, even hypnotic power, and similar characteristics are not listed because these terms do not appear in the descriptions but are generalized terms to cover actual behavior as illustrated in the lives of the men. Thus Sitting Bull's hypnotic power, for example, does not appear in the list. A different grouping and arrangement of traits might yield slightly different results, but in general the picture would remain much the same. It should be emphasized that the fact that a trait is not mentioned in the description of a leader does *not* imply that it was absent; thus the fact that great intellectual ability appears in only nineteen out of the thirty-six leaders does not mean that the others lacked intellectual ability. The author describing him may have taken this trait for granted and dwelt upon other aspects of the personality profile. Not one single leader is described as lacking in intellectual ability; so that we may safely assume that this trait was of prime importance in leadership.

Perhaps the most striking fact in this tabulation is that courage or bravery is mentioned in less than one-third of the descrip-

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 49.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 31.

tions, although most writers include this quality in their generalized lists of traits necessary for Indian leaders. Not only is it mentioned in only ten cases, but the very opposite, namely physical

TABLE I

## TABULATION OF SUBJECTIVE PERSONALITY TRAITS OF INDIAN LEADERS

I. Intellectual traits, such as "open mind," "adaptable," "eager desire for knowledge," "logical," "wisdom," "sagacity," "strong intellect," "sound judgment," "sound reasoning," "ingenuity," etc.	19
II. "Mild," "kind," "affable," "good," "generous," "peaceful," "humane," "magnanimous," "hospitable," etc.	15
III. Dignity	12
IV. "Moral courage," "noble," "truthfulness and integrity," "adherence to principle," "high-minded," "lofty," "noble and generous thought," "sincere"	12
V. "Fluency," "orator"	11
VI. "Brave," "bold," "courage," "fierce"	10
VII. Pride	9
VIII. "Strategist," "tactician," "great warrior," "prowess, or skill in battle," etc.	9
IX. "Haughty," "overbearing," "ambitious," "love of glory," "imperious," etc.	8
X. "Loyal," "patriot," "statesman," etc.	8
XI. "Diplomatist," "politic," "politician," "subtlety," etc.	7
XII. "Personal magnetism," "winning smile," "commanding," etc.	6
XIII. "Stern," "austere," "severe," "firm," "morose," etc.	6
XIV. "Elegant," "chivalrous," "gentlemanly," "refined," "urbane," "courteous"	6
XV. Energy	6
XVI. "Duplicity," "crafty," "insidious," "wily," "cunning," "treacherous"	5
XVII. "Moderation," "self-command," "temperance," etc.	4
XVIII. "Cruel," "vindictive," etc.	4
XIX. "Sensitive"	3
XX. "Resolution," "perseverance," "decision of character"	3
XXI. "Cowardice," "lack of physical courage"	2

cowardice, actually characterized two of the thirty-six. It should be pointed out, however, that the two leaders listed as lacking in physical courage, Red Jacket<sup>29</sup> and Sitting Bull,<sup>30</sup> were noted for

<sup>29</sup> Edward Hale Brush, *Iroquois Past and Present*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>30</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 443-46.

their moral courage. But even including these two leaders in the category "brave," only one-third were so brave as to warrant special mention of the fact by biographers. As in the case of intellectual ability, however, it should be borne in mind that the omission of this trait in the description of a leader does not necessarily mean that he lacked it, except, of course, where the opposite trait is mentioned. Although King Philip was described by a contemporary commentator as "always foremost in the flight,"<sup>31</sup> I did not tabulate him as lacking in courage, since Thatcher claims the author, Church, was prejudiced; he also presents convincing arguments to disprove Church's charge.<sup>32</sup>

Another interesting point revealed by this tabulation is the predominance of the positive emotional attitudes like kindness, generosity, humanity, hospitality, magnanimity, etc., over the negative attitudes like cruelty, vindictiveness, etc., in Indian leaders. The ratio is fifteen to four. This is, perhaps, what one should expect in view of the nature of the bonds between follower and leader. Of the four leaders who come under the category "cruel," only Powhatan apparently showed this trait to his own followers.<sup>33</sup> In the others, as in the case of Pontiac, it was an attitude toward enemies.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, even the leaders who are described as cruel possessed the gentler qualities as well, in three cases. Powhatan was very tender in his family relations.<sup>35</sup> And Pontiac had generosity.<sup>36</sup> It would appear that the positive attitudes were far more important in Indian leaders than the negative ones.

The importance of dignity in leaders as revealed by the tabulation is interesting. This trait is akin to that of striking physical appearance. The leader had to look and act like a leader. But as in the case of stature, it should be kept in mind that a generalized description of the Indian as such might include dignity as one of the traits. That is, all Indians seemed dignified to some of the commentators. Whether mention of the dignity of a certain leader meant that he possessed this trait in more than average degree is

<sup>31</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 171.

<sup>34</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 168, 187.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 519.

<sup>33</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 55, 65.

<sup>36</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 168.

difficult to say. The appearance of this quality in one-third of the descriptions is interesting anyway.

Moral and ethical characters marked one-third of the leaders whose descriptions were tabulated. The importance of oratory in Indian leadership is indicated by the fact that almost one-third of the leaders possessed this gift in notable degree. The other traits tabulated scarcely require comment.

One interesting fact, not revealed by the tabulation, bears on the theory of social change. It has been frequently pointed out that technical changes in culture are more readily accepted than change in the immaterial and more subjective aspects, especially in the mores. The greatest Indian leaders, including Pontiac, Powhatan and others, were very desirous of learning European military tactics, and to acquire European military weapons, although they were steadfast fundamentalists so far as the rest of Indian culture was concerned.<sup>37</sup> Pontiac begged the French to teach him European tactics of conducting an attack on a fortified garrison.<sup>38</sup> Osceola used to practice military tactics with the white soldiers, in order to learn their technique.<sup>39</sup> Powhatan did everything in his power to secure English arms.<sup>40</sup> The case of White Eyes, who considered Christianity superior to his own religion, while not unique, is unusual.<sup>41</sup> Most of the great leaders opposed change in the non-technical aspects of their culture.

A composite picture, then, of a great Indian political leader as he looked to his followers, would include such traits as: striking physical appearance, unusual intellectual ability, predominantly positive emotional attitudes, moral integrity, and oratorical skill.

The method of acquiring fame was rather simple. It consisted in some sort of behavior which would attract attention because of its novelty or perhaps because of its value. Catlin describes the method used by a Puncah youth, who married four wives in one day.<sup>42</sup> A more usual form of displaying bravery, however, was in

<sup>37</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 151.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 181, 186.

<sup>39</sup> Drake, *The Aboriginal Races*, etc., p. 420.

<sup>40</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 54.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 141-42.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 331.

battle rather than in matrimony.<sup>43</sup> Tecumseh distinguished himself at an early age as a warrior.<sup>44</sup> Athletic achievements helped in the acquisition of fame, as did hunting skill.<sup>45</sup> Such a reputation for bravery, skill, prowess, or generosity was frequently the first step in becoming a political leader. The point seems to have been that one must excel all others in some line and thus secure a conspicuous place in tribal society. Once fame had been acquired, there was an excellent chance for becoming a leader. One might well compare this process to a rude sort of "civil service test," only instead of "civil service" it was a general character test. At any rate, it was a merit system, and any young man who wanted to become a leader could do so if he could prove that he was better fitted than anyone else. The leader was a leader through demonstrated ability rather than through political strategy. And not only did the leader have to work to achieve his leadership, he had to work to keep it. The ties that bound the follower to his leader were almost purely personal, and as soon as a leader failed to achieve success his followers were likely to desert him in large numbers.<sup>46</sup> Or if the leader displeased them, their allegiance was withdrawn.<sup>47</sup> This leads to the topic of the techniques used to control the behavior of followers, once leadership had been secured.

Since the literature covered for this study is not necessarily complete, the various techniques employed by leaders as there described cannot be weighted as to relative importance, or tabulated as to frequency. Therefore in what follows, no attempt is made to determine the relative frequency with which any one method was used, but merely to indicate that these techniques were used.

The general psychological theory of leadership is presented by a standard treatise in social psychology as follows:

The leader must know what stimuli will condition adequate responses for his purposes and develop a technique for presenting these stimuli. These stimuli are his controls and they are to be found primarily as typical behavior patterns which may be spoken of collectively as certain uniformities of behavior

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 119; Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

<sup>44</sup> Drake, *Life of Tecumseh*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>45</sup> Catlin, *op. cit.*, I, 327-28.

<sup>46</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 140; II, 184-85.

<sup>47</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 147-48; II, 195; Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

or as verbal or other more or less abstract symbols of such behavior. The leader manipulates these behavior and symbolic controls in such ways as to produce like responses in others through the mechanism of concrete imitation by copying or of abstract imitation by interpretation of the symbols. Or the leader may use certain symbolic stimuli to release desired behavior without imitation, that is, through suggestion, where the desired response has become sufficiently conditioned by or associated with a particular cue or stimulus.

Leadership in such cases becomes largely a matter of the knowledge of conditioned responses and of the power to condition desired responses to the stimuli available, and finally of the manipulation of stereotyped conditioned stimuli, which is the method of suggestion.<sup>48</sup>

Since in most of the problems around which Indian leadership centered, the behavior patterns were already well established, the technique used by the leaders was usually suggestion. The hostile attitude against the settlers was easily called forth and manipulated. But suggestion-imitation was sometimes employed, as illustrated by the use, for example, of the challenge as a method of leadership. The use of the challenge by the Frenchman Beaujeu indicates that it had great power even in the hands of a white man. He was eager to enlist the aid of the Indians against the British, but they hesitated. "I am determined to go," he exclaimed. "What, will you suffer your father to go alone?" His daring spirit proved contagious. The warriors hesitated no longer."<sup>49</sup> The psychology of the challenge seems to be that the challenge insinuates one's personality is not up to standard. Such an insinuation requires disproof, and an effort is made to demonstrate the falsity of it.

This method is closely allied to another technique of leadership used by Indians, namely the use of epithets, ridicule, sarcasm, etc. Captain Pipe made telling use of this method against white civilization which was favored by his rival, White Eyes. He would speak sarcastically of the beating of negroes as among the benefits of civilization.<sup>50</sup> Knowing that such behavior was disapproved of by Indians, he was skilfully conditioning this disapproval to the whole white culture. The epithet "coward" was almost infallible as a method of coercion. Little Turtle consented to the fatal battle with General Wayne, to which he had been previously opposed, when

<sup>48</sup> L. L. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

<sup>49</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 78.

<sup>50</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 143.

the potent epithet was applied to him.<sup>51</sup> Another peculiarly odious epithet was "woman." Black Hawk says, "I took up the hatchet, for my part, to revenge injuries which my people could no longer endure. Had I borne them longer without striking, my people would have said, 'Black Hawk is a woman, he is too old to be a chief; he is no Sac.'"<sup>52</sup> The Seneca leaders, much angered by their failure to overawe White Eyes, at a conference with the Americans, hinted "that it ill became *him* to express himself thus independently, whose tribe were but *women*, and had been made such by the Five Nations—alluding to an old reproach which had often before this been used to humiliate the Delawares."<sup>53</sup>

Sometimes this method degenerated into the use of calumny and slander. Thus Captain Pipe went so far as to spread a rumor to the effect that his rival, White Eyes, "had made secret engagements with the Americans, with the view of aggrandizing himself at the expense of his countrymen."<sup>54</sup> The psychology of this is fairly obvious. Knowing the sort of response which was conditioned to selfishness and mercenary motives in his people, he attempted to condition this response to White Eyes, and thus to lead his followers to repudiate him.

Somewhat different psychologically is the use of flattery as a method of coercion. An excellent illustration of the use of this method is in the case of Tecumseh's brother, the Prophet, Elskwatawa. "Previous to any violent promulgation of the doctrines . . . he gained their attention and flattered their pride, by reviving a favorite tradition which made them the most ancient and respectable people on the globe. . . . 'The Master of Life,' said he proudly, 'who was himself an Indian, made the Shawaneese before any others of the human race, and *they* sprang from his brain.'<sup>55</sup> There is no subtlety here. Flattery rarely needs to be subtle. The Prophet knew that a favorable and positive attitude was conditioned to the belief that the Shawaneese were the chosen people; and by artful

<sup>51</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>53</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, II, 125.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 126. For an illustration of Red Jacket's use of this method, see pp. 15-16.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 189.

association of this belief with his own cause, he transferred, that is extended, the favorable and positive attitude toward his own cause. Somewhat akin to this technique is the method of generosity in gifts or hospitality. The generosity of Indian leaders aroused frequent notice among commentators.<sup>56</sup> Tecumseh's generosity was a marked trait.<sup>57</sup> Even outsiders, like Sir William Johnson, could secure followers by this method. "Sir William . . . kept a bounteous table open to every comer. The Indians would visit him day and night, sleeping in the halls, on the steps or in the cabins, as suited their fancy, and faring on their host's sumptuous provision for days at a time."<sup>58</sup> This reminds one forcibly of the methods used by the ward boss. It is essentially a method of getting one's self taken into the we-group of the followers, and by pleasing them with gifts to get the favorable response conditioned to one's self. It is especially interesting to note that, unless the use of gifts be considered such, bribery was not used by Indian leaders. But this does not mean that Indian followers were above corruption. It was sometimes used by whites to secure desired action on the part of Indian leaders.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps the custom observed by leaders of dispensing gifts made the use of bribery by outsiders an acceptable procedure. However, this seems to have been a vice of late origin. Men like Brant were above it.<sup>60</sup>

Dress, of course, was an aid in leadership. Tecumseh "received the red sash and other badges of office, (not) because he was fond of imitating the whites; but he employed them, more probably, as a means of inspiring his countrymen with that respect and veneration for himself which was so necessary in the work . . . he had undertaken."<sup>61</sup> Red Jacket received his name from a British uniform of which he was particularly proud. The chiefs described and painted by Catlin are vivid illustrations of the use of dress by leaders.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Colden, Cadwallader, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* (1775), p. 6.

<sup>57</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, II, 186-87.

<sup>58</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

<sup>59</sup> McKenney & Hall, *Indian Tribes of North America*, pp. 255-56.

<sup>60</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-33.

<sup>61</sup> Drake, *The Aboriginal Races, etc.*, p. 616.

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.*

Another technique used to coerce followers was force. This seems quite unusual in the light of the nature of the relationship existing between leader and followers, and the nature of Indian personality. Apparently this method was rare. Perhaps Powhatan was the only outstanding leader who used it to any marked extent.<sup>63</sup> And in his case, the subjects were so eager to revolt that they made attempts to secure English support, and to become English subjects rather than to suffer Powhatan's cruelty.<sup>64</sup> The psychology of punishment and force is well known. It is essentially a process of negative conditioning. Responses of inhibition are conditioned to certain stimuli by associating these stimuli with painful ones.

The use of threats by leaders was an outstanding technique of controlling behavior. Pontiac used it frequently. He even tried it on the British, and it must have been particularly galling to have it fail each time.<sup>65</sup> Captain Smith, with the shrewd knowledge of Indian human nature which he had acquired, used the threat with great success.<sup>66</sup> Tecumseh seems to have made the most picturesque use of it. During his campaign to secure allies, he visited Tuckhabatchee, an Indian village. On finding the chief unresponsive, he was angered and exclaimed, "I leave Tuckhabatchee directly, and shall go straight to Detroit. When I arrive there, I will stamp on the ground with my foot and shake down every house in Tuckhabatchee." The people were terrified. On the day they had figured out for Tecumseh's arrival at Detroit, surely enough, every house and the earth itself began to shake. "The effect was electric. The message he had delivered to the Big Warrior was believed, and many of the Indians took their rifles and prepared for the war."<sup>67</sup> The use of threats, however, was effective only when the subject of the threat was ignorant. It did not work, for example, on Garangula, when used by the Governor of Canada.<sup>68</sup> The psychology of the threat is much the same as that of punishment ex-

<sup>63</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 55.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 50.

<sup>65</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 181, 188, 211; II, 168.

<sup>66</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 38.

<sup>67</sup> James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion, etc.," *loc. cit.*, p. 687.

<sup>68</sup> Thatcher, *op. cit.*, II, 41-42.

cept that the conditioning is done through symbols, thus anticipating and perhaps preventing actual overt experimentation.

The art of magic, including such items as revelation, visions, mystery, etc., was extensively used by the Indians in political leadership. Mooney's monograph on "The Ghost Dance Religion"<sup>69</sup> reviews a great number of cases, beginning as early as 1680. In that year, "Pope, a medicine-man of the Tewa, had come back from a pilgrimage to the far north, where he claimed to have visited the magic lagoon of Shipapu, whence his people traced their origin and to which the souls of their dead returned after leaving this life. By these ancestral spirits he had been endowed with occult powers and commanded to go back and rouse the Pueblos to concerted effort for deliverance from the foreign yoke of the strangers."<sup>70</sup> The great Delaware Prophet, whose excitement-stirring powers were exploited by Pontiac, also used revelation as a method of getting his program adopted.<sup>71</sup> Pontiac himself owed a part of his influence to magic. "An Ojibway Indian told the writer that some portion of his power was to be ascribed to his being a chief of the *Metai*, a magical association among the Indians of the Lakes, in which character he exerted an influence on the superstition of his followers."<sup>72</sup> Tecumseh's brother, the Shawnee Prophet, made telling use of magic coercion.<sup>73</sup> An interesting use of revelation as a method of determining policy and resolving conflict was made by the Ojibwas. Pontiac had just sent a message requesting their aid in the siege of Detroit. Sir William Johnson, on the other hand, had sent messengers inviting them to a great feast, which meant a treaty of peace. He intimated that they would better accept or they would be destroyed. Here was a predicament. Human reason could scarcely be relied upon to solve it, so revelation was resorted to. In keeping with what we know of the psychology of revelation and of wishes, the outcome was inevitable. They made peace with the English and left Pontiac to carry on his campaign without their support.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>70</sup> *Idem.*, p. 659.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 666.

<sup>72</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 133.

<sup>73</sup> Catlin, *op. cit.*, II, 573-75; Thatcher, *op. cit.*, I, 186-87.

<sup>74</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, I, 103-5.

The Ghost Dance Religion was really a political movement, a last violent reaction against the whites. The leader, Sitting Bull, availed himself of visions and mystery as part of his technique.<sup>76</sup> So also did other chiefs and leaders, such as Kanakuk, a Kickapoo.<sup>76</sup>

Magic acquires some of its potency, psychologically, by the fact that it appeals to fear or reverence of the unknown, the incompletely understood or unanalyzed. It is much like the psychology of the threat, except that in addition the threat is veiled, and therefore more terrifying.

The last great tool of the Indian leader was oratory. In a sense this includes many if not most of the methods so far described. It is the actual presentation of stimuli, regardless of the content of these stimuli. It might be said to be the most important and effective single tool of an Indian leader—sometimes availing even more than courage, as with Red Jacket and Sitting Bull, in compelling followers.<sup>77</sup> Oratory has been called “perhaps the chief technic factor in the control of the crowd.”<sup>78</sup> Thatcher states that “among the Indians of all the East and South, a high respect was cherished for the warrior’s virtues; but eloquence was a certain road to popular favour.”<sup>79</sup> The relative significance of these two traits is indicated by the tabulation on page 304. Yet it is interesting to note the results in an actual test case when these traits were competing as control techniques. Red Jacket, perhaps the greatest of Indian orators, in the absence of his enemy, Brant, used his eloquence upon his followers to have the latter impeached. When Brant returned, “he defied them, denied their calumnies and charges, and demanded a fair trial before his people. The military fame and prestige of the great war-chief overcame even the burning eloquence and invectives of Red Jacket, and Brant triumphed over all opposition.”<sup>80</sup> In view of these facts it is perhaps not safe to attempt to rate these devices as to their relative importance. We might generalize the re-

<sup>76</sup> James Mooney, “The Ghost Dance Religion,” etc., *loc. cit.*, p. 488; Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 694.

<sup>77</sup> Brush, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–89; Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 443–44.

<sup>78</sup> Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

<sup>79</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 49–50

<sup>80</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

lationship by stating that the courageous leader presented his stimuli actually, functionally, in action, whereas the eloquent leader presented his stimuli symbolically and verbally. The first type of leader would be using suggestion-imitation very largely, the second type would rely chiefly on suggestion.

Pontiac was as skilled an orator perhaps as he was a general. Probably his oratory was all the more effective because he was ordinarily a man "of few words."<sup>81</sup> The same is true of Tecumseh. He was a brilliant orator, although ordinarily "of a silent habit."<sup>82</sup> Logan was another skilled orator.<sup>83</sup> Red Jacket's oratorical ability amounted to genius.<sup>84</sup> Not a single leader is described as lacking in eloquence. It is interesting to note that the Iroquois nation produced the greatest orators of all the Indians. Whether this was cause or result of their political greatness is a nice question.

The reason for the pre-eminent importance of oratory lies, of course, in the prevailingly direct, face-to-face, and personal type of leadership. Indians could scarcely have achieved indirect, abstract, and impersonal leadership because of the lack of abstract communication.<sup>85</sup> All influencing of followers had to be through the use of direct techniques. The "empires" of Pontiac and Tecumseh came the nearest to "publics" which Indian history reveals. And even here, the leaders had either themselves to conduct personal campaigns among their followers, or else get assistants to do it for them. In either case the techniques were personal and direct; only in the case of messengers, the leaders were working through proxies.

The picture of Indian human nature, as given by Parkman, helps us to understand the characteristics and techniques of their leaders:

He loathes the thought of coercion. . . . A wild love of liberty, an utter intolerance of control, lie at the basis of his character, and fire his whole ex-

<sup>81</sup> Parkman, *op. cit.*, II, 191, quoting Croghan.

<sup>82</sup> Drake, *Aboriginal Races*, etc., p. 622.

<sup>83</sup> Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-86.

<sup>84</sup> Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>85</sup> For an account of the types of leadership see Bernard, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxiii. See also chaps. xxvi and xxviii for an account of abstract relationships.

istence. Yet, in spite of this haughty independence, he is a devout hero-worshipper; and high achievement in war or policy touches a chord to which his nature never fails to respond. He looks up with admiring reverence to the sages and heroes of his tribe; and it is this principle, joined to the respect for age, which springs from the patriarchal element in his social system, which, beyond all others, contribute union and harmony to the erratic members of an Indian community.<sup>86</sup>

Also, owing to the Indian's great self-feeling, "all injunctions that carry with them the appearance of a positive command, are instantly rejected with scorn. On this account, it is seldom that their leaders are so indiscreet as to give out any of their orders in a peremptory style."<sup>87</sup> In a very real sense, then, the followers determined the methods of leadership used by their great men.

To summarize: the composite leader described on page 306, early achieved fame by excelling his fellows in certain lines of activity. At some crisis in tribal history, motivated by a combination of personal and patriotic or economic factors, he was in a strategic position to assume leadership. In controlling the responses of his followers he used challenges, epithets, sarcasm, ridicule, or even calumny and slander. He availed himself of flattery, generosity, gifts, and hospitality. Dress was called into use to enhance personal prestige. Force was employed, although rarely and with discretion. Threats, however, were used with greater frequency. Magic, visions, revelation, and mystery were used freely and constituted one of the major measures relied upon in coercion. Finally, oratory was the almost indispensable technical method of presenting these control stimuli.

<sup>86</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 31.

<sup>87</sup> *Events in Indian History* (a compilation), p. 553.

## AN INTERPRETATION OF THE HEREDITY BACKGROUND OF TWO GROUPS OF MENTAL DEVIATES

PAUL A. WITTY  
University of Kansas  
and  
HARVEY C. LEHMAN  
Ohio University

### ABSTRACT

This paper presents the common pitfalls and limitations of attempts to determine the relative importance of heredity and environment in effecting individual differences in *general mental ability*. Data are given for two groups of children; one group is made up of children commonly alleged to be feeble-minded (I.Q. 70 and below); the other is composed of children who are often termed geniuses (I.Q. 140 and above). Facts regarding the racial origin, the physical heredity, and the mental heredity of each group are presented and conspicuous differences between the groups are described. These facts are interpreted first in the language of the hereditarians and eugenicists; they are then explained according to the common methodology of the environmentalists. The limitations of the extreme postulates of both schools are set forth and the writers then attempt to interpret their data in a valid scientific manner.

The actual existence of causal relationship in a given group of phenomena is exceedingly difficult to determine. The attempt to state which of several causes is *most important* is not only difficult; in many instances it is futile also. The relative importance of the two determiners, heredity and environment, in effecting an individual's ability occupies relatively the same status today that it did in former years when verbal exhortation was the chief convincing tool. True, recent years have brought the cumulation of a large amount of pertinent data, but in the interpretation of the data, both the hereditarians and the environmentalists find ample opportunity to assert support for their theories and rationalizations.

A common practice among research workers is to study the hereditary backgrounds of mental deviates. To measure the mentality of the children the familiar intelligence test<sup>1</sup> is administered and deviates are identified. Study of the parentage and the more remote ancestry of the deviates follows. Such data are unconvincing

<sup>1</sup>Stanford Revision of the Binet Test.

when employed to bolster up preconceived notions of the relative strength of heredity or environment. However, although these data are not convincing or valid when so used, they do enable us better to care for and guide the development of certain deviates. The following analyses of the hereditary backgrounds of two groups of mental deviates afford interesting and salient information regarding the nature and the needs of the children.

Extensive data have been assembled for two groups of mental deviates, one of extremely restricted mental ability (I.Q. 70 and below); the other of extreme precocity in this regard (I.Q. 140 and above). Fifty children enrolled in the Jackson Opportunity School of Kansas City, Missouri, constitute the inferior group.<sup>2</sup> The fifty precocious children were identified by testing all of the children in Grades III–VII of the Kansas City public schools who fell in the 100 percentile upon the National Intelligence Test and selecting only those children who scored 140 I.Q. or above upon the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Intelligence Test. The children of the two groups are approximately of the same chronological ages.

#### HEREDITY AND SOCIAL STATUS

*a) Racial.*—A study of the racial origin of the gifted reveals a preponderance of English, Scotch-Irish, German, and Jewish parentage. English, Scotch-Irish, German, and Italian ancestry were found frequently for the subnormal group. The parents of the two groups are classified according to ancestry in Table I.

Ninety-eight per cent of the parents of the gifted were American-born; 78 per cent of the parents of the subnormal group were born in America.

*b) Physical heredity.*—No symptoms of nervous instability were manifested in the immediate families of the gifted group. Table II displays data regarding the stability of the two groups. The foregoing data are reliable for the immediate families. However, the parents of the subnormal group were unable to give accurate data for the remote ancestry of their children.

<sup>2</sup> The Jackson Opportunity School enrolls only children of I.Q. 70 or below. The writers are indebted to Miss Estelle McCafferty for assembling the data for the children of this school.

c) *Mental heredity*.—The mental heredity of each group is presented through the following studies: occupational and social

TABLE I  
ANCESTRY OF TWO GROUPS OF MENTAL DEVIATES

Ancestry	Of 50 Gifted Children (Per Cent)	Of 50 Inferior Children (Per Cent)
English.....	26	40
Scotch-Irish.....	14	18
German.....	14	14
Jewish.....	12	2
Italian.....	2	10
French.....	10	6
Danish.....	4	2
American Indian.....	0	4
Swedish.....	8	2
Russian.....	2	2
Dutch.....	4	0
Bohemian.....	2	0
Polish.....	2	0

status of the fathers, interests of parents and grandparents, positions of honor held by the parents and other ancestors, and education of the parents.

TABLE II  
CASES OF NERVOUS INSTABILITY AMONG THE RELATIVES OF TWO GROUPS  
OF MENTAL DEVIATES

	SIBLINGS		PARENTS		GRAND-PARENTS		AUNTS AND UNCLÉS		GREAT AUNTS AND UNCLÉS		GREAT GRAND-PARENTS		SECOND COUSINS		TOTALS	
	G*	I*	G	I	G	I	G	I	G	I	G	I	G	I	G	I
Insanity.....	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	7	8
Mentally backward..	0	57	0	35	0	2	2	6	2	0	0	0	1	9	5	109
Epileptic.....	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	3	5
Suicide.....	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	6
Decidedly "Queer"...	0	5	0	7	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	0	1	0	6	15
Totals.....	0	63	0	44	2	10	5	12	9	4	2	0	4	10	22	143

\* G = Gifted.  
I = Inferior.

Table III shows the occupational status of the two groups. A detailed analysis of the occupations of the fathers of the inferior group is found therein.

Versatility of interest is a characteristic of the parents of the gifted group while paucity is revealed in the interests of the parents of the inferior group. The gifted parents acknowledged the following interests: mathematics, music, home and children, reading, travel, invention, religious activities, sports, politics, dramatics, clubs, and lodges. Twelve of the fathers indicated special interest in mathematics and sports respectively, while twelve of the mothers report that they devote time to music and fifteen to home-

TABLE III

OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OF TWO GROUPS OF MENTAL DEVIATES	
Fathers of 50 Gifted Children	Fathers of 50 Inferior Children
Business men . . . . . 33	Druggist (owns store) . . . . 1
Professional men . . . . . 16	Stained window glass fitter . . 1
Agriculturist . . . . . 1	Justice of the peace . . . . . 1
—	Hucksters (independent routes) 2
50	Creamery owner (did own) . . . 1
	Bootleggers . . . . . 2
	Ice route operator (independent route; owns horse and wagon) 1
	—
	9

The remainder are laborers and helpers of the following classes: ditch digger, sod layer, sod cutter, factory and packinghouse worker, industrial laborer, railroad shop and yard worker, stone worker, steam fitter, farm helper, truck driver, concrete worker, painter and paper hanger, teamster, carpenter, blacksmith, iron molder, coal miner.

betterment activities. The interests of the grandparents were similar to those of the parents, displaying a wide range in number and kind. It is significant that the gifted children like their parents are characterized by numerous and varied interests.

Among the twenty-two activities mentioned by the parents as the most popular ones among their children were: reading, games, hiking, collections, sewing, caring for pets, tools, home duties, inventions, travel, story-writing, and dolls. Reading was a favorite activity among all but three of the gifted children. One child had traveled extensively; his major interest was travel. He has profited greatly by his experience; his inquiring mind and retentive memory have resulted in the cumulation of a surprising amount of gen-

eral and specific information. Another child was more interested in cross-word puzzles and skating than in reading, and a third exhibited maximum interest in various activities financially lucrative. This boy sells magazines during the winter and operates a soda fountain in the summer.

Many of the parents of the gifted children are holding positions of honor. Common among them are executive offices in such organizations as banks, clubs, school boards, and business concerns. The positions of honor held by the fathers and mothers include: executive, political, religious, and military offices. Among the more distant relatives of the bright children are many distinguished and honored patriots and statesmen of the United States. Moreover, many of this group are direct descendants of noted ed-

TABLE IV

## LODGE MEMBERSHIP OF PARENTS OF FIFTY INFERIOR CHILDREN

{Lodge	No.
Modern Woodmen . . . . .	2
Knights of Pythias . . . . .	1
Yeoman's Lodge . . . . .	1
Odd Fellows . . . . .	1
The Eagles . . . . .	1

ucators, clergymen, physicians, attorneys, scientists, authors, musicians, and dramatists.

The interests of the parents of the inferior group center in work and home-making. Few read the daily papers. Most report that they are fond of music; some can play stringed instruments by ear, but not by note. No father reported a particular hobby or impelling leisure interest. There was little interest displayed by the fathers in politics or current events. One only, a justice of the peace, is active in politics. Indifference to current events and issues was characteristic of the group. The most general interest is in clubs and lodges. Table IV shows the frequency of membership therein.

The membership in the lodges may be occasioned by the fact that such membership is accompanied usually by insurance provisions. It may be due also to the fact that lodge membership is frequently solicited by shrewd salesmen who find amenable subjects among the unintelligent. One only of the members attends the

meetings of the lodges; one only demonstrates much interest therein. A paucity of interest and indifference to direct community activities typify the fathers of the subnormal children. Indeed, two fathers reported that they did nothing but "just sit" during their leisure.

The next step in the study was to ascertain the educational status of the parents of the two groups of mental deviates. Fifty per cent of the parents of the gifted were college-trained men and women. The mean amount of schooling for the fathers was 13 years, with a range of 5 to 19 years. The mothers averaged 12 years of education, with a range of 7 to 17 years. An analysis of

TABLE V  
EDUCATION OF THE PARENTS OF TWO GROUPS OF MENTAL DEVIATES

	Gifted Children's Fathers	Gifted Children's Mothers	Inferior Children's Fathers	Inferior Children's Mothers
High-school training.....	43	41	4	1
College training.....	25	25	0	0
Bachelor degree.....	12	15	0	0
M.A. degree.....	4	2	0	0
Ph.D. degree.....	3	0	0	0
Other graduate study.....	2	1	0	0
Business training.....	4	3	0	0
No training beyond grades.....	7	9	46	49

the amount of training received by the parents of the fifty gifted children is presented in Table V.

Table V shows that none of the parents of the subnormal children is a college graduate. Only one father has reached the second year of high school. Four of the mothers have attended high school for one year. The mean amount of schooling for the fathers is 4.5 years, with a range of 0 to 9 years. The mothers average 4 years of education, with a range of 0 to 11 years.

The environmentalists in dealing with these two groups of children would emphasize the importance of early opportunity and impelling desires in conditioning superior or inferior functioning of mentality in its multitudinous aspects. They would assert the intelligence test is actually gauging *opportunity* to learn, and not innate ability, and would point out that the intelligence tests em-

ployed to secure ratings of genius on the one hand, and feeble-mindedness on the other, are measuring largely the child's environmental background. Equality of opportunity and desire to learn are assumed when certain intelligence tests are employed. Examination of the hereditary and social backgrounds of the two groups of children herein described will convince the impartial reader that the opportunities of the two groups were by no means equal. The group of subnormal children is decidedly restricted in its opportunity while the superior group has unusual opportunity to learn the tasks included in the usual intelligence test. Who knows what the results of the tests would be if the social backgrounds of the two groups were reversed?

The proponents of the force of heredity would assert that the data presented above demonstrate the potency of germinal superiority in begetting superior offspring and the force of germinal inferiority in producing inferior progeny. Such data are often presented as unequivocal proof of the inheritance of mental traits since like tends to produce like.<sup>3</sup> However, certain behaviorists insist that such data are misleading and unreliable when used as evidence of the inheritance of mental traits. Such an ardent behaviorist as John B. Watson would assert that these data exemplify the power of conditioned reaction; he would discredit the theory of the inheritance of mental traits, for the child is multitudinously conditioned by the time he reaches the fifth or sixth grade in school.

The influence of a favorable environment in improving the ability of the subnormal is an unsettled question. Galton quotes Seguin to the effect that special environmental opportunity ameliorates the mental handicap of the subnormal.

Dr. Seguin, a great French authority on these matters, states that more than thirty per cent of idiots and imbeciles, put under suitable instruction, have been taught to conform to social and moral law, and rendered capable of good order, of good feeling, and of working like *the third* of an average man. He says that more than forty per cent have become capable of the ordinary transactions of life, under friendly control; of understanding moral and social abstractions, and of working like two-thirds of a man. And, lastly, that from twenty-five to thirty per cent come nearer and nearer to the standard of man-

<sup>3</sup> The student of sociology will recall the data presented in reference to such families as the Jukes, the Edwardses, the Kallikaks, etc.

hood, till some of them will defy the scrutiny of good judges, when compared with ordinary young men and women.<sup>4</sup>

The only valid way of describing original nature according to Watson is to study the child genetically and to record his every reaction. Watson assumes that such a method would reveal that mental ability is not inherited. Although Watson is very convincing in his dogmatism, it is only fair to state that his data are partial and incomplete since his studies have not been continued long enough to yield irrefutable proof of his assumptions. Opposed to Watson's findings and assertions are the facts of biological heredity. These facts suggest that certain mental traits may be inherited according to determiners.

Psychological characters appear to be inherited in the same way that anatomical and physiological traits are; indeed all that has been said regarding the correlation of morphological and physiological characters applies also to psychological ones. No one doubts that particular instincts, aptitudes, and capacities are inherited among both animals and men nor that different races and species differ hereditarily in psychological characteristics. . . . The fact is that racial characteristics are not determined by exceptional and extreme individuals but by the average or mean qualities of the race; and measured in this way there is no doubt that certain types of mind and disposition are characteristic of certain families.<sup>5</sup>

The suggestive facts of biology are supported by certain objective evidence obtained by intelligence ratings. Study of very young children shows a surprising distribution of ability. Some children develop with extreme rapidity from the very first moment of life; others are extremely slow in developing. Many of the slow children appear to be normal physically and structurally and environmental opportunity is not markedly restricted. Two children in the same family, both healthy, sturdy specimens, differ tremendously in ability as measured by intelligence tests. One ultimately becomes a thorough scholar; the other is eliminated from school during his high-school career. One manifests an I.Q. 135; the other 85. Again, two healthy children are identified; one who is hypersensitive to pitch differences, the other unable to appreciate the

<sup>4</sup> Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892), pp. 21-22.

<sup>5</sup> E. G. Conklin, "Phenomena of Inheritance," *Popular Science Monthly*, LXXXV (October, 1914), 318-19.

differences between tones of widely varying pitch. Both are instructed in music by the same teacher; one becomes a performer of merit; the other remains totally unappreciative of music.

There is abundance of additional evidence which suggests that there are native differences in mentality. Mental tests applied to children and adults suggest that by imperceptible degrees the human race merges in intelligence from vegetative idiocy on one side of the curve of distribution to supreme genius on the other. For some, this very fact is convincing indication that nature endows individuals with varying amounts of ability. The correlated fact that year after year children occupy relatively the same position upon the curve of distribution in intelligence ratings is another convincing argument; the dull remain dull in comparison to the average and the bright continue year after year to manifest precocity in their mental development regardless of special opportunity.

Freeman in his recent book summarizes the data regarding the constancy of the I.Q.<sup>6</sup> Collectively, the data indicate little variability in the I.Q. of the vast majority of children.

It may be then that the Binet Test is gauging one type of ability that is native. It is true of course that the data assembled thus far must be considered tentatively. They can by no means be accepted as complete valid proofs of the inheritance of mental ability. The data have been assembled for the most part from the results of tests given to children of school age. The enthusiasts for the extreme behavioristic point of view would assert that early influences, subtle and unobtrusive, are important factors in effecting the differences displayed by the children of school age.

One could multiply examples of opinion for both the hereditarian and the environmental advocates. Through such a procedure one would gain few valid data to prove the assertions of either school. Here we have what Robinson has termed reciprocity of phenomena.<sup>7</sup> The causes elude identification when the phenomena are coexistent instead of successive. For who can say whether the melt-

<sup>6</sup> Frank N. Freeman, *Mental Tests*, p. 345. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926.

<sup>7</sup> D. S. Robinson, *Principles of Reasoning* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1924), pp. 259-61.

ing wax from a tallow-candle is the cause or the result of the flame? Here the same event is both cause and effect. The same condition holds with manifestations of ability. Is the musician's excellent performance occasioned by superior innate ability or is the ability the result of practice and opportunity? There seems to be no answer to this question for there is apparently a plurality of causes in any case of deviation in ability. Mill was led finally to the conclusion that an event is due to the sum total of events which precede it including multitudinous *remote* and *immediate* causes.<sup>8</sup> A single act involves a veritable maze of consequences. It is therefore difficult to identify, let alone tabulate, these numerous results in a genetic study of children. The causes as well as the results are so complex, numerous, and subtle, that they defy analysis even by the rigorous statistical tools used by the behaviorists. Conklin has pointed to the difficulties met in any study of hereditary factors.

In natural or biological inheritance the germinal causes of the traits of the parents are separated and are redistributed to their offspring so that the latter are "mosaics" of ancestral traits. These germinal causes of traits, which are called genes, are transmitted unchanged, but in the fertilization of the egg one-half of the genes from each parent is lost and is replaced by half from the other parent. So numerous are these genes that the combinations of them in the offspring are rarely, if ever, the same in two individuals, and so complex is their influence upon one another and upon the process of development, that no two sexually produced individuals are ever exactly alike. Consequently the best traits may appear in parents and be lost in their offspring; genius in an ancestor may be replaced by incompetence, imbecility, or insanity in a descendant. As each generation must start life anew from the germ cells, so in every person there is a new distribution of hereditary factors or genes. Every person has a new hereditary deal, if not always a square one.<sup>9</sup>

If the foregoing statements be valid, how is the student of heredity to do more than merely speculate regarding the hereditary traits of his subjects? Conklin points to the fallacies that may be encountered in making such studies. He asserts that there has been much foolish talk and loose thinking regarding the inheritance of family traits.

In man there are probably forty-eight chromosomes, twenty-four from the father and twenty-four from the mother; but these are usually derived in un-

<sup>8</sup> Quoted by D. S. Robinson, *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> E. G. Conklin, *The Direction of Human Evolution* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), pp. 128-29.

equal numbers from the four grandparents; for example, sixteen may come from the paternal grandfather and eight from the paternal grandmother, four from the maternal grandfather and twenty from the maternal grandmother, or the number which comes from each grandparent may vary all the way from twenty-four to naught. One or more of the eight great-grandparents may have furnished no chromosomes and no inherited traits to the great-grandchild, and finally no one in the world can inherit chromosomes (or traits) from more than forty-eight contemporary ancestors, assuming that the chromosomes preserve their identity, since no one has more than forty-eight chromosomes. Consequently, although each of us has had thousands of ancestors, he has had only a small number of transmitters.<sup>10</sup> Many a person bears the name of some distinguished ancestor but does not have a single one of his chromosomes or hereditary traits, whereas others who do not bear his name, and are usually reckoned as collateral descendants, have received his chromosomes and are his true inheritors.

There has been much foolish talk and loose thinking regarding old families and length of descent. . . . In length of descent we are all equal, and in community of descent we are all cousins if not brothers. Our lines stretch out to all our race. Each individual or family is not a separate and independent entity, but merely a minor unit in the great organism of mankind.<sup>11</sup>

Loose thinking and unjustified generalization are the chief pitfalls both of the environmentalists and the hereditarians. Both groups go beyond their data in explaining them for the simple reason that in studies of heredity versus environment the ancestry is not actually equated. In a given individual it is not possible to identify the particular ancestors from whom chromosomes and hereditary traits have been derived. Moreover, in tracing ancestry, the noble (or the ignoble) are hunted up and the other ancestors are neglected. The domination of preconceived notions thus affects the results. Each individual is descended not from a few ancestors but from a host of forbears and there is ample opportunity for the zealous student to find examples of desired traits in the varied ancestry of every individual.

Evolution shows that we are all cousins if not brothers. The lines of descent from innumerable ancestors converge in us, and will radiate from us to innumerable descendants. Genealogists picture descent as a tree in which the trunk represents some single ancestor and the branches all of his descendants, but such a representation is wholly at variance with biological facts because in sexual reproduction every person has two parents. The "genealogical" tree is

<sup>10</sup> Those ancestors from whom chromosomes and hereditary traits are derived.

<sup>11</sup> E. G. Conklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-38.

the result of an attempt to trace descent back to some one distinguished ancestor while ignoring all others. The various branches of a family do not trace back to a single trunk, but rather to an increasing number of branches. A graphic representation of descent is not a tree but a net in which every individual is represented by a knot formed by the union of two lines which may be traced backward and forward to an ever-increasing number of knots and lines until all are united in this vast genealogical net of humanity. If the number of our ancestors doubled in each ascending generation, as it would do if the marriage of cousins of various degrees did not take place, each of us would be descended from more than a billion ancestors of a thousand years ago, let us say in the reign of William the Conqueror. Even allowing for numerous intermarriages of relatives it is highly probable that all people of English or French or German stock are descended from common ancestors of a thousand years ago.

A book has been published recently in which several of our presidents, heads of universities, and captains of industry and finance are shown to be descended from Charlemagne. This distinction is one which they share with probably more than half of the citizens of this Republic. Einhard, the contemporary biographer of Charlemagne, says that he had nine wives, besides many concubines, and although he was fond of his children he never knew how many he had. If it were possible to trace our genealogies far enough into the past and through all their ramifications it would be found that all of us are literally descendants of royalty, of Alfred and Charlemagne and William the Conqueror and of any and every other person of one thousand years ago who left descendants—including nonentities and worse; we hunt up our noble ancestors and forget the others.<sup>12</sup>

Mr. Albert Wiggam's books, *The Fruit of the Family Tree*, and *The New Decalogue of Science*, are excellent examples of attempts to popularize scientific knowledge. Such practices would be laudable but for the fact that questionable hypotheses are presented as proved facts. Thus Mr. Wiggam asserts that "blood always will tell" and adduces the prize assemblies, the Jukes, the Kallikaks, and the Edwardses as unquestionable evidence of his premise. Generations of both families are studied (largely through their biographies) and generalizations drawn. It must be clear to the critical reader that the attempt of a writer to trace the blood of Elizabeth Tuttle (alleged founder of the desirable traits of the Edwards clan) through nine generations is absurd and impossible. New chromosomes probably enter with each new generation and the hereditary factors are so varied, numerous, and subtle that such a task is not only impossible but ridiculous. Wallin tells us:

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.

. . . . at the time the data were compiled, the 1394 identified descendants of the (Jonathan Edwards) family had contributed 295 college graduates, 12 college presidents, 65 college professors, 100 clergymen, 111 musicians, 100 lawyers, 80 public officials, 75 army and navy officers, 60 each of physicians and prominent authors, 30 judges, 3 U.S. senators, one vice-president, and no known convicted criminal.<sup>13</sup>

Imposing statistics! The eugenists, seeking to popularize science, have presented these convincing data to the world as *proof* of the fact that "blood will tell." The number of eminent among the Edwardses makes a composite of about 600. Out of how many? One thousand three hundred and ninety-four identified out of a possible 50,000? No one can state the *number omitted* any more definitely than he can state that the blood of Elizabeth Tuttle is the determining factor in effecting the eminence of the Edwards clan. There is only the remotest possibility that, with the infusion of new blood with its multitudinous and various sources, *many* of the present-day Edwardses have any appreciable amount of the blood of Elizabeth Tuttle. The literature in regard to the Jukes, Kallikaks, etc., is likewise an assembly of absurd rationalizations, imposing and convincing to the layman but scientifically unsound.

Certain writers have asserted that environmental opportunity will create ability. Bagley, Watson, and certain other careful students of the problem have also asserted that environmental opportunity will create that which is commonly termed ability. The statistically assembled data are thus given two diametrically opposed interpretations. One group insists that the data show the potency of heredity and the other asserts that the data exemplify the effect of environment as a creator of ability. Apparently, we are no nearer to the answer to the age-old question of causation than were the philosophers of earlier ages. In spite of this fact Wiggam in attempting to popularize scientific *knowledge* adopts a tone of authority and finality in asserting the validity of the claims of the hereditarians.

The second warning of biology to statesmanship is brief and simple; that heredity and not environment is the chief maker of men . . . [p. 42].

The social and political import of this warning is that nearly all the hap-

<sup>13</sup> J. E. W. Wallin, *The Education of Handicapped Children* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), p. 280.

piness and nearly all the misery of the world are due, not to environment, but to heredity; that the differences among men are, in the main, due to the differences in the germ cells from which they are born . . . [p. 42].

I cannot present the highly technical proof, but every biologist knows that intelligence is inherited, energy is inherited, insanity is inherited, emotional possibilities are inherited, a man's inner character is inherited. Environment is important, education is important, moral suasion is important just because intelligence, energy and character are inherited, and for no other reason [p. 48].<sup>14</sup>

The following two quotations illustrate the extent to which enthusiasm can lead to unverifiable conclusions.

If a man's character is due to his surroundings then should he happen to fall among thieves, he has precisely the same chance as they of committing murder and getting hung within a week [p. 49].<sup>15</sup>

Why, out of the first fifty-one names in the Hall of Fame, are ten of them the sons and daughters of preachers? Why is one out of twelve of all the names in *Who's Who*, our most democratic roster of fame, the child of a minister? Is it necessary for me to present proof to you that ministers are on the average men of character and intelligence [p. 47]?<sup>16</sup>

In the opinion of the present writers the popularizer of knowledge has a place in the scheme of things, but he has no moral right to mislead the public by pretending to represent the attitude of modern science and to assert without qualification the prepotency either of heredity or of environment in effecting superior ability. The attitude of modern science obviously is still one of suspended judgment and in all probability this attitude will continue to be maintained by the really scientifically minded for a long time to come.

<sup>14</sup> A. E. Wiggam, *The New Decalogue of Science* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1923).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

## THE SOCIAL SURVEY AND THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION MOVEMENT

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HARRIETT M. BARTLETT  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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### ABSTRACT

The social survey represents a practical technique, as contrasted with scientific research. It has grown out of such social activities as the newspaper, industrial arbitration, municipal research, and charity organization, of which the common method is fact-finding. Studied from this point of view the social survey is seen to be a method of social control as well as of investigation. The charity organization movement, which began in England and later developed in America, grew out of the attempt to organize the charitable effort of the community in order to meet the problem of poverty. At first a reaction against indiscriminate relief-giving, it soon developed new positive techniques, of which one of the most important was the careful investigation of each case. Fact-finding and community action, emphasized in this movement, are also fundamental techniques of the social survey. The two movements, charity organization and the social survey, thus present suggestive points for comparison. In addition they are definitely related in America in that the pioneer survey, the Pittsburgh survey, was undertaken by a committee of a charity organization society journal. The study of one of the parent movements of the social survey helps to bring out more clearly its essentially practical nature.

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The social survey represents a technique of investigation which, although previously employed, did not attain its characteristic form or wide use until the early years of the present century. In everyday language when we speak of surveying anything we mean looking over the field, examining it in a rather broad and quick fashion. Breadth and speed are also typical of the technical survey. It grows out of some practical problem for which people are seeking a solution. In the old days such a problem situation would probably have been met in some common-sense method which might or might not have settled the difficulty. When the survey method is used today members of the community carry on much of the work, but experts are called in to direct it. Not one problem, but a group of interrelated problems, usually within one community, are investigated and the findings interpreted to the public as speedily as possible. An authority thus describes the survey: "First and last the survey is an educational measure, spreading its information in the

untechnical phrases of the street. It is a means to better democracy by informing the community upon community matters and thereby providing a basis for intelligent public opinion."<sup>1</sup> The characteristic method of the survey is fact-finding, and its test is found in the action which follows it, in the percentage of its recommendations which are adopted by the community.

The social survey is thus seen to be both a method of investigation and a means of social control, as has been pointed out by Professor Robert E. Park in his lectures on the social survey at the University of Chicago. In the minds of many persons the survey is confused with research. Both are techniques of investigation, but should be carefully distinguished. The survey is wider than the single investigation, since it deals with several interrelated problems. But it is narrower than research, and different from it in character. The typical American survey is an essentially practical measure, directed toward the immediate solution of a present problem. Research, on the other hand, deals with general data divorced from time and place; it seeks to test a general hypothesis. The survey makes comparisons, but, instead of leading to generalizations, they are intended to bring out more clearly the particular problem. The survey is also seen to be a method of social control, since its aim is to bring about intelligent action. A conflict situation may be solved by violent, emotional, sentimental, common-sense, or other types of action. The survey offers the alternative of action based on a thorough investigation of the facts of the particular situation.

Fact-finding was used in other fields before it was employed as the chief method of the survey. The survey movement—for it has assumed the proportions of a movement—has grown out of these other movements, which have also influenced each other. The aim is to take up here in detail only one of these parent movements, but the others should be known and kept in mind in order to have a clear picture of the whole situation. One related activity is that of the bureau of municipal research, of which the best example is in New York. If the hope of democracy is in education, this seems to be one of its most effective methods. In another direction are to be

<sup>1</sup> Shelby M. Harrison, "Community Action through Surveys," *National Conference of Social Work* (1916), p. 53.

considered the investigations associated with vice crusades, which, crude as they usually have been, represent an advance over the violent and uncompromising attitude previously maintained toward these problems. But perhaps the most spectacular use of fact-finding and publicity as methods of social control has been in the field of industrial relations. Investigation and publication of the facts are being increasingly used as the best methods of dealing with strikes and less violent forms of industrial controversy. More than this, employers and workers, when they meet in the process of conciliation and arbitration, are tending to face the facts rather than argue on the basis of abstract rights. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Chicago offer the outstanding example of this new attitude; from sweated, irregularly employed immigrants they have developed into a self-conscious, intelligent group who have practically abandoned the strike method for that of getting at the facts.

It is evident that all these movements must be intimately connected with the development of the newspaper. This is a whole problem by itself, of which the main outlines can only be suggested here. The significant point is the change in the character of the American newspaper which took place toward the end of the nineteenth century. At first organized on party lines, the papers gradually came to concentrate on publishing "news," the sort of thing which would interest anyone and everyone. The next development was the discovery of the powerful effect of the "human interest" story, and there followed an era of muckraking and the yellow press.

Pulitzer's principal contribution to yellow journalism was muckraking; Hearst's was mainly "jazz." The newspaper had been conducted up to this time upon the theory that its business was to instruct. Hearst rejected that conception. His appeal was frankly not to the intellect but to the heart. The newspaper was for him first and last a form of entertainment.<sup>2</sup>

The result has been that, through presenting a mass of facts in a simply worded but appealing and striking manner, the newspapers have been able to reach practically everyone in this country, the immigrant not excepted. The presentation of facts in the form of news proves in the end a more effective way of reaching people and influencing their thoughts and acts than the clever editorial. An-

<sup>2</sup> Robert E. Park, *The City*, p. 96.

other interesting result has been that, in the process of delving into the life of the city wilderness, the young reporters learned as never before about the graft and corruption of the political system. Some became cynical through this experience, but others reacted in the direction of municipal reform, and thus drew nearer to the point of view of the social worker.

At first sight the newspaper, industrial arbitration, municipal research, vice crusades, and charity organization may not seem to present many similarities. They were, however, all activities characteristic of a period when rapid change had created acute social problems and consequently directed people's attention toward these same problems. Shelby M. Harrison thus describes the situation:

. . . . Back of the social survey are a number of important causal facts: First, the fact of important changes in the relationships between people—particularly in the last few decades—creating community needs and problems; second, the fact of scientific advances that have made possible some measure of solution of the new problems; third, the present emphasis put upon socializing our knowledge, experience, and service—in other words, the present and growing demand that all forces and agencies should minister (and efficiently) to human needs; and fourth, the recognition that social problems are complex and often reach in many directions.<sup>5</sup>

This description applies to the background of the charity organization movement as well as to that of the social survey. The former movement flows into the latter directly at one important point in their American history, but that is not the only reason for considering them together. There is also a general similarity of attitude, growing out of the common social background, which suggests significant points for comparison.

The charity organization movement is a product of the Industrial Revolution. In a small community neighbors can care for each other's needs, but in a city the individual is isolated and helpless when he falls into distress. The growth of cities characterized the first half of the nineteenth century in England, and with this phenomenon appeared in the streets of the cities an increasing swarm of beggars and unemployed men, described in the phrase of the time as "vagrants." The poor law, in spite of the reform of 1834, failed to meet the problem, and numerous private agencies arose to

<sup>5</sup> Shelby M. Harrison, "The Development of Social Surveys," *National Conference of Social Work* (1913), p. 345.

dispense relief to needy persons. In accordance with the prevailing individualistic philosophy and economics of the time, "the poor" were accepted as a class and the ameliorative measures were at first superficial. What principles existed were of a stern character, such as the workhouse test. Repression was the dominant note in the treatment of poverty at that time.

In various parts of Europe in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries sporadic attempts at a solution of the problem of poverty had been made, and all had some influence on the later movement. In Hamburg and Eberfeld, Germany, significant systems were invented; in Paris the St. Vincent de Paul Society was started, and in Edinburgh a keen and thoughtful minister named Chalmers sought a scientific approach to the problem. The charity organization movement, which took shape in England shortly after the turn of the half-century, is, however, the first continuous activity which can correctly be given the name of movement. It appeared, it is interesting to note, not as a new social invention, but as a reaction against the relief methods of the time.

The fullest account of the origin and development of the London Charity Organization Society is to be found in Helen Bosanquet's *Social Work in London*,<sup>4</sup> written from the point of view of the Society. From the life of Canon Barnett by his wife and the less satisfactory material on Octavia Hill can be learned the motives which actuated the founders of the movement. In Beatrice Webb's *My Apprenticeship* is given a keenly critical account by a person who early abandoned charity organization for more radical and far-reaching schemes of social reorganization.

In the early nineteenth century "anti-mendicity societies" had been founded in England but had proved ineffectual against the rising tide of poverty. In 1869, out of a group of socially minded people who had listened to a paper on the unemployed poor, was formed a committee which tried to find a new approach to the problem. Its members abandoned the religious conception of almsgiving and sought a scientific attitude. It seemed to them at the time that the great evil was the pauperization and demoralization of the individual through the chaotic and indiscriminate methods of relief-

<sup>4</sup> See bibliography at end for fuller data on works quoted.

giving which prevailed. Canon Barnett wrote of the "terrible spiritual and temporal harm which follows unwise gifts." It is natural, therefore, that considerable attention was at first given to the exposure of fraudulent societies and begging-letter writers which infested London during this period.

The London Charity Organization Society, however, which developed in 1869 out of the work of the committee, had a program which outgrew and overshadowed these temporary activities of a repressive nature. It is interesting to observe that, although the aims and attitude of the Society changed markedly as time went on, the technique which was developed in the early days retained its essential character. The two important points in this technique were: (1) organization of the charities in each city so as to prevent overlapping and allow for the maximum co-operation, and (2) careful investigation of each individual case before acting upon it. In the reaction against relief-giving the Society at first made it a principle to give no relief, but obtained what was necessary in individual cases from special agencies which existed for the purpose. Gradually, however, the policy of the movement changed so that relief was given by many societies, but only as part of a carefully thought out plan of rehabilitation. A suggestive description of the aims of the Society was given in 1893 by Charles Stewart Loch (knighted in 1915), who was its secretary during the greater part of its history.

Endeavoring . . . to guide charity and to aid directly or indirectly those who are in distress, it must have, it is obvious, offices or centers of its work; it must have means of obtaining information; it must learn the true position and circumstances of those who come to it for help, and how and by whom they ought to be helped. Only then can it focus on the individual case the kinds of help that should be brought together to aid it, or wisely and fairly refuse assistance. Thus the Society is not a relief society in the ordinary sense. It is a charity information and co-operation society.<sup>5</sup>

The new notes introduced by the charity organization movement which particularly interest us are this emphasis on getting at the facts and on regarding charity as a community-wide affair. In an address on "The Science of Charity" in 1891 the Archbishop of Canterbury said, "The very first thing you have to do is to collect

<sup>5</sup> *Occasional Paper No. 40*, London Charity Organization Society.

with all your might, and to furnish the public with careful and accurate information about all charitable work that is going on.”<sup>6</sup> In accordance with this attitude a journal, the *Charity Organization Review*, was established early in the movement and remained its official mouthpiece throughout. In this journal statistical information and minor investigations were continually published, but the outstanding survey of the time, Charles Booth’s *Life and Labor of the People in London*, was not related to the movement except in so far as both arose out of an interest in a common problem.

As time went on the London Society tended to become, not only professionalized, but to a certain extent “ossified,” to use Cooley’s phrase. The classification of cases into the “deserving” and the “undeserving,” which has only recently been discarded, was typical of this attitude. At this stage some of the earlier leaders, like Canon Barnett, left the movement, since it did not seem to be fulfilling their first hopes. Meanwhile, under the influence of the Fabians (particularly the Webbs), England was embarking on a collectivist program leading in the direction of state socialism. In contradiction to this the charity organizationists continued to maintain that the avenue of attack upon social problems was to be found in individual treatment. Their principles failed to stir the imagination of the public, as did the more radical propaganda, and they thus gradually drew away from the main current of British social thought. It is to the other side of the Atlantic that attention must be directed, since the charity organization movement there continues in a wider and fuller stream.

Conditions in America tended to create a movement differing somewhat from that in England. Because of greater opportunity for advancement individuals were continually rising from one class to another in this country. A general air of hopefulness pervades a new country, and there was no tendency here to consider “the poor” as a separate class. The technique of charity organization, when fully developed, resembled the British more closely than the general attitude and approach.

The movement had its forerunners in the United States as in England. In the fifties there were organized in American cities re-

<sup>6</sup> *Occasional Paper No. 19, ibid.*

lief-giving societies, usually under the name of "Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor," which started with high purposes, but, in the words of a later historian, "sank in a sea of common almsgiving."<sup>7</sup> The awakening interest in social problems led to the foundation of a succession of scientific societies, of which the American Social Science Association, begun in 1865, was the pioneer. The first American charity organization society of importance owed its origin directly to the London influence. In 1874 a society was founded in Buffalo under the leadership of a minister named Gurteen, who had formerly worked in London. The principles of the society as enunciated by him and repeated in the constitutions of many other societies were: (1) to serve as a medium of communication and prevent overlapping of relief; (2) to investigate thoroughly all applications; (3) to obtain from proper charities adequate relief; (4) to repress mendicity and imposters; (5) to promote the general welfare of the poor by means of social and sanitary reforms and by inculcating habits of providence and self-dependence.<sup>8</sup>

From this time the movement spread rapidly and steadily through the United States, first taking in the large cities and later extending to the smaller ones. It dominated the social work field during the formative period in this country. The self-consciousness of the movement and the continual effort of its leaders to formulate and promulgate their principles are the points of greatest interest when a comparison is made with the social survey movement.

The methods of charity organization have been so frequently described that they are familiar to every social worker and to many social scientists as well. First there is co-operation and registration. The primary aim of charity organization, from which it derives its name, was to organize the charitable effort of the community, to get the various agencies to work together. Complete success has never been attained, since some of the less organized types of agencies—particularly the churches—have not been drawn in. The scheme of registration, which was invented in Boston in 1876, was a

<sup>7</sup> Kellogg, "History of Charity Organization in the United States, *National Conference of Charities and Corrections* (1893), p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> S. H. Gurteen, *A Handbook of Charity Organization*, p. 226.

significant method for carrying out co-operation. A central social service exchange (also called a confidential exchange) was set up where agencies which assisted any particular family could register. Another agency, on being requested to give aid, could inquire at the exchange and receive, not information regarding the family, but the names of agencies which had previously given assistance or service in any form. This information was carefully guarded and given only to agencies whose methods were known and approved. At first the emphasis in such an exchange was on preventing duplication of relief, but later it came to be perceived how such a method of registration enlarged the possibilities of constructive service to needy clients. In the larger cities this method was usually supplemented by publishing directories of all the charitable agencies, so that complete knowledge as to their work might be available to all.

The aim was not only to organize the professional and semi-professional workers in every community, but also to draw in the general public. One of the chief methods of accomplishing this was by the development of "friendly visiting," another technique which characterized the Boston Associated Charities. In this case educated women of the community, under the supervision of professional social workers, visited a few families regularly and maintained a continuous friendly contact. As may be expected, the emphasis here was on imparting morale rather than giving material assistance. Most charity organization societies still make extensive use of volunteers, but the early hopes that every member of the community would eventually become interested have been abandoned as utopian.

There is still another method of charity organization which spreads its influence into the community, and this is the "case conference" method. Difficult cases are presented at regular intervals before a case conference committee which is made up, not only of the staff workers, but also of representative members of the community, workers from other agencies, doctors, lawyers, ministers, housewives. In this way two results are accomplished: advice is obtained toward the solution of a case problem, and a number of outside persons are gradually educated in charity organization principles. All these methods—registration, friendly visiting, and

case conferences—suggest the social survey in that they are based on the community as the unit and aim at drawing into the work a group of untrained persons under the supervision of experts. The wider the circle of interest spreads, the greater is felt to be the success of the effort.

A second significant point in methodology was the emphasis placed on investigation. In the charity organization movement this meant investigation of the individual case, whereas in the social survey a whole group of community problems is investigated. The technique of obtaining and evaluating evidence from the various available sources was gradually worked out and has been presented in scientific form in Mary Richmond's book, *Social Diagnosis*. With this was associated the practice of record-keeping, which is important from more than one angle. It not only allowed for better service to the client, but for the first time offered a body of material on human behavior under conditions of poverty and distress. Here was something of great importance to the social scientist, and destined to become more so as the form of the records is improved. Some of this case material got into the newspapers in indirect ways as "human interest stories," but in general the agencies have carefully guarded their records. The case history (with identifying data removed) is, however, appearing increasingly in professional and even in popular journals, and is thus becoming, not only a technical tool, but also a more general means of approach to the understanding of human behavior.

A third important point in technique was education. In his *Adventures in Social Welfare* Alexander Johnson describes the missionary spirit which prevailed in the early days and which is characteristic of a young movement:

I wish it were possible to picture in words the fine enthusiasm of the Associated Charities and Charity Organization Society people of the 1880's. We were so full of hope for humanity through our efforts, so confident of our new gospel of benevolence. It seemed not a ray but a whole flood of light on the dreary prospect of human misery. We felt that our work of all that could be done was the most hopeful. We had never heard of "social diagnosis," but we tried to diagnose. When we talked of investigation, registration, co-operation, and visitation, those dry terms, at least to some of us, had life, and we used

to make strenuous, sometimes pathetic, efforts to get them across to our scanty audiences at an occasional charity meeting and to make our hearers feel about them as we did.<sup>9</sup>

As the movement grew older, charity organization workers continued to teach their message to all who would listen, but in a less emotional and more scientific manner. This more moderate attitude is shown in the following words of Mary Richmond: "Charity organization has never pretended to be a complete social program. It recognizes gladly that there are other and more powerful social forces in the world that are working for its regeneration, but it affirms that charity, too, is a great social force. Its own task is to do what it can to make this force effective."<sup>10</sup> In contrast to what was seen to be the situation in England, the American charity organization movement has kept well toward the front in advancing social thought. This was probably due in part to the more favorable environment in which it worked, and largely to the broader and more constructive attitude shown by its leaders toward the many social problems with which they came in contact. The history of the New York Charity Organization Society illustrates this attitude.

Lillian Brandt, in a history of the New York Society, published in its twenty-fifth annual report, brings out clearly its contributions to the movement. The Society was established in 1881 through the influence of Josephine Shaw Lowell, member of the state board of charities and subsequently an outstanding leader in charity organization work. Throughout its history the principle of the Society was that it was its function to undertake any charitable work which was needed in the community and was not already being satisfactorily performed by some other agency. In 1898 a Tenement House Committee was formed, which put through an investigation of housing conditions and a campaign of public education since regarded as models. Out of this grew a state commission which drafted and oversaw the passage of a housing law. Early in the present century the New York Society organized committees to investigate the problems of child labor and tuberculosis; in a few years these had developed into national associations which assumed the leader-

<sup>9</sup> P. 45.

<sup>10</sup> "What Is Charity Organization?" *Charities Review*, IX (1900), p. 497.

ship of country-wide movements. An English article in the *London Charity Organization Review* for February, 1893, comments on the energetic hopefulness of the American charity organization workers and their readiness to try many schemes. It seems to have been this attitude which retained for the American movement the leadership which was lost in England at an earlier period.

A continual series of investigations, usually small or only moderate in size, was carried on by the charity organization workers of New York and of other large cities. It was found that budgets must be studied, if relief was to be adequate. Statistical analysis of cases was necessary in order to arrive at an estimate of treatment results. Housing, health, employment, relief—and later such less objective problems, as personality adjustments—were repeatedly investigated. All these studies were not surveys in the present sense of the word, but they approached the type and prepared the ground for the real survey.

In relation to the development of the social survey the most interesting aspect of charity organization was its educational and publicity campaign. From the beginning of the movement all possible methods of propaganda were used. Public meetings were held; pamphlets were published. The annual report was frequently used to explain aims and methods, not only to the contributors, but also to the wider public. The importance of co-operating with the newspapers was continually emphasized, though the difference between the journalist's and the social worker's conception of news caused some difficulties. One of the most interesting developments was the publication of a series of journals within the movement itself. The Philadelphia society published the pioneer journal in 1879, and a few years later the New York society followed its example. At about the same time a separate journal called *Lend-A-Hand* was started under the editorship of Edward Everett Hale. The latter, as would be expected under the circumstances, had rather more of a literary quality than the strictly professional journals, but still made the field of social welfare its sphere.

The activity of the New York Society proved the most important in the direction of publicity, as it did in so many other directions. By 1891 its monthly bulletin had developed into a full-

fledged periodical, the *Charities Review*, which described itself as "A Journal of Practical Sociology, for Everyone Interested in the Bettering of Social Conditions." The purpose of the journal is described in an editorial in the first number:

The *Charities Review* is designed primarily to be to the active worker in the field of charities what the scientific medical journal is to the physician, a review of the results of the study and experience of others in the same line of activity. It has, however, a broader scope: to awaken a deeper public interest in the subjects which it discusses and to give a wider knowledge of the principles and methods which have been adopted as sound and wise. It is therefore addressed to the lay as well as the professional practitioner. The fact that social science, using the term in the narrower sense, as concerned only with the dependent and delinquent of society has in its development not yet reached an advanced stage, added to the fact that everyone is in a great measure his own doctor in treating social ills, determines the *Review* for this scope. The *Review* is concerned, too, not only with principles and methods of relief-giving, with positive remedies, but with the means of preventing the conditions which demand relief; in short, with all practical efforts looking to the improvement of social conditions. The subtitle, "a journal of practical sociology," has therefore been adopted as indicative of its broader scope and aim.

In the next few years this journal of the New York Charity Organization Society went through many changes. In 1897 *Lend-A-Hand* was merged with it. In 1901 the resulting publication took on the name of *Charities*, which was described as a "weekly review of local and general philanthropy." By 1905 it had made such progress that a National Publication Committee, representing various movements in social work and various sections of the country, was organized to develop its working plan more fully. This program covered such activities as important social investigations not provided for by existing agencies, special numbers on the various aspects of one social problem, scientific articles, assistance to local reforms, and the stimulation of existing agencies to more progressive ways. The journal was not regarded as a business enterprise by its editors. It was to serve a double purpose: to be a professional journal for social workers and to educate the public by publishing "popular issues, live news, and readable articles that will make practical philanthropy a part of the everyday interest of the

general reader."<sup>11</sup> In the latter connection it was made a point to exchange material with newspapers.

Soon after this two other journals were absorbed, the *Jewish Charity* and the *Commons*, the latter being a Chicago publication which had approached social problems from the settlement point of view. After these many metamorphoses the journal finally attained in 1909 what seemed to be its permanent form, for in that year it was rechristened the *Survey*. For several more years it remained under the wing of the Charity Organization Society, but finally broke away and is now being published under the independent management of the Survey Associates. The kernel of the *Survey* policies, which have met with such success—its graphic numbers, its combination of popular and scientific articles—will be seen in the policy of its predecessor, *Charities and the Commons*.

This journal, of which the development has been described, is the link between the charity organization movement and the social survey movement in this country. Encouraged by the success of a housing investigation in Washington, the Publication Committee undertook in 1907 as another special project, in accordance with its newly formulated policy, a larger investigation into the social and industrial conditions in Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh survey thus started as a journalistic project, undertaken by a committee of a charity organization journal. The two main groups who put through the investigation were the social workers and newspaper men who had become interested in municipal reform. Out of this investigation emerged the technique of the social survey as now known and practiced in this country. The Pittsburgh survey originated and gave impetus to the American social survey movement. Another result which came out of it was the rapid crystallization of the newly formed principles. The Russell Sage Foundation, founded just as the Pittsburgh survey was getting under way, gave it considerable support. Shelby M. Harrison, who became director of a survey department in the Russell Sage Foundation, developed

<sup>11</sup> Lillian Brandt, "The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York," *New York C.O.S. 25th Annual Report*, p. 142.

in the Pittsburgh experience the technique which was latter elaborated and perfected in his department.

The community chests and councils of social agencies which began to appear in the second decade of this century introduced a new factor. They took on the function of organizing the charitable effort of the community formerly exercised by the charity organization societies. The subject index of the reports of the National Conference of Social Work shows that, at about the turn of the century, the term "charity organization" began to disappear, and shortly afterward the headings "Publicity," "Family," and later, "Survey," appeared. The charity organization workers have gradually become family welfare workers whose specialty is the development of the case work technique in dealing with family problems. They have a journal of their own, *The Family*, which covers this field. Here they still hold the leadership which they have abandoned in other fields. Meanwhile a new group of professional workers has appeared whose specialty is social work publicity. The work of educating the public, formerly largely a charity organization function, is now mainly carried on by councils and federations, with the double purpose of explaining the aims of social work and of raising money for its support. In this connection the survey method is widely known and used.

The further development of the survey movement is a subject by itself. Specialized types have emerged, like the rural survey. When a socio-psychological study is made, such as the recent race relations survey on the Pacific Coast, the survey tends to merge in scientific research. It is evident that the generally accepted technique, that of the Pittsburgh survey, is not necessarily the final form, but that new developments may be expected to appear with continued experimentation.

In the present paper emphasis has been placed on tracing the development of the charity organization movement as one of a number of streams leading into the social survey movement. The technique invented in the former movement is broadly the same as that employed in the latter. "Investigate," and "Organize the community" are the battle cries of both. A study of attitudes and techniques in one movement throws light on the same aspects in the

other movement. Most particularly does it eliminate some of the confusion which exists as to the nature of the survey and bring it out as an essentially practical, not scientific, technique.

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## EDWARD CARY HAYES, 1868-1928

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After a brief illness Edward C. Hayes died at Urbana, Illinois, August 7.

Professor Hayes was the eleventh president of the American Sociological Society, serving in this position during the year 1921.

Professor Hayes was born in Lewiston, Maine. He was a graduate of Bates College, and a student at Cobb Divinity School, the University of Berlin, and the University of Chicago, from which he received his Doctor's degree in 1902. He was professor of economics and sociology in Miami University from 1902 to 1907, and professor and head of the department of sociology in the University of Illinois from September, 1907.

His interest and participation in social and public welfare is evidenced by the fact that he was president of the Illinois State Conference of Charities and Correction, 1910-11, and was a member of the Illinois Board of Commissioners of Public Welfare, 1917-18.

In addition to many sociological articles, he was author of the following books: *Sociological Construction Lines*, 1907; *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, 1915; *Sociology and Ethics*, 1921; and (editor) *Recent Developments in the Social Sciences*, 1927. Professor Hayes was editor also of the Lippincott "Sociological Series."

In a later issue of the *Journal* will appear an article on the life and work of Professor Hayes.

## STUDENTS' DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

The following list of doctoral dissertations and Masters' theses in preparation in American universities and colleges is a compilation of the returns from letters sent by the editors of the *Journal* to departments of sociology. The dates given indicate the probable year in which the degree will be conferred. The name of the college or university in italics designates the institution where the dissertation is in progress.<sup>1</sup>

### LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

- Nels Anderson, A.B. Brigham Young, 1920. "The Slum: An Area of Deterioration in the Growth of the City." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Donald E. Anthony, A.B. Stanford, 1922; A.M. Cornell, 1923. "Labor Conditions in the Canning Industry in the Santa Clara Valley, California." 1928. *Stanford*.
- Glenn A. Bakkum, B.S. Iowa State College; M.S. Columbia, 1926. "A Social Study of Rural Areas in Tompkins County, New York." 1928. *Cornell*.
- Edwin F. Bamford, A.B., A.M. Southern California, 1921. "The Concept of Social Process." 1929. *Southern California*.
- Ernest M. Banzet, A.B. Hamline; M.A. Minnesota. "The Social Significance of the Five-Day Week in Industry." 1929. *Michigan State College*.
- Alfred G. Barry, A.B. Albion, 1917; M.A. Wisconsin, 1925. "The Social Possibilities of Personality Measurement or Diagnosis Comparison of the Criminological and Penological Theories of Lombroso, Garofalo, and Ferri." 1928. *Wisconsin*.
- Howard Becker, B.Sc., M.A. Northwestern, 1925, 1926. "Migration and Mobility in Relation to Social Change." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Helen Bernard, A.B., M.A. Oklahoma, 1922, 1926. "Typical Combinations of Problems Presented by Clients of a Family Welfare Society." 1929. *Kansas*.
- Alice L. Berry, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1922. "A Study of the Interrelations of Personality, Intelligence, and Student Activity." 1929. *Minnesota*.
- Albert Blumenthal, A.B., M.A. Montana, 1926, 1927. "Community Study through the Medium of Life Histories." 1930. *Chicago*.

<sup>1</sup> Doctors' and Masters' dissertations in progress in the department of sociology at Columbia University will appear as a supplemental list in the November issue of the *Journal*. The theses ascribed to Columbia in the present list are from the department of educational sociology, Teachers College.

- H. C. Brearley, A.B., A.M. South Carolina, 1916, 1917. "A Study of Homicides in South Carolina." 1928. *North Carolina*.
- George E. Breece, A.B., B.S., A.M. Missouri, 1913, 1913, 1918. "The Teaching of Sociology in American Colleges and Universities." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Hugh Brinton, Jr., A.B. Haverford, 1924; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1927. "An Ecological Study of Negro Crime in Six Cities in North Carolina." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Lee M. Brooks, A.B. Boston, 1925; A.M. North Carolina, 1926. "A Study of Family Isolation." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Lawrence Guy Brown, A.B. Dakota Wesleyan, 1921. "A Sociological Study of City Missions in Chicago." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Roy M. Brown, A.B., A.M. North Carolina, 1906, 1921. "The Development of the Administration of Poor Relief in North Carolina." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- W. O. Brown, A.B. Texas, 1921; B.D., M.A. Southern Methodist, 1924. "Race Prejudice." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Gladys Bryson, A.B. Georgetown, 1918; M.A. California, 1927. "The Scottish Moral Philosophy of the 18th Century as a Background of the Social Sciences." 1929. *California*.
- Hasseltine Byrd, A.B. Louisiana State, 1926; M.A. Columbia, 1927. "The Individualization of the Family." 1930. *Tulane*.
- Morris G. Caldwell, B.A. Carroll, 1926; M.A. Wisconsin, 1927. "Natural Growth of American People." 1929. *Wisconsin*.
- Thomas W. Cape, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1920, 1925. "The Distribution of Public Benefits between City and Country." 1929. *Wisconsin*.
- William Paul Carter, A.B. Kansas State Teachers (Emporia), 1921; A.M. Chicago, 1926. "The Only Child in the Family." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Clark Wesley Cell, A.B. Boston, 1923; A.M. Harvard, 1926. "The Social Attitudes of Junior High School Boys: A Method for Analyzing the Development of Attitudes." 1930. *Harvard*.
- Grace E. Chaffee, "The Sociology of the Sectarian Community." 1930. *Chicago*.
- Carroll D. Clark, A.B., A.M. Kansas, 1922, 1925. "The Sociology of the Newspaper." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Benjamin F. Coen, A.B. Wisconsin, 1900. "Social Status of Spanish-Speaking People in Rural Colorado." 1928. *Missouri*.
- Joseph Cohen, A.B., A.M. Washington, 1925, 1927. "A Study of Parole and Pardons in Michigan." 1930. *Michigan*.
- R. J. Colbert, B.A. DePauw, 1914; M.A. Wisconsin, 1922. "Organization and Administration of Community Social Work Agencies." 1928. *Wisconsin*.
- Agnes M. Conklin, B.A. Barnard, 1915; M.A. Columbia, 1926. "Personalities of the Intellectually Gifted." 1928. *New York University, School of Education*.

- Leonard Slater Cottrell, Jr., B.S. Virginia Polytechnic, 1922; M.A. Vanderbilt, 1926. "Juvenile Delinquency among the Negro Groups of Chicago." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Paul Frederick Cressey, Ph.B. Denison. "The Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Grace Dangberg, A.B. California, 1918. "The Influence of the Roman Occupation of Britain on the Culture of Scotland." 1929. *California*.
- Ada J. Davis, A.B. Oberlin; M.A. Chicago, 1925. "The Social Control of Adolescent Girls." 1929. *Chicago*.
- J. A. Dickey, A.B. Elon; M.S. North Carolina, 1923. "A Study of Family Wealth and Welfare among Farmers of a Typical Hill-Dairy Farming Section of Southern New York." 1928. *Cornell*.
- Marguerite Dickson, B.A. Hunter, 1913; M.A. Columbia, 1916. "Professional Status of Teachers or Teaching as a Profession." 1929. *New York University*.
- Bertram W. Doyle, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1921; M.A. Chicago, 1924. "The Natural History of Race Prejudice." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Otis D. Duncan, A.B. East Texas State Teachers, 1924; M.S. Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, 1926. "Some Internal and External Factors Affecting the Growth and Decline of Selected Rural Village Communities." 1930. *Minnesota*.
- Winnie L. Duncan, A.B. North Carolina College for Women, 1918; A.M. Columbia, 1924. "A Study of the Immigrant Colonies in North Carolina." 1930. *North Carolina*.
- Mildred Fairchild, A.B., M.A. Oberlin, 1916, 1925. "The Social Significance of Specialization in Industry in Its Relation to the Skill of the Workman and the Source of His Satisfaction in His Work." 1929. *Bryn Mawr*.
- E. Franklin Frazier, A.B. Howard, 1916; A.M. Clark, 1920. "The Negro Family in Chicago." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Charlotte Gower, A.B. Smith; M.A. Chicago, 1926. "An Ethnological-Sociological Study of a Sicilian Peasant Community." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Louise Ploeger Grabow, A.B., M.A. California, 1919, 1920. "The Social Sciences in Germany in the Later 18th Century." 1928. *California*.
- Loraine Richardson Green, Ph.B., A.M. Chicago, 1918, 1919. "The Negro Slum and Negro Community in Chicago." 1929. *Chicago*.
- R. W. Green, B.S. Cornell, 1914; M.S. North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, 1925. "The Contribution of Modern Rural Fiction to Social Analysis." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Bessie Louise Hall, A.B. Dalhousie, 1916; A.M. Toronto, 1921. "Administration of Mothers' Pension Law in Philadelphia." 1928. *Bryn Mawr*.
- Charles H. Hamilton, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1923; M.S. Texas Agricultural and Mechanical, 1925. "Character Education of Youth in Rural Virginia." 1929. *North Carolina*.

- Kyung-Durk Har, S.B., A.M. Harvard, 1925, 1927. "Social Laws: A Digest. Classification and Critical Examination of One Hundred Thirty-six Social Laws, as Enunciated by Forty-one Social Scientists, European and American." 1928. *Harvard*.
- D. Spencer Hatch, B.S., M.S. Agriculture, Cornell, 1915, 1916. "Poverty and Self-Help in Rural India." 1928. *Cornell*.
- W. J. Hayes, B.S., M.S. Virginia, 1919, 1921. "Factors Conditioning Participation in Voluntary School Group Activities." 1928. *Teachers College, Columbia*.
- James Christopher Healey, A.B. Princeton, 1915; M.A. New York University, 1918. "The Merchant Seaman: A Sociological Study." 1928. *New York University*.
- Harriet L. Herring, A.B. Meredith, 1913; A.M. Radcliffe, 1918. "A History of Welfare Work in the North Carolina Textile Industry." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Randal C. Hill, A.B., A.M. Kansas State Agricultural, 1926, 1927. "Rural Standards of Living." 1929. *Missouri*.
- Frank W. Hoffer, Ph.B., A.M. Chicago, 1917, 1918. "Public Welfare Administration in Virginia." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Everett Cherrington Hughes, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1918. "A Study of an Institution: The Chicago Real Estate Board." 1928. *Chicago*.
- W. R. P. Ireland, A.B. Oberlin, 1920. "A Study of the Rooming-house Area on the Lower North Side." 1930. *Chicago*.
- S. H. Jameson, A.B. Amherst, 1920; A.M. Columbia, 1921. "Age as a Dominant Factor in the Determination of Antisocial Behavior." 1930. *Southern California*.
- Katharine Jocher, A.B. Goucher, 1922; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1923. "Critical Studies of Method in Social Research." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Arlien Johnson, A.B. Reed; A.M. Columbia. "State Subsidy of Private Charities." 1929. *Chicago*.
- C. R. Johnson, A.B., A.M. Brown, 1909, 1919. "The Social Psychology of Prisoners of War." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Carl Smith Joslyn, A.B. Harvard, 1920. "The Relative Influence of Nature and Nurture in Social Stratification." 1929. *Harvard*.
- S. K. Sheldon Jso, A.B. Fashien, 1924; A.M. Syracuse, 1928. "The Chinese Labor Movement, 1921-27." 1928. *Indiana*.
- Tadao Kawamura, A.B. Doshisha, 1920; M.A. Chicago, 1924. "Class Conflict in Japan as Affected by Expansion of Industry and Trade." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Lindsley F. Kimball, A.B. Columbia, 1917. "The Social Contribution of the Boy Scout Movement." 1929. *New York University*.
- Samuel C. Kincheloe, A.B. Drake, 1916; A.M. Chicago, 1919. "The Prophet." 1928. *Chicago*.

- Clyde V. Kiser, A.B., A.M. North Carolina, 1925, 1927. "Case Studies of Negro Recidivists." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- August Fred Kuhlman, S.B. Northwestern College, 1916; A.M. Chicago, 1921. "The History of the Punishment and Treatment of Criminals in Missouri." 1930. *Chicago*.
- John Landesco, Ph.B. Chicago, 1924. "Organized Crime." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Andrew W. Lind, A.B., M.A. Washington. "Mobility." 1930. *Chicago*.
- Ruth Lindquist, B.S. Minnesota, 1916; A.M. Chicago, 1922. "Aspects of the Social and Economic Problems of the Home." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Katharine Lumpkin, B.A. Brenau, 1915; M.A. Columbia, 1919. "Social Situations and Girl Delinquency." 1928. *Wisconsin*.
- Serafin Macaraig, B.A. Philippines, 1917; Ph.B. Chicago, 1919. "Tendencies and Problems in the Philippine Population." 1928. *Wisconsin*.
- Bessie A. McClenahan, A.B. Drake, 1910; A.M. Iowa, 1917. "The Changing Nature of an Urban Residential Area." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Franc Lewis McCluer, A.B., A.M. Westminster, 1916, 1920. "A Study of Typical Wage-Earning Blocks in Chicago." 1928. *Chicago*.
- J. Paul McConnell, A.B. Lynchburg, 1921; A.M. William and Mary, 1923. "After-Prison Life of Released Prisoners in North Carolina." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Helen Gregory MacGill, B.A. British Columbia, 1925; M.A. Chicago, 1927. "The Human Interest Story in the Newspaper." 1930. *Chicago*.
- Henry D. McKay, A.B. Dakota Wesleyan, 1923. "The Development of Personality Traits." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Bernard S. Mason, A.B. Michigan; A.M. Ohio State, 1928. "The Social Aspects of the Organized Camp." 1930. *Ohio State*.
- Ryozo Matsumoto, B.A. Keio, Japan, 1921; M.A. Wisconsin, 1924. "Comparative Survival Tendencies of Superior and Inferior Elements in Contemporary Society." 1928. *Wisconsin*.
- O. Myking Mehus, A.B. Augsburg, 1916; M.A. North Dakota, 1920. "The Extent of Participation and Some Results of Student Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities in a University." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Elmer Dayton Mitchell, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1912, 1919. "Relation between Vocations and Leisure Time Interests." 1929. *Michigan*.
- Henry C. Mohler, B.A. Indiana, 1920; M.A. Wisconsin, 1923. "Is Crime Decreasing in the United States?" 1929. *Wisconsin*.
- Boris V. Morkouin, Charles University (Prague). "The Behavior Pattern of the Motion Picture Actor." 1930. *Southern California*.
- John H. Mueller, A.B., A.M. Missouri, 1920, 1921. "The Automobile: A Sociological Study." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Haridas Muzumdar, B.A., M.A. Northwestern, 1925, 1926. "Nationalism: A Sociological Study." 1929. *Wisconsin*.

- Charles S. Newcomb, A.B. Southern California, 1925. "The Population Pyramid as an Index to Community Organization." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Meyer Nimkoff, A.B. Boston, 1925; A.M. Southern California, 1926. "A Study of Social Distance between Parents and Children." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Charles Norman. "A Technological Study of Propaganda." 1929. *Stanford*.
- William Oldigs, B.A. Midland. "Analysis of Pardons in Wisconsin since 1899." 1929. *Wisconsin*.
- Vivien M. Palmer, Ph. B. Chicago, 1918; A.M. Columbia, 1922. "The Social History of Local Communities of Chicago." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Mildred B. Parten, A.B. Minnesota, 1923. "A Study of the Rôle of Socialization and the Formation of Social Groups among Preschool Children." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Erwin C. Paustian, B.A. Central Wesleyan College, Warrenton, Mississippi, 1915; M.A. Northwestern, 1920. "Rural Church Art in Minnesota." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Ruth R. Pearson, Ph.B. Chicago, 1922; M.A. Minnesota, 1925. "The Social Modification of Possession Habits at the Preschool Level." 1928. *Chicago*.
- D. H. Pierce, B.S. St. Lawrence, 1910; M.S. Minnesota, 1923. "Provisional or Tentative Regulations or Standards Relating to the Facilities through Which to Provide a Healthful Environment in School." 1928. *New York University*.
- Fannie Imogene Price, A.B., A.M. Brown, 1926. "Standardization of the Case Record." 1928. *Brown*.
- Henry L. Pritchett, A.B. M.A. Texas, 1911, 1915. "Social Backgrounds of the Unadjusted Child." 1928. *New York University*.
- Arthur F. Raper, A.B. North Carolina, 1924; A.M. Vanderbilt, 1925. "A Comprehensive Survey of Two Black Belt Counties in Georgia." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Talbot Fanning Reavis, A.B., A.M. Culver-Stockton, 1908, 1909. "Heredity and Crime." 1928. *Indiana*.
- Robert Redfield, Ph.B., J.D. Chicago. "An Ethnological Study of a Mexican Peasant Community." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Eugenia Lee Remelin, A.B., M.A. Cincinnati, 1918, 1923. "Empathy as a Sociological Concept." 1928. *Chicago*.
- M. Wesley Roper, B.Ed., A.M. Washington, 1922, 1923. "Primary Controls in a Residential Community." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Carl M. Rosenquist, B.S. Illinois, 1921; M.A. Texas, 1924. "The Swedes of Texas." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Walter S. Ryder, A.B. Acadia, 1915; B.D. Rochester Theological, 1918; A.M. British Columbia, 1920. "Life-Situations of Church Men." 1928. *Chicago*.

- Luman W. Sampson, B.A. Upper Iowa, 1911; M.A. Iowa, 1912. "After-Careers of Five Hundred Paroled Prisoners of Wisconsin." 1929. *Wisconsin*.
- Harry B. Sell, M.A. Chicago, 1922. "Propaganda as a Mechanism of Social Control." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Elmer Leonard Setterlund, Ph.B. Redlands, 1916; M.A. Northwestern, 1924. "A Study of the Protestant Church in the Apartment House Area of the Urban Environment." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Clifford R. Shaw, A.B. Adrian, 1919. "Family Background in Male Juvenile Delinquency." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Leo Shpall, A.B., A.M. Tulane, 1926, 1927. "A Comparison of Motives to Anti-Semitism in Europe and the United States." 1930. *Tulane*.
- Mary P. Smith, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1921; A.M. North Carolina, 1927. "The Development of Municipal Life in Virginia and North Carolina." 1930. *North Carolina*.
- John R. Steelman, A.B. Henderson-Brown, 1922; A.M. Vanderbilt, 1924. "Mob Action in the South." 1928. *North Carolina*.
- Raymond Bradley Stevens, A.B. Denison, 1912; B.D. Rochester Theological, 1926. "The Social and Religious Influences of the Small Denominational Colleges in the Middle West." 1928. *Michigan*.
- A. L. Stevenson, A.B., B.D. Vanderbilt; A.M. Duke. "A Hymnology in the South." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Sámuel A. Stouffer, A.B. Morningside, 1921; A.M. Harvard, 1923. "Some Socio-Psychological Aspects of Leadership." 1930. *Chicago*.
- Jeanne E. Sumner, A.B. California Christian, 1923; Teachers College, Columbia, 1924. "Study of Vocational Choices." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Mamie R. Tanquist, B.A. Hamline, 1921; M.A. Minnesota, 1927. "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Competition and Equal and Unequal Remuneration on the Efficiency of the Work of Children between Five and Seven Years of Age." 1929. *Minnesota*.
- Megley K. Teters, A.B. Oberlin; A.M. Ohio State, 1927. "Censorship." 1930. *Ohio State*.
- John F. Thaden, B.S. Nebraska, 1920; M.S. Iowa State, 1922. "Membership and Participation in Group Life in Relation to Achievement" (a study of *Who's Who in America*). 1929. *Michigan State College*.
- Benjamin F. Timmons, A.M. Ohio State, 1927. "The Status of Welfare in Personnel Administration." 1929. *Ohio State*.
- Harry H. Turney-High, B.A. St. Stephens, 1922; M.A. Wisconsin, 1924. "Probation in Wisconsin." 1928. *Wisconsin*.
- Rupert B. Vance, A.B. Henderson-Brown, 1920; A.M. Vanderbilt, 1921. "Human Factors in Cotton: A Study in the Social Geography of the American South." 1928. *North Carolina*.

- M. J. Vincent, A.B., A.M. Southern California, 1918, 1921. "The Concept and Process of Accommodation." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Francis M. Vreeland, A.B. Alma, 1922; A.M. Michigan, 1923. "The Process of Social Reform with Special Reference to the Field of Population." 1929. *Michigan*.
- Ray E. Wakeley, B.S. Pennsylvania State College, 1917; M.S. Wisconsin, 1924. "The Social Areas of Schuyler County, New York." 1928. *Cornell*.
- Marjorie Walker, A.B. Chicago. "A Study of Social Interaction in Young Children, with Special Reference to Subordination and Domination." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- W. Wallace Weaver, B.S. Kansas State Agricultural, 1922; M.S. Iowa State College, 1923. "Natural Community Areas in West Philadelphia." 1929. *Pennsylvania*.
- Edward Jerome Webster, A.B. Yale, 1913; B.D. Union Theological; M.A. Columbia, 1917. "The Natural History of Reform." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Bessie Bloom Wessel, Ph.B. Brown, 1911; A.M. Columbia, 1924. "An Examination of Ethnic Factors Entering into a Determination of What Constitutes Americanism." 1929. *Brown*.
- Stephen A. Wilkinson, A.B. Mississippi College, 1895; Th.B. Southern Baptist Theological, 1897; A.M. Columbia, 1926. "Studies of Mutual Aid among Negroes." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Sanford R. Winston, B.A. Western Reserve, 1925. "An Analysis of the Attitudes of Future Negro Leaders." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Ching Chao Wu, A.B. Minnesota, 1925; M.A. Chicago, 1926. "Chinese in the United States." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Oliver M. Zendt, B.A. Manchester, 1924. "Clericalism." 1929. *Wisconsin*.
- Frederick McClure Zorbaugh, A.B. Oberlin, 1925. "The Truant." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Harvey Warren Zorbaugh, A.B. Vanderbilt. "The Lower North Side: A Study of Community Organization." 1929. *Chicago*.

#### LIST OF MASTERS' THESES IN PROGRESS IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

- Mabel Ahlstrom, B.S. Minnesota, 1923. "Case Study of One Hundred Patients Paroled from a Minnesota State Hospital to Residents of X County during 1926." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Curtis J. Alderson, A.B., LL.B. Texas, 1922. "Social Attitudes of Athletes." 1929. *Texas*.
- Amir Ali, B.A. Bombay, 1924. "The Racial Situation in the Hyderabad State." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Milla Alihan, A.B. British Columbia, 1927. "Narcotic Drugs as Factors in Maladjustment." 1928. *Smith*.
- Mrs. Minnie Allen, "A Sociological Study of an Iowa Agricultural Village

- Community." 1928. *Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts*.
- Patrick J. Allwell, A.B. Central Wesleyan, 1918. "Mexican Immigration into the United States." 1928. *Missouri*.
- C. Arnold Anderson, B.A. Minnesota, 1927. "An Experimental Study of the Influence of the Group on Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects of Individual Work." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Clarence Arai, "The American-Born Japanese." 1928. *Washington*.
- Irving Astrachan, B.C.S., B.S. New York University, 1921, 1926. "Juvenile Delinquency." 1928. *New York University*.
- Louise Atkins, A.B. Kentucky, 1926. "Provisions for Crippled Children in Kentucky." 1928. *Kentucky*.
- Caroline B. Averill, B.A. Vassar, 1925. "The Incorporation of Recreation in the Current Programs of the Church in the United States." 1928. *Northwestern*.
- Irene Barnes, A.B. Missouri, 1927. "Inheritance of Skin-Color in the American Negro." 1928. *Northwestern*.
- George W. Baughman, A.B. Missouri, 1927. "Public Opinion and the Administration of Criminal Justice in the State of Missouri." 1928. *Missouri*.
- Wesley P. Beans, A.B. Southern California, 1926. "Influence of Music upon the American Home." 1928. *North Carolina*.
- Earl S. Bellman, A.B. Friends, 1926. "Men's Attitudes toward Outside Activities of Married Women." 1929. *Kansas*.
- Joe L. Bergin, A.B. Southwestern, 1924. "American Imperialism in the Philippines." 1928. *Texas*.
- Libbie Gray Berman, B.S. Syracuse, 1921. "A Survey of a Local 'Character Building' Agency to Provide a Background against Which to Understand Its Program, etc." 1928. *Syracuse*.
- Rosa Bokenfahr, A.B. Tulane, 1927. "Group Leadership in Community Recreation." 1929. *Tulane*.
- Jane Bond, A.B. Oberlin, 1893. "Work of Interracial Committees in the South." 1928. *Oberlin*.
- Alden W. Boyd, A.B. Princeton, 1923. "An Application of Job Analysis in Curriculum Construction." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Philips B. Boyer, B.Ph. Denison, 1924. "The Growth of an Industrial City." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Juanita Curry Boynton, A.B. Kentucky, 1927. "Factors Contributing to Delinquency among Girls at Kentucky School of Reform." 1928. *Kentucky*.
- Arthur E. Briggs, Ph.B. Kansas City, 1905; LL.B. Kansas City School of Law, 1906. "The Relative Influence of the Ideas of Abstract and Independent Justice in Recent Development of Jurisprudence, with Particular Reference to the Doctrine of Free Judicial Decision." 1928. *Southern California*.

- Glenn H. Burt, B.S. Michigan State College, 1925. "The Byron Community" (Michigan). 1929. *Michigan State College*.
- Augusta Button, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1926. "A Sociological Study of Vocational Guidance." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Arthur Callaway, B.S. Kansas State Teachers, Emporia, 1927. "Factional Conflict in a Small Town." 1929. *Kansas*.
- Virgil Carulli, Foreign Student. "Religious Education of Latin Immigrants in New York and Vicinity." 1928. *New York University*.
- Helen Cassidy, B.S. Southern California, 1926. "An Estimate of the Modern Irish Renaissance in the Light of Immaterial Culture in Ireland Prior to the English Invasion." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Margaret Cawood, B.A. Michigan State College, 1926. "Social Development in the Preschool Child." 1929. *Michigan State College*.
- Sara A. Chiles, B.S. Missouri, 1925. "Determinants in 4-H Club Work." 1928. *Missouri*.
- Philip K. Choi, Dikupsha Chosen Christian College, 1925. "The Urban Problem of Korea under Japanese Régime." 1928. *Northwestern*.
- Helen T. Coffin, A.B. Texas, 1920. "Sociological Interpretation of Negro Literature." 1929. *Texas*.
- Grace Cooper, A.B. Southern California, 1921. "Modern Social Problems as Reflected in Certain Spanish Contemporary Novels." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Gertrude A. Corfe, "Inflow and Outgo Social Contacts of Children of Public School Age." 1928. *Iowa State College*.
- George A. Coulson, "Origin, Growth, and Changes of Sociology as a Separate Science in the United States." 1928. *Iowa State College*.
- Mattie Belle Crook, B.B.A. Texas, 1924. "Personality Studies of High School Failures." 1928. *Texas*.
- Anne Culligan, A.B. Trinity, 1914. "A Study of Some Social Factors in the Home in Relation to the Behavior of the Preschool Child." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Lawrence Charles Davis, A.B. Earlham, 1918. "The Marginal Concept of Crime." 1928. *Indiana*.
- Thomas B. Davis, Jr., B.A. North Texas State Teachers, 1925. "A Study of the Cotton Market as a Social Organism." 1929. *Texas*.
- Helen C. Dean, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1927. "A Case Study of Runaway Children in Los Angeles." 1929. *Southern California*.
- Eda Lord Demarest (Mrs. B. G.), B.S. Iowa State College, 1922. "The Present Status of Women in the Oriental Family." 1928. *New York University*.
- Carl A. Dent, B.S. Kansas State Teachers, 1923. "Attitudes in Crime News." 1928. *Kansas*.
- Robert L. Dougherty, A.B. California Christian College, 1923. "A Study of

- Social Conditions in the West Jefferson Negro District of Los Angeles." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Harvey D. Douglass, B.A. Michigan State College, 1927. "Social Factors Conditioning the Work of the High School Pupil." 1929. *Michigan State College*.
- Monica K. Doyle, B.A. Minnesota, 1908. "A Descriptive Analysis of 415 Cases of Illegitimacy with Reference to Legal Protection in Minnesota." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Samuel M. Eddleman, A.B. North Carolina, 1925. "Methods of Financing Extra-Curricular Activities in High Schools." 1928. *North Carolina*.
- E. M. Edmondson, A.B. Southwest Missouri State Teachers. "Determinants in Community Organization." 1928. *Missouri*.
- Inez Ensign, A.B. Mount Holyoke, 1911. "A Study of Certain Rural Religious Attitudes." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Helen Ferris, A.B. Goucher, 1918. "Changing Attitudes of Women in Certain Sections of China." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Ada Z. Fish, B.S. New York University, 1925. "The Dietary Habits of High School Girls." 1928. *New York University*.
- Sidney Friedman, A.B. Brown, 1928. "A Study of the Developments of the Inferior Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction in New York City." 1929. *Brown*.
- Sydney D. Frissell, A.B. Yale, 1908. "Tenancy in the Tobacco Belts of the Carolinas and Virginia." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Michinari Fujita, B.A. Waseda, 1917. "The History of the Japanese Associations in America." 1928. *Northwestern*.
- Peter J. Garcia, A.B., B.D. Colgate, 1920. "The Development and Social Significance of Community Work with Juveniles." 1929. *Oberlin*.
- Marjorie H. Garfield, A.B. Mount Holyoke, 1922. "The American and English Novel as Case Study Material for the Problem of the Unmarried Mother." 1928. *North Carolina*.
- Dorothy P. Gary, A.B. Westhampton, 1918; A.M. Columbia, 1920. "Certain Behavior Patterns of Carolina Textile Workers: A Methodological Study." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Floyd F. Gauldin, A.B. Missouri, 1926. "The Development of the Teaching of Sociology, 1901-26." 1928. *Missouri*.
- Norman Asher Gerstenfeld, B.A. College of the City of New York, 1923. "Racial Unity of the Jewish People." 1928. *New York University*.
- John M. Glendenning, A.B. Kansas, 1925. "An Ecological Study of Maladjusted Persons in Kansas City." 1928. *Kansas*.
- Clarence E. Glick, A. B. DePauw, 1927. "Winnetka: A Study of a Suburban Community." 1928. *Chicago*.
- W. R. Gordon, B.S. West Virginia, 1917. "Some Qualities of Leaders in Rural Pennsylvania." 1928. *Minnesota*.

- Susanne Gough, A.B. Southern California, 1923. "A Study of Attitudes of Negro Children." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Edwin P. Graber, A.B. Bethel College, Newton, Kansas, 1927. "Mennonite Professions." 1929. *Kansas*.
- Sarah Sam Gray, A.B. Texas, 1920. "A Study of an Ethnic Community" (Fredericksburg, Texas). 1928. *Texas*.
- Helen C. Griffin, B.A. Reed, 1927. "A Study of the Near West Side in Chicago." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Elton Guthrie. "The Rôle of Crises in Personality Development." 1928. *Washington*.
- Frances O. Harvey, A.B. Park College (Missouri), 1925. "Migration from the Old South to Texas during the Reconstruction Period." 1928. *Texas*.
- N. Davis Haven, A.B. Greenville, 1925. "The Social Psychology of the Open Forum." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Margaret Stuart Heinsberger, A.B. North Carolina College for Women, 1922. "A Comparative Socio-Economic Study of Living Conditions of North Carolina Industrial and Rural Workers." 1928. *New York University*.
- David Henley, A.B. Guilford, 1914. "A Sociological Analysis and Evaluation of the Society of Friends." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Helena E. Hermance, A.B. Agnes Scott, 1926. "Aspects of Southern Progress." 1928. *North Carolina*.
- Mrs. Flora Kisch Hess, B.A. Hunter. "Illegal Entry into the United States." 1928. *New York University*.
- W. D. Grant Hollingworth, B.A. McGill, 1927. "Racial Segregation in Montreal." 1928. *McGill*.
- Paul F. Holmes, A.B. Southwestern, 1921. "The Larger Parish and the Town and Country Church." 1928. *Northwestern*.
- Alma Holzsuh, A.B. Minnesota, 1912. "A Study of the Part Played by Beauty and Joy in the Experience of a Group of Adolescent Problem Girls." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Roumaine Houser, A.B. Missouri, 1927. "Race Prejudice Reflecting Social Distance." 1928. *Missouri*.
- Theron Ingersoll, B.S. Michigan State College, 1918. "A History and Analysis of the Eureka Community." 1928. *Michigan State College*.
- Wilfred E. Israel, B.A. Acadia, 1926. "The Negro Community of Montreal." 1928. *McGill*.
- Will W. Jackson, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1916. "Family Disorganization in Bexar County, Texas." 1928. *Texas*.
- Guy A. Jacobs, B.S. Spearfish Normal. "The Maps of Manhattan as Research Resources for Educational Sociology." 1928. *New York University*.
- Amaretta Jones, B.A. Wisconsin, 1921. "A Study of the Leisure Time of Adolescent Girls, Children of Immigrant Parents, and a Comparison of the Northern European Group Characterized by Scandinavians, and the Southern European Characterized by Slavic." 1929. *Minnesota*.

- O. Leonard Jones, A.B. Upper Iowa; S.T.B. Boston. "The Relation of the Church to the Town and Country Conflict." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Minnie B. Jones, A.B. North Carolina College for Women, 1927. "Juvenile Delinquency." 1928. *North Carolina*.
- Norman Kastler, B.A. Wisconsin. "The Overcoming of the Lynching of Negroes." 1928. *Wisconsin*.
- Camille G. Kern, A.B. Tulane, 1927. "The Playground Movement." 1930. *Tulane*.
- Benjamin F. Kindig, B.S. Michigan State College, 1927. "A Course in Vocational Education for Secondary Schools." 1929. *Michigan State College*.
- Warren H. Knipmeyer, A.B. Missouri Central Wesleyan, 1924. "Community Relations of Young People." 1928. *Missouri*.
- A. C. Knudten, A.B. Carthage, Illinois, 1917; B.D. Wittenberg, 1926. "The Development of the Indigenous Church in Japan." 1928. *Chicago*.
- George H. Lawrence, A.B. Columbia, 1919. "The Organization and Administration of Public Welfare in a Rural County." 1928. *North Carolina*.
- May C. Lloyd, A.B. Southern California, 1926. "Social Thought in American Fiction, 1917-26." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Deca Lodwick, A.B. Iowa, 1901. "Community Organization with Reference to the Tourist Population of Long Beach." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Elmo H. Lott, B.S. Cornell College, 1912; B.S.A. Iowa State College, 1917. "A Study of Certain Qualitative Phases of Migration from Farms to Cities in Montana." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Clarence Howard Loveland, A.B. DePauw, 1925. "The Care of Dependent Adults by Christian Protestant Denominations." 1928. *New York University*.
- Mildred H. McAfee, A.B. Vassar, 1920. "The Young Women's Christian Association." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Muriel Bernice McCall, B.A. Manitoba, 1926. "Family Disorganization." 1928. *McGill*.
- \* Mary W. McIntyre, A.B. Barat (Lake Forest), 1925. "Divorce and Its Relation to Cook County Relief Cases." 1927. *Loyola*.
- John Paul McKinsey, A.B. Missouri, 1927. "The Efficiency Movement." 1928. *Missouri*.
- Verna Good Magee, A.B. Butler, 1925. "Employment of High School Students." 1928. *Indiana*.
- H. George Mais, A.B. McKendree. "A Case Study of Families, and Its Significance." 1928. *New York University*.
- Marvin E. Maris, A.B. Albion, 1925. "The Contribution of Ministers in the Arbitration of Labor Disputes in the United States and Canada." 1928. *Northwestern*.

\* Not reported last year.

- Daphin Carter Marshall, A.B. Kentucky, 1927. "Conditions among Women Prisoners in Kentucky." 1928. *Kentucky*.
- Alton Mattice, A.B. California Christian, 1927. "Methods of Police Administration in Satellite Cities of the Los Angeles District." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Blanche M. Melvin, B.S. Missouri, 1920. "A Comparison of Urban and Rural Divorce Rates in Four Rural Counties." 1928. *Cornell*.
- Charles Robert Metzger, A.B. Indiana, 1926. "Commercial Arbitration in the Motion Picture Industry." 1928. *Indiana*.
- Elio D. Monachesi, A.B. Missouri, 1928. "The Development of Methodology of Social Science in the 18th Century." 1928. *Missouri*.
- Vera E. Moren, A.B. Kansas, 1923. "Maladjustments of 100 School Children." 1928. *Kansas*.
- Blanche Muilenburg, B.S. Missouri, 1927. "Determinants in Community Organization." 1928. *Missouri*.
- Ruth G. Newcomb, A.B. Occidental, 1925. "An Analysis of the Concept 'Personality Type.'" 1928. *Chicago*.
- Carroll L. Olson, A.B. Macalester, 1925. "A Study of the Relation between Religious Education in the Home and Church Support and Church Activity among Latter-Day Saints in Minnesota." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Donald D. Parker, "Standardization and Its Ecological Significance." 1928. *Washington*.
- Lillian Pearson, A.B. North Carolina College for Women, 1927. "Social Service Work of Churches in North Carolina." 1928. *North Carolina*.
- Peter H. Pearson, A.B. Minnesota, 1925. "The Rural Church in Relation to the Community Activities of the Lansing Area" (Michigan). 1929. *Michigan State College*.
- Laura Mayne Pedersen, B.L. University of Chattanooga, 1919. "Social Control in the School." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Louis Petroff, A.B. Wisconsin, 1926. "Primary Group Norm as of the Bulgarian People." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Hannah J. Plowden, A.B. Winthrop, 1917; B.M.T. Woman's Missionary Union Training School, 1921. "Present Trends in Chinese Family Life." 1928. *North Carolina*.
- La Vern F. Pratt, A.B. Kansas, 1925. "A Study of Student Mores." 1928. *Kansas*.
- Jay L. Prescott, B.S. Michigan State College, 1926. "A Record and Analysis of Meetings in the Laingsburg Community" (Michigan). 1928. *Michigan State College*.
- Mildred Price, A.B. North Carolina, 1922. "The Effects of an Adult Education Project on a Group of Industrial Women." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Cellie H. Reid, A.B. Livingstone (North Carolina), 1916. "Marcus Garvey as a Social Phenomenon." 1928. *Northwestern*.

- Benjamin S. Remland, B.S. New York University, 1926. "The Contents of Civic Texts Used in the High Schools." 1928. *New York University*.
- Laura Reynolds, "H-H Boys' and Girls' Club Work in Iowa." 1928. *Iowa State College*.
- Percy A. Robert, B.A. Loyola College (Montreal), 1926. "A Study of Social Disorganization in Dufferin District, Montreal." 1928. *McGill*.
- Marion B. Rotnem, B.A. Minnesota, 1922. "A Study of the Influence of the Social History and Composition of Neighborhood Clubs of Adolescent Girls upon the Behavior of Their Members." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Imogene Rousseau, "Recreation Zones in Seattle and the Puget Sound Region." 1928. *Washington*.
- Chiko Sayeki, A.B. Southern California, 1927. "Changing Attitudes of the Japanese Americans as Reflected in Japanese Language Papers of California." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Magda Scalet, B.S. Minnesota, 1927. "The Social Function of Play Equipment in the Homes of Preschool Children." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Paul W. Schlorff, B.A. Northwestern, 1911. "A Study of the Racial Attitudes in School Children." 1928. *New York University*.
- Calvin F. Schmid, "Suicides in Seattle, 1914-25: An Ecological and Behavioristic Study." 1928. *Washington*.
- Jennie M. Sessions, A.B. Utah, 1921. "A Study of Certain Techniques in Handling the Behavior Problems of Girls of High School Age by the Girls' Adviser." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Robert Chester Smith, B.S. Washington and Lee, 1926. "Ecology of the Southern Plantation." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Theodatz Haines Soule, A.B. Smith, 1917; S.B. Simmons, 1919. "Provisions for the Sick in the Municipality of Hartford, Connecticut." 1928. *Chicago*.
- Kathleen H. Stevens, A.B. Southern California, 1926. "Sociological Analysis of Certain Typical Studies Concerning the Intelligence of American Negroes." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Aiho Suehiro, A.B. Otani University (Japan), 1924. "The Sociology of Herbert Spencer and Lester F. Ward in Relation to Contemporary Sociology." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Thomas Lester Swander, A.B. Earlham, 1926. "Sociological Data in Case Records." 1928. *Kansas*.
- Harold W. Sweeney, B.S. Kansas State Teachers, 1924. "The Social Aspects of Invention in Their Relation to Cultural Evolution." 1930. *Chicago*.
- Conrad Taeuber, B.A. Minnesota, 1927. "A Study of Group Participation with Reference to Socio-Economic Status." 1928. *Minnesota*.
- Aiji Takeuchi, A.B. Oberlin, 1928. "The Japanese Press as a Social Force." 1928. *Oberlin*.
- Geneva Huffaker Tempel, A.B. Transylvania, 1923. "Effects of Prohibition in Anderson County, Kentucky." 1928. *Kentucky*.

- Ruth M. Tennes, A.B. St. Mary's Notre Dame, 1926. "An Evaluation of Catholic Day Nurseries in Chicago." 1928. *Loyola*.
- Alice Mary Towsley, A.B. Tufts, 1924. "An Examination of Conditions Surrounding Intermarriage in Certain Rhode Island Communities." 1928. *Brown*.
- Lute M. Troutt, A.B. Indiana, 1927. "The Diabetic as a Social Problem." 1928. *Indiana*.
- Marguerite Tully, Ed.B., Ph.B. Brown, 1924, 1926. "A Study of the Relation between Ethnic Origin, Mental Tests, and Achievement Records of Children in the Public Schools of Providence." 1928. *Brown*.
- Otto D. Unruh, A.B. Kansas, 1927. "Character Education in Secondary Schools." 1928. *Kansas*.
- Joseph Waffa, B.S. Michigan State College, 1927. "A Sociological Study of the Syrian Community of Lansing" (Michigan). 1928. *Michigan State College*.
- Helen Walker, A.B. Southern California, 1921. "Conflicts of Culture in the First Generation Mexican in a Given American Community." 1928. *Southern California*.
- Thomas A. Wallace, B.A. John Fletcher College, 1923; B.D. Drew Theological Seminary, 1925. "The Municipal Playground, a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency." 1929. *New York University*.
- Maud Muller Watts, A.B. Southwestern Texas State Teachers College, 1925. "Family Disorganization as Revealed in Modern Fiction." 1929. *Texas*.
- Robert L. Whitley, A.B. East Texas State Teachers College, 1925. "Social Implications of Reactionary Movement in Recent American Literature." 1928. *Texas*.
- James Hundley Wiley, A.B. Richmond; Th.M. Louisville Baptist. "A Study of Chinese Prostitution." 1929. *Chicago*.
- Forrest Wilkinson, Ph.B. Chicago, 1922. "Social Distance Reactions toward Occupations." 1928. *Southern California*.
- H. C. C. Willey, B.S. Massachusetts Agricultural College, 1919. "The 4-H Clubs as a Factor in Rural Socialization." 1928. *Michigan State College*.
- Albert Emil Wolf, A.B. Nebraska, 1907. "How Young Men 18 to 21 out of School and Unmarried Spend Their Time." 1928. *Nebraska*.
- Mrs. G. E. Woodward, A.B. Baylor, 1922. "Personality Studies of Junior College Students." 1928. *Texas*.
- Ruth Lillian Woolf, A.B. Brown, 1926. "Introduction to the Study of the Hebrew Family." 1928. *Brown*.
- Charles H. Young, B.A. McGill, 1927. "The Expansion of the French Population in Canada." 1928. *McGill*.
- Ina V. Young, A.B. Trinity (Duke University), 1917. "Problems of the Small Town in North Carolina." 1929. *North Carolina*.
- Morris Zatz, B.S. New York University, 1910. "Origin of Fashions." 1928. *New York University*.

## NEWS AND NOTES

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Notes of interest to readers of the *Journal* should be in the hands of the editor of "News and Notes" not later than the tenth of the month preceding publication.

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*American Sociological Society.*—The twenty-third annual meeting of the Society will take place in Chicago, December 26–29, 1928, in connection with the meeting of the other social science organizations. The central subject of the meeting, "The Rural Community," will be discussed in papers presented in the following divisions: "Human Ecology and Population," in charge of Luther L. Bernard, University of North Carolina; "Social Statistics," in charge of G. R. Davies, University of North Dakota; "Social Psychology," in charge of Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California; and "Social Research," in charge of Hornell Hart, of Bryn Mawr College.

The program of the different sections of the Society is being arranged by committees, of which the following persons are chairmen: for Rural Sociology, Eben Mumford, Michigan State College; for The Community, Jesse F. Steiner, Tulane University; The Family, Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina; The Sociology of Religion, F. Ernest Johnson, Federal Council of Churches; Educational Sociology, Daniel Kulp II, Columbia University; the Teaching of Sociology, E. H. Sutherland; and Sociology and Social Work, M. J. Karpf, Training School for Jewish Social Work.

*Membership of the Society.*—The names and addresses of members received into the Society since the list published in the July issue of the *Journal* are as follows:

Bellman, Earl S., 1725½ 3d St., N.E., Washington, D.C.  
Callen, E. Glenn, University Place Branch, Lincoln, Neb.  
Campbell, Harry E., Gates Hall 70, University of Chicago, Chicago  
Demarest, Mrs. Benjamin G., 24 Fifth Ave., New York  
Eastwood, A. Vera, 995 Hyslop Place, Hammond, Ind.  
Eskin, Clara, 53 13th St., Hoboken, N.J.  
Farwell, Mrs. Arthur L., 1301 Ritchie Court, Chicago  
Gist, Noel P., Lawrence, Kan.  
Hauser, Philip M., 1404 E. 55th St., Chicago  
Hepner, Frances K., 2225 Pine St., San Diego, Calif.  
Hepner, Walter R., 2225 Pine St., San Diego, Calif.

- Hörman, Bernard L., 1036 Green St., Honolulu, T.H.  
 Hupfer, Albert J., 6329 Greenwood Ave., Chicago  
 Jenkins, Ira I., Department of Sociology, Lingnan University, Canton, China  
 Kaufman, Edmund G., 5829 Maryland Ave., Chicago  
 Kautz, Katharine Iden, 4059 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Kepecs, Jacob, 743 Brompton Ave., Chicago  
 Kesler, Howard A., Box 61, Waveland, Ind.  
 Lazareff, Luba Z., 1304 North Shore Ave., Chicago  
 Levin, Yale, 3308 Ogden Ave., Chicago  
 Lindstrom, David E., 318 Agricultural Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.  
 McClenahan, Mabel, 304 North Broadway, Joliet, Ill.  
 Olson, Gustaf H., 7438 Vincennes Ave., Chicago  
 Potter, John Austin, 228 East North Ave., Ada, Ohio  
 Price, Mildred, Green Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago  
 Reckless, Walter Cade, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.  
 Roloff, Bernard C., 137 N. Mason Ave., Chicago  
 Ryder, Walter S., 5800 Maryland Ave., Chicago  
 Schaar, Sarah B., 1800 Selden St., Chicago  
 Schiavo, Giovanni, Department of Sociology, New York University, Washington Square East, New York  
 Simpson, Florence Alice, 530 Oglethorpe Ave., Athens, Ga.  
 Taylor, True, Stockton Cottage, Canton, Mo.  
 Thornton, Richard H., 1 Park Ave., New York  
 Tichy, Mrs. Elsie M., 5425 S. Rockwell St., Chicago  
 Unstad, Lyder L., 607 26th Ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Wannamaker, Claudia, 907 S. Lincoln St., Chicago  
 Watts, Fred G., University Station, Shawnee, Okla.  
 Williams, E. C., Carnegie Library, Howard University, Washington, D.C.  
 Williams, Minnie M., Box 107, Burns, Kan.

*Social Science Research Council.*—The annual summer Conference of the Social Science Research Council was held at Hanover, New Hampshire, from August 18 to September 1. In order to concentrate the work of the Conference, the plan was tried this year of having most of the advisory committees meet before August. The only committees scheduled to meet during the Hanover Conference are those on Corporate Relations, Population, Interracial Relations, and Scientific Method in the Social Sciences. Further concentration is evidenced by the plan of having the evening discussions center around the research problems and opportunities with which the Council and its various committees are primarily concerned.

Dr. John V. Van Sickle, assistant professor in the economics of the University of Michigan, has joined the Social Science Research Council as fellowship secretary in charge of the council's research fellowships in the social sciences.

*Social Science Abstracts.*—A complete staff of specialists will begin work early in the fall on *Social Science Abstracts*. The journal is published monthly and it is expected that 20,000 abstracts a year will be issued. The first number will be issued after the first of next year. The subjects covered will be: cultural anthropology, economics, history, geography, political science, sociology, and statistics. Relevant subjects in other fields such as law will be included.

The editorial offices of *Social Science Abstracts* have been located in Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University. The location was made possible through the generosity of Columbia University.

At its April meeting the Social Science Research Council organized the following committee charged with full administrative responsibility for establishing *Social Science Abstracts*: I. L. Kistler, American Geographical Society, chairman; Dr. Daniel A. Bell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Dr. Ellsworth F. Ladd, University of Chicago; Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University; A. Ogg, University of Wisconsin; Dr. Frank A. Ross, Columbia University; and Dr. Clark Wissler, American Museum of Natural History.

Dr. F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, was named editor-in-chief for the first year. A staff of associate editors and specialists are now at work gathering materials and practicing abstracting, the preliminary draft of a system of classification for the social sciences. This scheme of classification is the result of the work on the part of twenty-one specialists in the social sciences who studied the problem for the past three months.

Meetings of a group of international specialists on abstracting in the social sciences will be held in Paris in June and in Geneva in July. Dr. Chapin has gone to Europe officially to represent *Social Science Abstracts* at these conferences and to make European connections for the journal.

Another statement will appear before the first number is issued. This notice will contain more specific information regarding rate of subscription, the classification system, etc. For further information address, F. Stuart Chapin, Editor-in-Chief, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

*Institute for Social Research.*—The seventh annual meeting of the Institute for Juvenile Research was held under the auspices of the Society for Social Research, at the University of Chicago, July 25-28, 1928. The general topic for the meeting was "Social Distance." Papers were presented on the following subjects: "The Measurement of Social Distance," by L. L. Thurstone; "Taboo," by Edward Sapir; "Race Prejudice," by Ellsworth Faris; and "Social Distance," by Herbert Blumer. Reports of research projects were presented as follows: "Division of Labor," W. W. Watson; "The Sociology of the Automobile," J. H. Mueller; "The Possibility of Devising a Continuum on the Attitudes of Northerners and Southerners toward the Negro," Elmer Hinkley; "The Study of Race Prejudice," W. O. Brown; "Newspaper Circulation in the Chicago Region," Charles S. Newcomb; "A Study of Young Business Women Who are Members of the Y.W.C.A.," Ruth S. Cavan; "Organized Crime," John Landesco; "A Study of the Closed Dance Hall," P. G. Cressey; "The Puget Sound Region," R. D. McKenzie. Four round tables were organized: The Ecology of Urban and Rural Communities, led by Jesse F. Steiner; Social Movements and the Political Process, Robert E. Park; The Family, E. Franklin Frazier; Methodology, Floyd N. House.

*Sociology in Yenching University.*—In spite of the unsettled political conditions and of the general feeling of unrest in and around Peking during the present academic year, the work of the university has been going on undisturbed. For the first time in its history the department of sociology and social work adopted partially the honor system and the tutorial system.

The department also adopted for the first time in its history a democratic system of control whereby the students were represented in "department meetings." The Yenta Sociology Club, whose membership includes both teachers and students in sociology, was asked to send three student representatives to sit with the faculty in the department meetings.

The department may be said to have three types of business meetings: (1) student meetings, exclusively for students; (2) faculty meetings, exclusively for faculty members; and (3) department meetings, composed of faculty members and student representatives.

Professor J. S. Burgess returns in September, but will go back to the United States in the spring of 1929. Two new members have been added to the staff: Miss V. K. Nyi joined the department at the beginning of the first semester, and Professor Jane I. Newell, at the beginning of the

second semester. Special lecturers include Professor Geoffrey Chen, of the National Government University, for the first semester, and Mr. Franklin Lee, of the China Foundation, for the second semester. Miss Jane Shaw Ward, of the National Committee of the Y.W.C.A., taught two courses, Institutional Visitation and Community. The Yenta Sociology Club deserves special mention. The Club, under the leadership of Mr. Yang Ching-hsun and Mr. Chao Cheng-hsin, had a very successful year. The program of the Club included regular discussion meetings, lectures by outside speakers, social service, and social gatherings. The Club had sixty-three members this year, 38 men (including five men teachers) and 25 women (including two women teachers).

Dr. Leonard S. Hsu concludes his annual report as chairman of the department with this statement: In order to build up a strong Chinese sociology, two things must be done: (1) researches into Chinese social thought, and (2) researches of modern social conditions in China. The vast wealth of archaeological and anthropological materials in China, when unearthed, will also be extremely valuable to the future of sociological science. The department is prepared to do as much work to help build this Chinese science of sociology as our human and financial resources permit.

*Lignan University (formerly Canton Christian College), Canton, China.*—Ira I. Jenkins, a graduate student of Ohio State University, and recently of the University of Chicago, has been appointed instructor in the department of sociology for a term of three years.

*Shanghai College.*—Mr. J. H. Wiley, who took his Master's degree at the University of Chicago in June, has returned from his leave of absence.

*The Commonwealth Fund.*—The expenditure of \$1,100,000 last year by the Commonwealth Fund in efforts to improve the physical and mental health of American children is described in the ninth annual report of the general director, Barry C. Smith. Other gifts for hospitals, educational, and welfare work brought the total appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1927, to \$1,953,557. The capital endowment of the Commonwealth Fund, which was established in 1918 as a general philanthropic foundation with an initial gift of \$10,000,000 from the late Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness, was increased by additional donations during her lifetime and now amounts to over \$38,000,000. The income last year was \$2,129,748.

Approximately \$417,000 was expended to carry on the Fund's pro-

gram for the promotion of child health. A five-year demonstration of health work in Fargo, North Dakota, was completed and the city has made provision for the continuance of every essential activity at its own expense. Similar demonstrations are being continued in Rutherford County, Tennessee; Athens (Clarke County), Georgia; and Marion County, Oregon.

The Fund's program for the development of child-guidance clinics, visiting-teacher work in the public schools, and allied projects in the field of mental hygiene required last year appropriations totaling \$697,000. A five-year period of demonstrations and consultant service under this program, ending in June, 1927, has resulted in the establishment of community clinics for the study and treatment of children's behavior problems in Cleveland, Philadelphia, St. Louis, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Dallas, Baltimore, Richmond, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, and Pasadena, California. Following a series of three-year demonstrations, together with advisory and consultant service, visiting-teacher work has been organized in the public school systems of fifty-eight communities located in thirty-two different states.

An outstanding feature of the Fund's mental hygiene program was the establishment this year of an Institute for Child Guidance in New York City under the direction of Dr. Lawson G. Lowrey. This Institute is fully equipped both for research and for practical work with children who exhibit conduct disorders and personality difficulties. It also provides a center for the special training of psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers. Fellowships established by the Commonwealth Fund for students at the Institute are administered by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the New York School of Social Work, and the Smith College School for Social Work.

*Research on the Cost of Medical Care.*—Plans of the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care for a five-year program of research which it hopes will help to solve the problem were outlined. It is stated that nothing similar was ever undertaken anywhere in the world. The Committee, which is a newly formed organization with headquarters here, includes some of the most eminent physicians, sanitarians, and economists, as well as prominent laymen. Financial support has been supplied by the Carnegie Corporation, the Milbank Memorial Fund, the Russell Sage Foundation and the Twentieth Century Fund. Participating organizations include the American Medical Association, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the United States Public Health Service.

The Committee's actual program will consist of the three following groups of studies: (1) Preliminary surveys of data showing the incidence of disease and disability requiring medical services and of general existing facilities for dealing with them. (2) Studies on the cost to the family of medical services and the return accruing to the physician and other agents furnishing such services. (3) Analysis of specially organized facilities for medical care now serving particular groups of the population. The above studies, it is estimated, will cost over \$300,000 during the five-year period. Associated with Dr. Ray L. Wilbur, chairman of the Committee, are Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, Yale University School of Medicine, vice-chairman; A. Austin, Seaboard National Bank, New York, treasurer; Harry H. Moore, director of study. The executive committee also includes Dr. Walter P. Bowers, Clinton, Massachusetts; Michael H. Davis, New York; Helen F. Draper, New York; Dr. Haven Emerson, New York; Walton H. Hamilton, Washington; Dr. J. Shelton Horsley, Richmond, Virginia; and Dr. Walter R. Steiner, Hartford, Connecticut.

*An International Study of Infantile Paralysis.*—Infantile paralysis, will be the object of a concerted three-year attack launched by an international group of scientists seeking for its prevention under a grant from the Jeremiah Milbank Memorial Fund of New York of \$250,000 for the work. Participating in the researches are the University of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and New York universities in this country, and the University of Brussels and The Lister Institute of London.

*University of Alabama.*—Mr. E. W. Gregory, Jr., M.A., University of Virginia, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

*Bradley Institute (Peoria, Illinois).*—Professor C. W. Schroeder, of the department of sociology, has been granted a year's leave of absence. Mr. E. A. Ahrens will give his courses.

*Bucknell University.*—Professor Clarence R. Johnson is returning this fall after a two years' leave of absence. Dr. Meyer Nimkoff, who received his Doctor's degree from the University of Southern California, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

*University of Chicago.*—Dr. Helen R. Wright, of the Robert Brookings Graduate School, has been appointed associate professor of social economy in the Graduate School of Social Service Administration.

Dr. Robert Redfield has been made assistant professor of anthropology. Mr. E. J. Webster has been appointed instructor in sociology for the next year.

Mr. Walter Whitson gave a series of four lectures on special problems in case work procedure in the Graduate School of Social Service Administration.

*Chicago Theological Seminary.*—Samuel C. Kincheloe, research associate and lecturer in the sociology of religion in the department of social ethics, and associate director of research and survey for the Chicago Congregational City Missionary and Extension Society, will give courses relating to the church in the urban community and in methods of social investigation.

*University of Cincinnati.*—Professor Earle E. Eubank, who has been on leave of absence during the past year, has returned to the University. Mr. W. O. Brown also has returned from a year's leave of absence.

*Columbia University.*—After thirty-four years of service as professor and head of the department of sociology, Franklin H. Giddings has retired from active work. It is understood that the trustees of the university, as an indication of appreciation, voted him an increase in salary as emeritus professor.

Professor Giddings was born in 1855. His first academic position was in Bryn Mawr College, 1888-94. He was, however, lecturer in sociology in Columbia University for three years before he was called to a professorship in sociology in 1894. Since 1906 he has occupied the chair of sociology and the history of civilization. He was the third president of the American Sociological Society, holding this office in 1910 and 1911. He is a member of the Institut Internationale de Sociologie, a fellow of the American Statistical Association, and a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. His many contributions, both articles and books, to sociological literature, are well known. Under his leadership Columbia University became one of the leading sociological centers of the world, and he guided the intellectual development of scores of young men and women who now hold important positions in sociological teaching and research over the United States.

*Creighton University.*—Professor John A. Lapp, head of the department of social sciences at Marquette University, was the commencement speaker.

*Earlham College.*—Mr. Edgar T. Thompson will give courses in sociology and economics.

*Fisk University.*—The department of social science has been organized, co-ordinating the work in sociology, economics, ethnology, history, and psychology. The purpose of this new department is to correlate in these different subjects, to co-ordinate the research program in the field of the social sciences in a larger plan, to initiate and develop graduate instruction, and to establish gradually a research center. Mr. Charles S. Johnson, director of research and investigator of the National Urban League and editor of *Opportunity*, has been appointed director of the department.

In addition to the present members of the staff, the following new appointments have been made: Dr. Paul Raden, research professor in anthropology; Paul Edwards, formerly of the University of Virginia, research professor in economics; Professor Snell, of Peabody College, research professor in psychology; and Professor Sibley, who is working on the Tennessee Health Study, a joint project now being carried on by Fisk University and the state board of health. Other new members of the department are Horace M. Bond, formerly director of extension work of the Alabama State Normal at Montgomery, and Ophelia Settle, who will be a member of the research staff.

*University of Illinois.*—Mr. E. W. Voelker has been appointed an assistant in the department of sociology.

*University of Kentucky.*—Dr. Harry Best, head of the department of sociology, is absent on leave during the year 1928-29. Dr. Elinor Nims, who has secured leave of absence for the purpose from the University of Chicago Graduate School of Social Service Administration, will give certain courses in sociology during the year. Mr. William F. Beehler, of the Family Welfare Society of Lexington, and a graduate of the New York School of Social Work, will conduct two social service courses.

*Mount Morris College.*—Mr. Forrest L. Weller will give courses in sociology and history through the coming year.

*Oregon Agricultural College.*—Dr. Elon H. Moore, of the University of Illinois, has accepted an appointment as professor of sociology.

*University of Missouri.*—Professor Charles A. Ellwood, who has resumed his work in the University of Missouri as chairman of the department of sociology after a sabbatical year's leave of absence, has been asked to deliver the Cole Lectures before the School of Religion of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, next March. The Cole lecture-

ship aims to bring together the results of scholarship in the field of religion and the social sciences. It has been filled by Dr. Charles W. Gilkey and Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, among others. Professor Ellwood will take as the subject of his lectures "The Destiny of Man in the Light of Modern Science."

Professor T. Earl Sullenger, professor of sociology in the University of Omaha, has been appointed graduate assistant in sociology at the University of Missouri for the coming year.

Professor A. F. Kuhlman has been granted a year's leave of absence for study. Dr. H. O. DeGraff has been raised to the rank of assistant professor. Acting Professor Arthur S. Emig has also been granted a year's leave of absence for study.

*New York University.*—Dr. Clarence G. Dittmer has been promoted from associate professor to professor of sociology, and made chairman of the department of sociology in Washington Square College. Mr. Harvey W. Zorbaugh has returned to his work in educational sociology after a year's leave of absence.

*University of North Carolina.*—New courses to be given at the University of North Carolina during the next year will include those by Professor L. L. Bernard, who has joined the University of North Carolina staff; by Dr. T. J. Woofert, Jr., who has completed the cultural study of St. Helena Island, South Carolina.

Professor Ernest R. Groves will give two sections of his special course on "Marriage and Family Relationships," limited to seniors. Professor Groves has just published *An Introduction to Sociology* and *Marriage Crisis*, brought out by Longmans, Green & Company, and with Professor W. F. Ogburn, *Marriage and Family Relationships*, brought out by Henry Holt & Company.

H. G. Duncan is publishing with Longmans, Green & Company a volume on *Race and Population*.

Howard W. Odum is on Kenan leave of absence for the year and will continue his research into regional and folk background studies of the South.

*Reed College.*—Mr. Harry B. Sell, assistant professor of sociology, has returned after a year's leave of absence.

*University of Southern California.*—Dr. George B. Mangold, formerly director of the Missouri School of Social Economy in St. Louis, has been appointed professor of sociology.

*Southern Methodist University.*—During 1927-28, Professor H. F. Pritchard was in Columbia University and returns in the fall. Miss Freeman was in charge of his work while he was on leave of absence.

*Tulane University.*—Dr. Louis Wirth, of the University of Chicago, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of sociology.

*University of Washington.*—Professor R. D. McKenzie was chairman of the round table on "Pacific Relations" held at the Williamstown Institute of Politics during the last two weeks of August.

At a meeting of the faculty and the graduate students of sociology, Dr. James Q. Dealey, who recently retired as the head of the department of sociology and political science of Brown University, spoke on his recollections of Lester F. Ward, and Dr. William C. Smith talked on Hawaii, where he has been engaged in research on race relations.

Dr. Maurice T. Price has been promoted from assistant to associate professor in the department of sociology.

*University of Wisconsin.*—Professor John Lewis Gillin returned in June from a year spent chiefly in the Orient, during which he made a special study of prisons and penal colonies. A report on penal colonies in the Orient is now being prepared by Professor Gillin, which will be published some time during the coming year. Professor Gillin has been teaching in the 9 weeks' graduate school summer session at the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Edward A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, has been teaching in the summer school of the University of Mexico, Mexico City. He has leave of absence for next year and expects to teach on the Floating University for the coming year.

*Y.M.C.A. College (Chicago).*—Courses in sociology will be given this year by Clifford R. Shaw, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., and Charles S. Newcomb.

#### *Personal Notes*

Harriet M. Bartlett, whose article, "The Social Survey and the Charity Organization Movement," appears in this issue of the *Journal*, has been appointed the successor of Elsie Wulkop as supervisor of social service in wards, Massachusetts General Hospital.

Mr. Paul T. Diefenderfer is engaged in anthropological research in the Samoan Islands under the auspices of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Walter R. Hepner, superintendent of schools at Fresno, California, has been elected superintendent of schools at San Diego.

Edith Shatto King is now information secretary of the Welfare Council of New York City.

Blanche Renard, associate director of the St. Louis Community Fund, has resigned to become budget and social service secretary of the Jewish Federation of St. Louis, January 1.

Bernard C. Roloff, formerly superintendent of the Illinois Social Hygiene League, is now in charge of the department of publicity and publications of the Chicago City Health Department.

Dr. John Slawson, author of *The Delinquent Boy*, has resigned as director of research and community organization of the Cleveland Jewish Welfare Federation to become managing director of the Detroit United Jewish Charities.

H. A. Waldkoenig, formerly instructor in sociology at the University of Washington and executive secretary of the Battle Creek Welfare Fund, is now with Ward, Wells, Gresham, & Gates.

Walter Whitson, general secretary of the Kansas City Provident Association, has become secretary of the Social Service Bureau at Houston, Texas.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Standing Room Only.* By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS. New York: Century Co., 1927. Pp. xiv+368. \$3.00.

*Heredity and Human Affairs.* By EDWARD M. EAST. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927. Pp. vii+325.

*Immigration Restriction: A Study of the Opposition to and Regulation of Immigration into the United States.* By ROY L. GARIS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. xv+376. \$4.00.

*Immigration Crossroads.* By CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO, PH.D. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. vii+307. \$2.50.

*Immigrant Backgrounds.* By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD (editor). New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1927. Pp. x+269. \$2.75.

*Immigration and Race Attitudes.* By EMORY S. BOGARDUS; with Foreword by JEROME DAVIS. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1928. Pp. viii+268. \$1.80.

*A Chinaman's Opinion of Us and of His Own People* (as expressed in letters from Australia to his friend in China). By HWUY-UNG (Mandarin of the Fourth Button). Translated by J. MAKEPEACE, Methodist Mission, Lao-Kua-Chen, Canton. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1927. Pp. x+372. \$3.00.

By an act of May 19, 1921, which introduced the quota system, the United States finally and formally put its seal upon an immigration policy which had been maturing since 1882.

The purposes which found expression in the new legislation were various and not wholly consistent with one another. America had long ceased to be in any sense a territory of European colonization. The land was occupied. The wide spaces had disappeared. The world was already a little crowded.

Since the publication of the United States Immigration Report in 1911, and perhaps before, there had been an increasing opposition to the "new immigration," on the ground that it was composed of people of different stocks and of a divergent culture. Furthermore, statistics indicated that the Nordics were practicing birth control and that the new immigration was increasing at the expense of the old. Then, too, it was

apparent that the traditional forms of American life were declining. The American cultural complex was disintegrating. The "melting-pot" had ceased to function. In the cities, in which the new immigrants were increasingly influential, there was crime and disorder. The older immigration had poured itself out into the open country and taken up the farms. It was now, whatever it had been earlier, conservative. The new immigration had gone into the cities. It was radical. The cities were increasing in population at the expense of the country, and the urban population, made up largely of more recent immigrants, was becoming increasingly dominant in American life.

Something new and more drastic in the way of immigration restriction was impending. Meanwhile there had grown up in this country a school of thought which had sought to emphasize the fact of race as the determining factor in progress and civilization. Under the influence of the eugenists the laws of 1921 and 1924 introduced into our immigration policy the principle of racial discrimination. The effect of these laws was to give a sort of sanction to the notion which has been persistently maintained in the case of the Negro, that certain of the racial and national groups in the United States were not only culturally but biologically, inferior to certain others. That meant, as the ordinary man sensed the thing, that some peoples were not entitled to just the same consideration in the affairs of life as their superiors. To permit them all the same status would destroy our democracy. Of course, one might add, speaking in a somewhat different sense, to shut them out would certainly destroy it. No doubt the existing limitation upon immigration could be justified on quite different grounds, economic, political, and social. But this would not quite suit the temper of the American public. Ever since the Declaration of Independence announced that all men were born free and equal and America became the asylum of the oppressed peoples of Europe we have been disposed to justify our political actions on broad, general, comprehensible grounds quite independent of temporary, immediate, and practical considerations.

We have long since discarded the policy that made America an asylum for the oppressed. The Declaration of Independence sounds a little hollow and rhetorical to the present descendants of the people who penned it. But we still seek to justify our changing policies on broad principles rather than by specific and practical consideration. It is probably one of the necessities imposed upon us by our democratic system and by the nature of public opinion in a country of 120,000,000 people.

The injection of the racial issue and the principles of the eugenists' program into the immigration problem has greatly extended the field of discussion. It has made what might have been a purely administrative measure an issue of fundamental human rights, a constitutional question.

From their various points of view, the seven volumes here considered are all concerned with this general theme. All of them have been written to support a program of some sort. "Something ought to be done about this," is the note that vibrates through them all.

Ross and East are concerned here, as they have been elsewhere, about dangers of overpopulation. Professor East is notoriously a loud speaker on this theme. Much that he says here is reiteration of views which he had expressed earlier in his volume *Mankind at the Crossroads*. *Heredity and Human Affairs* is a large topic, but the author seems to have covered it in some three hundred pages. In doing so, however, he has added little except his personal emphasis to the existing fund of knowledge in this field. In fact, covering so wide a range, touching so many questions in regard to which there is as yet no general agreement, the resulting impression is one of confusion rather than the conviction at which it aims.

It is quite a different sort of book—at least in style and content—which Professor Ross has written. In the first place, Ross can write. He has the journalistic sense for incisive headlines, as the title of his latest volume, *Standing Room Only*, indicates. He has, besides, the journalistic sense for news in the larger affairs of life. If there is anything on the horizon, Ross always sees it first and makes a book about it. The big news in world-affairs today is undoubtedly the population problem. In this his latest venture the author has brought together in compact and readable form almost all the authenticated facts and most of the different points of view which seem to throw light upon the population problem.

Population pressures, the world's food supply, the effects of modern methods of hygiene on population growth, the differential fecundity of races and classes, race suicide, so-called, and the consequences of these changes and movements upon the relations of peoples of the world—these are matters discussed, and on all these topics Professor Ross has gathered together, from the widest possible sources, the authenticated facts. Furthermore, he has stated and illustrated this body of bald statistical material with a wealth of historical reference and allusion, the fruit of wide reading and personal observation in every part of the civilized world.

Roy L. Garis is associate professor of economics at Vanderbilt University. His *Immigration Restriction*, if less brilliantly written, is at least quite as useful. It is a detailed account of the experiments of the United States in the regulation and limitation of immigration from the first attempts to limit immigration in colonial times down to and including the Immigration Act of 1924.

There has been opposition in the United States to immigration from the first. It is curious how each new wave of immigration has provoked opposition which voiced itself in much the same complaints and in much the same argument. The consequence has been a consistent increasing of the restrictions, a steady and progressive erection of the barriers. It is the purpose of this volume to enable the American public to discuss this issue on the basis of the whole experience of the country with the problem.

The author of *Immigration Restriction* is, on the whole, disposed to support the thesis of Dr. Harry H. Laughlin, of the Eugenics Record Office, that "the biological laboratory is a far more valuable basis for the study of immigration than are the improvisations of the sentimentalists."

One thing that lends especial interest to *Immigration Crossroads* is the fact that it is written by a representative of that "Central and Mediterranean Europe" from which, according to the researches of Dr. Laughlin, the larger proportion of our "socially inadequate" immigrants—whether in parenthesis the inadequacies be innate or not—come. Constantine Panunzio, until recently professor of economics at Whittier College, is himself an immigrant, and though he has not studied immigration in the biological laboratories, he has had a chance to know it at first hand. He is, in fact, the author of one of the most illuminating of the many immigrant autobiographies published in recent years, *The Soul of an Immigrant*. The present volume is a review of the immigration policy of the United States from the point of view of the man whom it most directly affects, the immigrant; and particularly the immigrant who begins life in the new country handicapped by the natural prejudice against the alien which the findings of the eugenicist's office have served to rationalize and justify.

The point of Panunzio's book—to put it succinctly—is that in view of the mixed character of our population and our international relations in the long run our immigration policy must be formed, not upon the basis of biology, as the eugenists have assumed it should, but upon the basis of international policy and ethics. In the words of Lord Acton,

which Panunzio quotes, "no prescription is valid against the conscience of mankind."

In the volumes here considered there has been frequent reference to the "melting-pot" and the difficulty of assimilating into one cultural pattern peoples of divergent cultures. In the volume *Immigrant Backgrounds*, Henry Pratt Fairchild has collected in a series fifteen essays, accounts of the cultural life of some thirty-two or more distinct peoples. Manifestly it is hardly possible, in 250 pages, to so much as sketch the distinguishing characteristics of so large a number of people. Besides, the thing has already been more extensively and more adequately done in a series of volumes under the general title *Our European Neighbors*, edited by William Herbert Dawson, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. Nevertheless the sketches in this volume are well and competently done. The list of contributors includes: S. K. Ratcliffe, "The British"; William Wood, author of *In the Heart of Old Canada*, "The French Canadians"; Professor Kuno Franke, of Harvard University, "The Germans"; Henry Pratt Fairchild, "The Greeks"; Charles A. Bennett, professor of philosophy at Yale, "The Irish"; Bruno Raselli, of Vassar, "The Italians"; S. Durgol, editor of the Yiddish daily, *The Day*, "The Jews"; Herbert Adolphus Miller, "The Jugo-Slavs and the Czechoslovaks"; J. Merle Davis, of the Institute of Pacific Relations, "The Orientals"; Florian Znaniecki, joint author with W. I. Thomas of *The Polish Peasant*, "The Poles"; Arthur Ruhl, "The Russian and Baltic Peoples"; and Henry Goddard Leach, editor of *The Forum* and president of the American Scandinavian Foundation, "The Scandinavians."

Of all these studies, the most unique and interesting, at least from the point of view of method, is Emory S. Bogardus' little volume, *Immigration and Race Attitudes*. The author has attempted, by means of personal documents and life-histories, to explore the actual process of assimilation and the resulting conflicts and fusions of culture as it is reflected in the minds of natives and immigrant peoples. He has at the same time worked out, on the basis of these materials, a method of describing statistically the actual, in contrast with the legal, status of the different racial and cultural groups as that status is reflected in the minds of different classes and local groups, in different sections of the United States.

The assumption of this study is that the status of any group or class is determined by the ratings which representative members of other groups in the community give them. The procedure is capable of apparently unlimited variation, and the results obtained are at any rate interesting, even if not always convincing. One of the statistical tables in

this volume records the ratings of 1,725 Americans to forty different so-called racial groups represented in the American population. The racial descent of these 1,725 native-born Americans whose ratings are recorded include:

English . . . . .	772	Chinese . . . . .	14
German . . . . .	328	Mexican . . . . .	13
Irish . . . . .	264	Danish . . . . .	11
Scotch . . . . .	205	Armenian . . . . .	9
Negro . . . . .	202	Russian . . . . .	9
Jew . . . . .	178	Polish . . . . .	7
French . . . . .	96	Czechoslovakian . . . . .	6
Italian . . . . .	95	Greek . . . . .	6
Dutch . . . . .	81	Magyar . . . . .	6
Swedish . . . . .	70	Filipino . . . . .	4
Canadian . . . . .	64	Portuguese . . . . .	3
Norwegian . . . . .	51	French-Canadian . . . . .	3
Welsh . . . . .	39	Hindu . . . . .	3
Spanish . . . . .	38	Indian (American) . . . . .	3
Japanese . . . . .	18	Serbian . . . . .	1

As every individual American tends to give the "racial" group from which he is descended the highest rating, the results are often a little surprising. For example, of these 1,725 native-born Americans, 93.7 per cent were not opposed to intermarriage with other Americans of English parentage, while 90 were favorable to marriage with Americans (native white); 86.9 were similarly disposed to Canadians, and 78.1 to Scotch. On the other hand, only 1.1 per cent were disposed to intermarry with either Chinese, mulattoes, Koreans, or Hindus. In respect to other less intimate associations, the different groups exhibited a wide percentage of variation.

The value of statistics in the field of social attitudes is a question in regard to which there is as yet no settled opinion. What one may say with regard to Professor Bogardus' statistics is that they are probably as good as any others, and a good deal more interesting than most.

"The best part of knowledge," says Láo-Tse, "is being aware of one's own ignorance." This maxim, quoted by the editor of Hwuy-Ung's letters to his friend Tseng-Ching, suggests at once the message and the moral of the volume *A Chinaman's Opinion of Us and of His Own People*. The work is probably fiction, but the quaint picture that it gives of Western manners and morals as they are reflected in the mind of a Chinese scholar is true enough to be stimulating and instructive.

It is probably true that the most profound differences between peoples are in their manners and in their etiquette. Once we are able to penetrate the outward forms in which human nature clothes itself, we are bound to discover that at bottom different peoples are very much alike.

The interest in these letters, which purport to have been written between the years 1899 and 1912 by a Chinese exile in Australia to a Chinese scholar in China, is that they emphasize the attitudes, the points of view, from which representatives of two widely different civilizations look upon one another. At the outset, as is natural, it is only the external aspects of Western life that the writer of these letters sees and criticizes. Later, as he continues his explorations, he discovers behind forms which at first seem barbarous or merely quaint something more significant and much that he believes would be of use if adopted by the people of the "Flowery Land."

One thing that adds interest to the book is the fact that it is written as if it had been literally translated from the Chinese, and for this reason indicates not merely the Chinese manner of speech but the Chinese mode of thought.

Incidentally, it tells in outline the whole story of the revolution which overthrew the Manchu Dynasty and the history of the nationalist movement that grew up around the personality of Sun-Yat-Sen.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Contemporary Sociological Theories.* By PITIRIM SOROKIN. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928. Pp. xxiii+785. \$4.00.

A more or less adequate knowledge of what has been done and thought, as well as of what contemporary students in the same field are doing and thinking, is a necessary part of the equipment of the scholar. Such knowledge is necessary if he is to avoid the waste of effort involved in the discovery of facts already known and recorded and if he is to avoid unprofitable methods and lines of research.

But the volume of social literature is so great that its actual perusal is beyond the power of one man. Moreover, a very large amount of it is inaccessible, partly because of library deficiencies and partly because of language limitations. There is, therefore, a place and a need for adequate summarizations, historical statements, and critical examinations of social theory. In undertaking to carry out some such task the present effort is to be commended. It brings to the attention of American students a certain

body of theoretical and factual material not heretofore generally available.

In carrying out his study, the author classifies "all the important sociological theories" into nine "schools of thought"; the mechanistic, the synthetic, and geographic school of Le Play, the geographical, the biological, the bio-social, the bio-psychological, the sociologistic, the psychological, and the psycho-sociologistic. These major divisions are then divided into varieties each of which is "represented by several of the most typical works." The author then undertakes to characterize the fundamental principles of each school and division and to point out its fallacies and deficiencies.

It is important in a work of this nature to know the standpoint from which evaluation is made and judgment passed, since the moral convictions of an author sometimes limit his comprehension or color his interpretation of diverging types of thought. The author's conception appears to be that the sociology of real consequence is the quantitative and statistical investigation of the relationships between classes of gross social phenomena that are to be analyzed, if at all, by other disciplines. His own definition, in italics, states that sociology is, first, the study of the *relationship and correlations between various classes of social phenomena, (correlations between economic and religious; family and moral; juridical and economic; mobility and political phenomena, and so on); second, that between the social and the non-social (geographic, biological, etc.) phenomena; third, the study of the general characteristics common to all classes of social phenomena.* Operating from this standpoint the author finds much to criticize and little of value in much of the work that, at least in some quarters, has been considered somewhat significant, and he finds much of value and less to criticize in much of the work that many scholars have been prone to regard as pseudo-scientific.

In view of its proportions, and subject to the above cited bias of the author, the task is measurably well done. There are certain, possibly unavoidable, shortcomings. There is a relative absence of limited studies essential to an adequate survey of so large a field. It is of course not possible for one man to examine in detail and at first hand all, or any considerable part, of the total body of literature brought within the survey. The bibliographical citations are of course very valuable and important. An equally careful indication of the secondary sources, while less impressive, would be of even more value to the student. The absence of critical intermediate sources leaves the writer without a check on the opinions formed

from a sampling of the source material. It appears in some cases that a more comprehensive grasp of the position of other scholars would have resulted in a somewhat more adequate statement of the theoretical positions occupied, hence in a somewhat more discriminating and less wholesale type of criticism.

The book is very valuable. It is by no means a great book. Its style is rough, its organization mechanical, its tone dogmatic, and its bias pronounced. Nevertheless it attempts a much needed survey. Its harsh criticism of much current theory is stimulating; it may lead to more consideration and careful statement of fundamental assumptions. It will make somewhat easier the task of preparing a really adequate and objective analysis of the trends in social thought. The sociologists should read it; graduate students should be required to read it.

E. B. REUTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

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*Feudal Germany*. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. xxiii+710. \$5.00.

The "new history" has arrived. If the synthesis which the social sciences are seeking can be found the sooner for the discovery of a common or marginal field, Professor Thompson has done much for that synthesis by preparing that field.

The political scientist might read the book in conjunction with Oppenheimer, Harold Laski, Duguit, or Miss Follett. He should read chapters i, ii, iii, vii, and ix, on the German church and the Carolingian and Salian monarchies, the investiture struggle on political theories as the rationalization of a given historical conflict situation and on German feudalism. For a comparative study of German, English, and French feudalism, chapter ix is the best thing which the reviewer could think of recommending to the historian. The book might take the place of Luchaire's old manual—it is not what the latter is, feudalism with the "innerds" left out. The divinity student who is beginning to ponder over the timely problem, "When is a church not a church?" will find valuable hints in chapters i and iii; the economic and political aspects of revival movements he might study in chapter ii, on the spread of the Cluny reform. The sociologist will find the book a casebook for every chapter in Park and Burgess' *Introduction* for Ogburn's *Social Change*, for Sorokin's *So-*

*cial Mobility.* The anthropologist will find a detailed account of the contacts on the frontier between German and Slav and an immense bibliography to boot.

But if a distinguished legal historian has called attention to the field of law as the place where life and logic meet, the social scientists will come away the wiser from this book because it is a guide to a field where life and logic most assuredly do not meet. Thus they will be the wiser about the logic of life itself. To the reviewer this is a special merit of the book; it is the new history; in other words, precisely because it is neither dogmatic nor speculative as to causation and sequence. Here the sociologist must observe that the author does justice to the new history as the marginal field precisely because he himself approaches it as the marginal man; the participant observer of the dynamic principle in the life of two nations, the pioneers and empire-builders of Germany and America in their dark ages and their roaring forties. He sees the common element of dominance in the middle ages of both nations; the migration and colonization, the dark ages of direct appropriation, the law of tooth and fang. He presents the problems of conflict and accommodation between the national, unitary, and the territorial and sectional principle. Centralizing paternalism, hierocratic or autocratic, meets federalism with a vengeance; social, corporate, or territorial pluralism. Life itself meets with the logic of a different law wherever a social entity would live.

There is also the chronic crisis of accommodation of advanced and backward races, of heterogeneous culture groups. Acculturation, assimilation, amalgamation, takes place, but there is also degeneration and arrested development on the one hand; regression on the other. And there is, beautiful to behold, "the growth of the soil." Mr. Thompson glories in the infinite pains which the Saxons under their straw hats take with their clearings and their liberties. What remains to be told is how the nation accommodated itself to the seemingly inevitable and sublimated its *Entsagung*. Probably, in proportion as the ministeriales, so well described by Mr. Thompson, differentiated into professional groups, the soldier, the bailiff, the bureaucrat or burgher, the prebendary priest, they somehow combined to evolve in Germany the *organische Sozialethik*, the gospel of service and of a strictly other-worldly religion which Luther later so furiously preached. At all events the conflict between church and state, the crisis of the social investiture struggle, should be traceable from the eleventh century and from Cluny down to the accommodation pattern of the Lutheran German *Sittlichkeit*.

A comment on the technical aspect of Mr. Thompson's specific theses is not here in order. That the investiture struggle was the crisis in the history of the German state there can be no doubt. A clearer analysis of the interaction of the different elements in the conflict than Mr. Thompson's the reviewer has not read. But he doubts if Henry the Lion would have succeeded where Frederic failed. In their environment, in a period of expansion and colonization probably neither Henry IV, nor Henry the Lion, nor Frederic could have done what Henry II of England did. The latter so built his institutional superstructure that whether the law of the land was strong or whether it was weak it gave prestige to his institutions in either case. But Frederic and his southern ministeriales espoused a law which was alien to the nation. Roman law and his procedure was the weakness of Frederic; English law and Norman procedure was the strength of Henry II. But in Germany, Henry the Lion, like Henry IV, had neither an administrative law nor the men to apply it. The growth of institutional law had to await the growth of the soil, and before they wanted a law of the land the Germans had to get that land. Thus what the Dukes needed, the kings, the barons, the bishops, the abbots needed and got, were colonists, border ruffians, and landsharks. That their ministeriales were. They were prospectors, promoters, carpetbaggers, bushwhackers. *Schnapphaehne*, with a propensity for profiteering and time-serving. They made good administrative officers, policemen even, but not judges. Their idea of law, even in the king's service, was fist law, the law of tooth and fang. For the lack of an adequate social foundation, then, the German state north or south could have been a state like the Anglo-Norman state, neither *von Amts wegen* nor *von Rechts wegen*. The trial of Otto von Nordheim shows that, and so does that of Henry the Lion. The only institutional foundation for a state as yet in sight was the land. Whoever got the land by hook or crook got the power: that power to which, in Germany and elsewhere, Christians are supposed to submit.

But after all, Mr. Thompson, with remarkable sympathy for those heathens, loves them for what they were. His *Einfuehlung* is the charm of the book. In places it reads like Parkman (cf. pp. 387 ff.). Like Parkman, he knows his Indians and he likes them even if he finds them on the Elbe instead of the Ohio. Like Volker's, the Spielmann's song, his book is a song of love for strong men, yea for Germans.

H. H. MAURER

LEWIS INSTITUTE

*The Mechanism of the Modern States: A Treatise on the Science and Art of Government.* By SIR JOHN A. R. MARRIOTT. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1927. 2 vols. Pp. xxiv+596; xii+595.

If Sir John Marriott has not the advantage which Plato required for his governors, of being both philosophers and kings, he has at least had the dual experience of being both teacher of political theory and member of Parliament. These two large volumes, with their numerous references to commissions on which Sir John himself has sat, shows that he has used well his opportunities to influence practice by theory and to broaden theory by practice. Nevertheless it must be confessed that the theory and the description of practice alike remain somewhat conventional. In the section dealing with the judicial system in the United States the customary textbook details are conveniently summarized but such highly interesting experiments as the juvenile and domestic courts are not mentioned. The number of cases where objections to the constitutionality of federal or state statutes were upheld or dismissed by the Supreme Court is given, but only down to 1911. In his treatment of the United States Constitution Sir John refers to the writings of Mr. Beck and of Mr. Eaton Drone (1890), but not to Professor C. A. Beard's *Interpretation of the Constitution*, or directly to any work of Professor W. W. Willoughby's subsequent to 1904. Indeed, those parts of the books which deal with the workings of governmental systems outside Great Britain seem to be rather perfunctory and to have been written chiefly to facilitate comparison with the British Constitution.

In his treatment of the English system Sir John is frankly concerned with what he rightly calls "machinery," although in the epilogue he explains that the machinery is meaningless except in terms of the men who must operate it and of their ideals. All ultimately depends upon their education, which, it would not be unfair to say, Sir John regards as that of the citizen first and of the individual second. He deplores the slowness of the English mind to "apply science to the exigencies of industry and war." He rejoices in such *obiter dicta* as "the character of the English people is inscrutable," and diminishes much of the force of any comparative treatment of government by his ready resort to the affirmation that institutions are best explained as "racy of the soil in which culture was developed."

The "machinery" itself is discussed in a conservative fashion. Outstripping Bagehot, two entire chapters are devoted to monarchy. Two

chapters discuss the electorate in Great Britain only, and two, the party system in Great Britain only. One chapter discusses democracy in ancient Hellas. There is no chapter on the work of the press and like agencies. There is no discussion of political organizations other than those which are instruments of the state. The work is concerned solely with "the mechanism of this majestic Institution." It is impossible, however, not to applaud this endeavor to make a study of "the comparative anatomy of the structure of the state," since, as Sir John says, such positive studies of administrative organs, and especially of the civil service, are all too few. It may be suspected that these volumes will prove too conventional to be frequently picked out from one's shelves for purposes of quotation on the principles of what is here entitled the "science of government." But they will be found reposing on many people's desks as exceedingly convenient books of reference. And that, it is to be assumed, is what Sir John Marriott intended.

GEORGE E. G. CATLIN

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*The Building of Cultures.* By ROLAND B. DIXON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928. Pp. 312. \$4.00.

Cultural anthropologists, in the main historians, have been occupied with a single type of social process: acculturation, or diffusion. Dr. Dixon's book, in spite of the title, is not so much a general discussion of the culture process as it is a criticism of conspicuous current theories of diffusion. Like other diffusionists, extreme or moderate, Dr. Dixon continues to deal with objective, descriptively similar traits and their distributions. He does not consider differences in meaning between traits externally alike; he does not inquire into social psychological mechanisms by which diffusion is accomplished, or, except superficially, into the interrelations of cultural elements within the culture. He leaves theoretical ethnology chastened and corrected, but in the same field and equipped with much the same methodological weapons that it had before.

The core of the book is a criticism of Wissler's general formula of diffusion, so boldly presented in *The Relation of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America*. Each of Wissler's principal examples is reconsidered and the distributions remapped from the original sources of information. In each case Dixon concludes that what has taken place is not the successive outward diffusion of modifications originating in the primary center. Instead,

The centre of origin is not a source from which the later specializations flow. On the contrary, the areas of increasing specialization and development are mainly marginal, where the advancing trait meets new environments and new cultural types and patterns, to which it has to conform in order to be accepted . . . the widest changes, the most striking specializations, take place as a rule at the very end of the diffusion stream; . . . the marginal forms of the trait do not in any sense represent the primitive form (p. 140).

This is perhaps the outstanding contribution of the book. It is pointed out that the breakdown and rebuilding of culture takes place where cultures and environments meet, and suggests that changes here are of a sort different from the merely elaborative developments that go on at the center.

Peripheral modification is more profound where the natural and cultural environment is markedly different. This fact leads Dixon to make a distinction between "primary diffusion," within the original culture area, and "secondary diffusion," outside the area. Thus, although declaring his unwillingness to identify the culture area with the ecological area (habitat), he accepts and makes use of the culture area concept.

Other chapters consider the views on diffusion of Graebner, of Elliott Smith, and of Perry. Each case is argued on the merits, and each theoretical structure effectively reduced to ruin.

These well-argued criticisms are inclosed in a framework of chapters which present a general theory of culture growth. This is more familiar than profound. Invention depends on three principal variables: genius, need, and opportunity. Traits resulting from adaptation to environment are added to and modified by traits borrowed from other specializing centers. Parallel development is not uncommon. Finally, though contacts and dense population promote culture growth, unfavorable circumstances may be overcome by "racial genius," which Dixon seems to think of as an innate difference capable of considerable variation between groups as between individuals.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Quantitative Methods in Politics.* By STUART A. RICE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. Pp. xxii+331.

In his *Quantitative Methods in Politics* Professor Rice has brought together the results of a number of investigations designed mainly to show the applicability of statistical methods in research in the field of

politics, "politics" being defined as the subject which "deals with the formulation of public policies and the machinery through which they are expressed." The author emphasizes the *method* of his investigations and the evidence which he has been able to secure regarding the validity of that method; he admits the comparative unimportance of the *subjects* of a number of his studies. In this one readily recognizes an attitude characteristic of many contemporary exponents of statistical method in the social sciences. Rice has pointed out, however, that politics is a matter of the greatest importance, and he evidently feels that statistical methods are particularly adapted to the needs of political research because of the mass of the data to be handled.

Many sociologists will be most interested in the author's four introductory chapters, in which he discusses some of the general methodological problems involved in his researches. Thus he lays particular stress upon the proposition that research in politics must, for the most part, make use of indexes of the phenomena in which we are ultimately interested, since the latter are not open to direct observations or measurement. The majority of his readers will doubtless agree with his thesis that social scientists as such cannot deal with moral or social *ends*, but only with *means*. His argument for the validity of the "statistical view of a perceptual world," in chapter iii, is thought-provoking, to say the least. When, however, he attempts to identify the method of the historian with the method of case study, he ventures upon a line of thought which may be expected to call forth some criticism. Recent discussion of the use of the concept "process" in the social studies tends to suggest a reason for distinguishing between the social scientists' study of *cases* and the historians' treatment of *events*. Sociologists understand by a "case" something which may be treated as typical, i.e., representative of a class.

Throughout this volume Professor Rice uses the term "group" in such a way as to indicate that he does not recognize any distinction between a social group and a statistical aggregate. This distinction lies at the bottom of a good many misunderstandings in the current discussion of problems of social theory, and, if taken into account, it would probably have led to some qualification of the author's account of the possibilities of studying distributions of political attitudes (pp. 166-67). "It may be theoretically possible," as he says, "to divide up an electorate in an infinite variety of ways," but there may be other reasons than that pertaining to the form in which data are available for concentrating research attention upon certain groupings rather than others.

One thing which this book tends to show quite convincingly is the

usefulness of statistics and statistical computations for *describing* in a reliable and objective fashion social situations in which many persons are involved. The author proceeds upon the assumption that the social scientist "must seek, not for *causes*, but for *correlations*" (p. 33), and, while not all social scientists will agree with this restriction of this field of study, there is no disputing the need for accurate, objective descriptions of the phenomena which we are studying as a preliminary to any adequate determination of causal processes. To the formulation of such descriptions Professor Rice's studies in method unquestionably contribute. The book abounds, also, in insights into political processes which are quite incidental to the statistical findings.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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*Understanding Human Nature.* By ALFRED ADLER. Translated by WALTER BERAN WOLFE. New York: Greenberg, 1927. Pp. xiii+286. \$3.50.

Of all psychiatrists Dr. Adler seems to be most akin to sociologists in spirit and perspective. In earlier works he has shown a keen appreciation of the rôle of social relations in personal development; in the present book, which is constructed out of a series of popular lectures, we have the simplest and clearest picture of these views.

Amid a wealth of varied and valuable discussion his central theses are easily isolated. They are essentially three: the basic importance of the inferiority feeling, the presence in each of us of a life-pattern, and the appearance of character traits as expressions of the life-pattern. The conception of the inferiority relation scarcely needs any stating. Every child acquires a feeling of inferiority because of "his inability to cope single-handed with the challenges of his existence" (p. 70). From this feeling of inferiority arises the life-pattern. The feeling of inferiority "determines the very goal of his existence and prepares the path along which this goal may be reached" (p. 70). "It is this goal which gives value to our sensations, which links and co-ordinates our sentiments, which shapes our imagination and directs our creative powers, determines what we shall remember and what we must forget; . . . our very perceptions are prejudiced by it, and are chosen, so to speak, with a secret hint at the final goal toward which the personality is striving" (p. 72). It results that the individual shows an enduring behavior pattern throughout life, even though the situations encountered vary greatly. The medical impli-

cation of this view is apparent. The neurotic is one who has an unsatisfactory and unsocial life-pattern; he is cured by revealing to him this unconscious life-pattern and by aiding him to construct a new goal or pattern. Traits of character—such as vanity, hate, anxiety, cheerfulness, joy, anger, and disgust—are “only the external manifestation of the style of life, of the behavior pattern of any individual” (p. 161). These traits are not inborn but are forced into being by the secret goal of the personality.

This short presentation scarcely does justice to the discriminating and thorough treatment given these views by Dr. Adler, but it will suffice to indicate the general tenor of the work. Dr. Adler's view of the inferiority complex is well known; it has run the gauntlet of criticism, but alas, has emerged untested. What truth it contains is still a matter of controversy. It seems to the reviewer that Dr. Adler errs in attributing the appearance of the inferiority feeling to the helplessness of the infant. To feel one's self inferior presupposes that one views one's inadequacies through the eyes of others. This identification with another marks the birth of personality and is scarcely to be found in the infant. To assign the inferiority feeling to personal experience is sound; to base it on mere physical helplessness is to make it a phenomenon essentially of mammalian life, and not merely human life.

The critical point, as well as the pivot, of the discussion which Dr. Adler gives in this book is constituted by the conception of a life-pattern. The contention that the life of each of us falls into a definite pattern which is formed early and endures unchanged amid great variety in experience is as important as it is startling. Here is a view built out of Dr. Adler's vast clinical experience which cannot be passed over lightly. Unfortunately little concrete material is given to its support in this volume, due, likely, to lack of space. What constitutes the nature of this life-pattern? Is it as unchanging as Dr. Adler tells us? To the reviewer it seems that constancy in personal behavior depends upon the maintenance of a certain conception of one's self, whatever be the complex of psychological factors which is implied by this amorphous concept. To change this pattern one must change one's conception of one's self. Indeed, this seems to be exactly the aim and means involved in the scheme of therapeutics advocated by Dr. Adler for the cure of neuroses. If, however, to change one's conception of one's self is to change one's life-pattern, personal life-patterns presumably are not as crystallized as Dr. Adler thinks.

One is forced to recognize that however amiss his interpretations, Dr. Adler understands human nature in a most intimate way. Probably no other living writer shows a shrewder insight into its character nor a more comprehensive grasp of its elements. His book is replete with keen observations and revealing judgments. The social psychologist who reads this work in a sympathetic mood will garner a rich income.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Sex and Repression in Savage Society.* By BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927. Pp. xiv+285. \$3.50.

Many theories pretend validity although based only on authority and strong statements. To submit such a theory to a series of new facts is refreshing; to reconstruct it out of its débâcle is more satisfying. In this volume Dr. Malinowski has given such treatment to theories dealing with the "ticklish" subjects of sex, repression, and complex.

The main contention is that complexes have a cultural origin, and accordingly, contrary to the view of Freud, will vary with the cultural setting. The Oedipus complex, for instance, is a product of a society whose family life is marked by the *patria potestas* tradition, where the male parent possesses and exercises dominant authority. Among the Trobrian Islanders, with whose life Malinowski is intimately acquainted, a different kind of complex appears. This primitive group is marked by a matrilineal organization where the authority is vested in the hands of the maternal uncle, where the father is a friendly companion of the son, and where a strict taboo is enforced on the relations between brothers and sisters. The result is a complex marked by a hatred of the uncle and a secret desire for incest with the sister. Malinowski cites extensive evidence from the myths and dreams of these peoples which seem to prove his point. To construe complexes in this way—in the light of their cultural setting with the peculiar repressions and taboos it involves—promises to throw much light on their nature.

One who enjoys keen logical criticism will fairly revel in Malinowski's discussion of Freud's claim that culture originated from the Oedipus complex which occasioned the original patricide in the primeval horde. Malinowski so completely annihilates this view that it ceases to have value even as a fairy tale.

Having filled the rôles of anthropologist and logician, Malinowski

turns psychologist and presents us with his theory as to the nature and growth of complexes. The complex, according to him, is not isolated and watertight, but consists of the repressed elements of a sentiment. The formation and transmission of culture requires the repression of instincts. Any incestuous temptation must be repressed because it is incompatible with organized family life, which Malinowski holds to be chiefly responsible for culture. In addition the transmission of culture involves a tedious process of education, requiring, on one hand, coercive authority, and on the other, repression of original instincts. As a result of these inevitable taboos the sentiments developed in the family would necessarily have those repressed elements which constitute complexes.

Malinowski's effort to construct a theory of the formation of complexes, while ingenious and daring, is the least convincing portion of his work. Why must incestuous desires be repressed for culture to form? Even granting that culture is impossible without the repression of such desires, this does not explain why such desires are repressed. Why does education necessarily require the exercise of coercive authority, entailing the repression of instincts on the part of those being educated? The claim is weak, and one suspects in this case the operation of the psychologists' fallacy.

The reputation for versatility, freshness in approach, and keenness in interpretation which Malinowski has already gained should grow with the present work.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HERBERT BLUMER

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*The Story of the American Indian.* By PAUL RADIN (Research Professor of Anthropology, Fisk University, and sometime Lecturer in Ethnology in Cambridge University). New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927. Pp. xiv+371. \$5.00.

We are still without a simple competent statement, for the general reader, of the main facts about the American Indians before the coming of the white man. Wissler's book is an invaluable technical manual, not soon to be replaced, but it is written in a sort of anthropological shorthand which does not recommend it to the general reader. A. Hyatt Verrill's *The American Indian* is popular and filled with facts, but without any reference to the historical hypotheses by means of which anthropologists relate one fact to another. It is on the simple plane of thought which hazards that the Caribs are Phoenicians.

Dr. Radin is much more competent to write the popular account. His book has fewer facts, but much more historical reconstruction. There is, one feels, entirely too much of the latter. His theme is the spread of cultural influence from the early civilizations of the Maya and the Inca. This influence he traces to all the culture areas of the New World, except the most primitive groups, which he assumes preserve traits brought by the earliest immigrants. The error, it would seem, lies, not only in a lack of emphasis of the many local specializations, but especially in the frequent suggestion that the cultural quickening was accomplished by actual migrations. The general reader will get an impression that Maya armies marched up the Mississippi to build the mounds in that valley. "The Mexicans Conquer America" is the title of one chapter, and in another is an account of the struggle of the invaders with the aborigines in the valley. This is beyond the sanction of present reasonable historical hypothesis. Nevertheless the whole account is presented in a series of vivid pictures, with frequent quotation from Indian ritual and poetry, and the interest of the reader in Indians cannot fail to be aroused. The book is, after all, art.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Cult of Santiago: Traditions, Myths, and Pilgrimages.* By REV. JAMES S. STONE, D.D. New York: Longman's, Green & Co., 1927. Pp. lx+380. \$6.00.

Dr. Stone is concerned here not so much with the development of a religious cult as with the growth of a mythical personality. For eight hundred years the body of James the Apostle rested quietly in an unknown grave. He was but biding his time. An auspicious moment came in the reign of Charlemagne, who was awaiting a good excuse to go down and drive out the Saracen invaders from Spain. James profited by this moment by appearing to Charlemagne as a "fair and comely lord" and offering him a crown in heaven if he would rescue Spain, or rather Galicia, the land in which he was buried, from the infidel. Soon after the miraculous discovery of the body of St. James was made in Galicia. Christendom had found a new symbol and a new hope. Not only did the shrine of St. James in Compostella become famed as one of the most important goals for pilgrimages, but Santiago himself, clad in armor and bearing a flashing sword, appeared more than once to aid the Christian forces against the Moors. James, the humble Galilean fisherman, had

been metamorphosed into James of the Sword, embodiment of all the medieval knightly virtues. It is in this guise that annually he combats the Moors today in the folk plays of Mexico and perhaps many other Spanish-speaking countries. Santiago has become a part of folklore, as has St. George in England.

Dr. Stone mentions in this connection the miraculous appearance of St. George to the British soldiers in Mons in August, 1914. It is a pity that he does not carry out his considerations in this regard a little farther instead of devoting so large a part of the book to pleasantly rambling but less significant matter.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

CHICAGO

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*Publicity for Social Work.* By MARY SWAIN ROUTZAHN and EV-ART G. ROUTZAHN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1928. Pp. xviii+392. \$3.00.

The complication and differentiation of social life have the effect of creating a widening gap between the average member of society and those agencies, professions, and institutions which are steadily taking over larger and larger spheres of our common life. The problem of bridging this gap involves interpreting the aims and purposes of the agency or institution to the rank and file of citizens. This need is bringing into existence a theory and technique of publicity.

Social workers are finding that, as their activities become increasingly specialized in function, centralized in organization, and professionalized in spirit, they must lean more and more upon publicity. Moreover, in their efforts to hold the attention and to influence the behavior of their publics, they find themselves obliged to compete on equal terms with hundreds of other interest groups which are dinning for public attention.

Although social work has lagged behind "big business" and commercialized amusements, considerable progress has been made since the war in developing its publicity side. As yet there is no school for training in publicity methods, but a considerable literature on the subject is now available.

The present volume is not only an important addition to that literature, but an indispensable practical guide book for social workers who are face to face with the problem of influencing group behavior. The Routzahns, who have been on the skirmish line of social work publicity for the past decade, have packed their book with practical directions, concrete

examples, and the philosophy of experience. They furnish detailed descriptions of devices for attracting and holding public attention, for obtaining good will, for utilizing the newspaper and for conducting meetings, exhibits, and intensive campaigns. Their emphasis is upon the educational side of publicity which "seeks to make the enlightenment of the public and the gaining of its active interest important factors in accomplishing human betterment" (p. 376).

Several questions of interest for sociology arise out of this and other recent works in the theory and art of publicity. To what extent can fundamental and enduring changes in the attitudes of groups be brought about by educational publicity? How can the power to manipulate publics through the medium of publicity and propaganda be kept confined to socially desired ends? These questions need thoughtful consideration by sociologists and others who have more than an immediate practical interest in publicity problems.

In the meanwhile the present chaotic and unsystematized use of publicity which deluges citizens with a continuous flood of circulars, booklets, form letters, and a multiplicity of other stimuli, and buries editors beneath unsolicited material from a thousand interested sources, tends to defeat its own ends. Many people are developing a "publicity resistance," which, like "sales resistance," saves them no little time, trouble, and expense.

CARROLL D. CLARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Development of Trust Companies in the United States.* By JAMES G. SMITH. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928. Pp. xxii+613. \$6.25.

One of the problems of modern business, as well as of social life, is to maintain continuity and order in spite of a high degree of mobility. The Du Ponts have been at once a family and a corporation. That is exceptional. The typical modern business moves and changes hands. It lacks the continuity of primogeniture or of location. Land, in like manner, finds new owners and uses not once but often. The continuity of place and family is superseded by a whole system of institutions and impersonal entities which operate by means of credit instruments and other modern devices for bridging time, space, and uncertainty.

Viewed from such a perspective, the study of such an institution as the trust company becomes significant to the sociologist as well as to the

economist. The account given in Professor Smith's book is complete, well-ordered, and interesting. The trust company seems to have started as a stop-gap device: when a man is too old or too ill to manage his own affairs, when a corporation is in a shaky condition, when land is to be changed in use, and the change is complicated and slow, in these and other situations of similar sort the trust company stands ready to preserve continuity and integrity of estate or of equity. The situation and the function are old. Authority is cited for the exercise of third-party trust by men whose future was made uncertain by absence on the Crusades or participation in wars. In our times, however, the situation is in the day's order of business, and the function is offered as a service to the public by a kind of entrepreneur once removed. In a chapter devoted to the economic, social, and political aspects the trust company is presented as essentially a conservator and a stabilizer. In politics it is the promoter of measures to maintain property rights unimpaired. In the market it stands for soundness.

On the whole, the treatment of the material is much more imaginative, and therefore much more valuable, to the sociologist than are most accounts of similar institutions.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

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*The Economics of Instalment Selling: a Study in Consumers' Credit, with Special Reference to the Automobile.* By EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927. 2 vols. \$8.00.

On the basis of an extensive historical and statistical study Professor Seligman has proceeded not only to discuss the present tendencies in consumers' credit, but also to call up the main concepts of economics for scrutiny in the light of this modern thing. In the course of doing so he gives us something of a natural history of credit itself, beginning with emergency "pawnshop" credit, then to recurrent credit of the sort represented by the farmer who lives on credit until he sells his crop; thence to credit for capital, and finally for the purpose of putting goods into the hands of the consumer. Each of these types of credit arises in a typical economic community and has its own institutions, ranging from the pawnshop and the professional money-lender to the bank and the finance corporation. The last-mentioned institution is the credit device for the carrying of goods sold on the instalment plan.

With the automobile as a datum, Professor Seligman revives the old question of the distinction between luxury and necessity. This leads to another fundamental discussion.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the work is the studies on which the general discussion is based. The entire second volume consists of appendixes, each of which is a monograph on a particular aspect of installment selling. The tables and graphs in this volume should be useful to those students who are interested in the various types of market communities.

In short, the work surveys in comprehensive manner one of the outstanding recent developments in economic life, and uses this survey for fundamental economic discussion.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

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*The American Philosophy of Equality.* By T. V. SMITH. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927. Pp. 334.

In a sense this work is an expansion of one section of Professor Smith's earlier book *Democratic Way of Life*. The core of his present essay is the thesis that "individuality *given* to the social process is a fiction; individuality *acquired* in the process is real. Men *are* what they *function as*." In the development of this thesis he reviews historically the ideas of equality embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the institution of slavery, woman's rights, and certain aspects of the labor movement. In this process he rejects as unsafe a philosophy of inequality based upon a concept of soul or of human nature as a core of personality transcendently derived and therefore "in fact and by right immune from any thoroughgoing social transformation." He is insistent throughout that the philosophy of equality must be realistic, and that "if men are not actually equal, they nevertheless ought to be treated more equally than they now are," because since "human nature is dynamic, by such treatment men can actually be made more equal than they are." Hence the strong emphasis upon the need for a better system of distributing property and income. Professor Smith seems to accept the doctrine of "idea-forces," for he ends his essay with the distinct prophecy that if his "account of the genesis and nature of human beings be correct, of this one thing we may be assured—that men will not rest, that indeed they cannot rest, except in an ever enlarging community of sharable goods." This appeal to more equitable economic distribution rather than to tran-

scendental ideals like the "Jewish-Christian compensatory dreams" of the Apocalypse, or to metaphysical souls, or to natural rights, indicates the temper and point of view of the whole work. It is rich in reference. Its inspirations derive from Dewey, Tufts, Walt Whitman, Emerson, Royce, and Mead. These influences appear particularly in the sections on self. A little more care in proofreading, particularly in the index (e.g., Francis Leiber and Pufendeord) would have added to the general excellence of the volume.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*The Social Philosophy of William Morris.* By ANNA A. VON HELMHOLTZ-PHELAN. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1927. Pp. viii+207. \$3.50.

It is thirty years since William Morris passed from this earthly stage, but his influence as both artist and social reformer is still strong, and perhaps even vigorous; consequently Dr. von Helmholtz-Phelan has performed a useful service in restating his social philosophy. Her study is based primarily upon Morris's own writings, but includes certain standard biographies and critical studies. It is the study by an aristo-democrat of the awakening of an architect and artist into the social architect, designer, reformer, lawgiver. It is equally the study of how a fiery, uncompromising soul learns the art of adjustment and compromise in this realistic world of ours, and how such a soul with its utopian zeal came at the end to accept even palliative and relief measures for the working classes. The author shows clear critical ability and does not accept every word of Morris as inspired truth. Her central theme is that Morris held a noble ideal of work-happiness which all can understand, an ideal for the right of every man to be happy in the labor which Nature compels him to do and which Nature intended he should find pleasure in; he had the organic conception of society, and withal a passion for the wholeness of life and the unity of man's powers. This is a readable book, and on the whole beautifully printed, although two or three terrible misprints (pp. 30, 168) mar its artistry. A few mis-citations occur. For instance, bulletins are referred to as proceeding from the United States "Bureau" of Labor; Henry Morley's compilation is listed as "The Ideal Commonwealth," and important books like Glasier's *William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement* are omitted. Nevertheless, Dr. Phelan's work should

prove a valuable bridge for bringing together students of modern social reform movements and students of modern English literature.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*Social Progress. A Theoretical Survey and Analysis.* By JOYCE O. HERTZLER. New York: Century Co., 1928. Pp. 589. \$4.00.

The author who undertakes to write a book with the title "Social Progress" for inclusion in a sociological series is handicapped in advance by his title. Social Progress, as Professor Hertzler admits (p. 89), is essentially a philosophical question; scientific sociology can do no more at best than describe some of the forces and processes whereby the kind of social changes which most people call "progress" are effected. If a book were given the title "Social Values" instead of "Social Progress" it would be evident to all thoughtful people that the subject was a philosophical one. "Progress" is in fact simply the name given to changes which are held to involve an increase of the values generally accepted in a particular society. Yet there is apparently a demand for textbooks for use in college courses on progress given by departments of sociology. It seems to be the opinion of publishers that every current sociological series must include a volume on social progress.

Having due regard to this existing situation, we may credit Professor Hertzler with having met the demand for a sociological textbook on progress as successfully as was possible in the nature of the case. His first five chapters, dealing with the concept of progress, the history of the idea of progress, and the criteria of progress, are on the whole very well executed, although there is room for argument concerning the proposition that "sociology is . . . a study of social purpose and an experiment in directing it," i.e., sociology is "the science of progress." Much more important contributions to the literature of scientific sociology will be made by those who devote themselves to the study of the processes whereby social change is effected, without direct reference to the progressive or retrogressive character of the changes.

But there can be little doubt that this book is of just the sort that many colleges and universities wish to have taught to their advanced undergraduates, and it should enjoy a wide sale.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

*The Practical Application of Sociology. A Study of the Scope and Purpose of Applied Sociology.* By HERBERT NEWHARD SHENTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. Pp. 259. \$3.50.

In this volume Professor Shenton is discussing a type of knowledge which he describes as "applicable sociology." It will consist, if and when it is brought into existence, of a body of principles which are a part of the larger body of knowledge called "general sociology." Applied sociology is not social ethics. The determination of ends is a task for "positive philosophy." Applicable sociology, on the other hand, is applicable to *any* ends, whether good or bad. The author likewise distinguishes "applied sociology" from "social art," i.e., the specific procedures or technology as developed in social work, in business, and in other forms of social practice.

All this is very sound reasoning, although it may be queried whether all "general sociology" that is worth preserving at all is not presumptively, in the nature of things, "applicable sociology." Still, it is doubtless profitable to all concerned, but particularly to the professorial sociologists, to have the scope and possibilities of "applicable sociology" defined and discussed as ably as Shenton has discussed them. He makes the pertinent comment that it is very much easier to secure funds for carrying out researches which can be shown to have some practical applicability than for those which apparently do not.

The opening chapters of this book are well written and thought-provoking. The later chapters are uneven and somewhat pedantic. As might be expected, the author has been particularly disposed to rely upon Giddings' works for suggestions, although he has canvassed a considerable range of theoretic and practical literature. A great deal more work might profitably be expended upon the preparation of a book of the same character as this one. Much has in fact been done in recent years which may be regarded as contributions to applicable sociology but which does not seem to be known to Shenton.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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*Volkscharakter und Wirtschaft. Ein Wirtschafts-philosophisches Essay.* By HERMANN LEVY. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1926. Pp. viii+128. R.M. 5.60.

Dr. Levy raises the old question of a *Volkscharakter* and its relation to economic life. His thesis is that the truth lies neither in the formula

that culture governs economy nor in the contrary one that economic life governs culture, but in the interaction of *Volkscharakter* and economic forces whereby new culture and new economic systems are produced. In developing this thesis the author reviews the differences in the economics of Catholic and Protestant countries, as well as between Germany and England. One is left with a strong feeling that Germany is the cultural center of the world, but that it is in danger of being polluted by the baneful influences of America and England. Germany is the place where people still buy apples and underwear on the merits of each article as determined by inspection, and not by trademark or grade.

It seems to me that the author strikes a more important note when he considers incidentally the types of personality arising in the interaction of culture and economy. In post-war Germany, he tells us, the *Rentner* has disappeared. The local patron of the arts and the repertoire actor are giving way to the internationally known movie star. Local amateur sport yields its place to newspaper spectatorship of commercial sports. There is appearing a new type of *Spiezzbürger*, or "smart gent," of the mentality of the English clerk, who reads his sporting page, wears the latest advertised fashions, and goes to the movies.

An excursus in this interesting essay suggests that a difference in the degree of standardization of life in Germany and England may be due to the difference of dominance by their respective economic capitals. Every sixth man in England is a Londoner. Paris stands alone in domination of France. But Berlin is not the center of Germany in such a sense. Its newspapers do not reach the ends of the Republic; it has provincial competitors who prolong the decentralized cultural and economic life of the empire.

The question of the ultimate effects of a world-economy on the culture of various countries and the types of persons produced in each is indeed an interesting and important matter. It merits more than the essay type of treatment.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

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*Marx and Lenin: The Science of Revolution.* By MAX EASTMAN.

New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1927. Pp. 267. \$2.00.

This book is highly technical. It is an attack upon the philosophy of Hegel as revised by Marx and upheld in theory by Lenin. This philosophy asserts that the world is inevitably evolving through class struggle from capitalism to socialism. In other words, Socialists conceive that they are acting in co-operation with an external power. This is an animistic

or a religious way of thinking. Eastman would substitute for this philosophy the idea that there is no inevitability about the coming of socialism. It may be possible for able and energetic men to bring in socialism, but it will not come in automatically. The mere difficulties of capitalism will breed chaos, not socialism, unless determined men control the social process. Eastman shows that while Lenin did lip service to the theory of the inevitability of socialism, he actually relied only upon practical means to bring it to pass. He was a scientist, not a philosopher.

Eastman tells a strange thing about Russia. It seems that the soviet supports a large number of philosophers engaged in translating the whole body of existing knowledge into the terms of dialectic materialism, i.e., negation, negation of the negation, and synthesis. The whole scheme of soviet education is made to conform to Hegel's theory of the mind. According to Eastman, this is a work of obscurantism. One can easily imagine the hopeless befuddlement resulting from an attempt to translate the theories of Einstein into the terms of the Hegelian dialectic. This book is an effort to persuade the soviet to substitute modern psychology for its early nineteenth-century German philosophy.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

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*Spiritual Exercises and Their Results. An Essay in Psychology and Comparative Religion.* By AELFRIDA TILLYARD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. viii+216. \$2.25.

There always have been, and probably always will be, a class of people to whom experience is more important than action. These are the mystics, the people to whom the spiritual world—that is, the world of religious experience—is more real than the physical world. Spiritual exercises are practices designed to enable a person to withdraw his attention from the thoughts and scenes of everyday life and to bring him into communion with ultimate reality.

All the great religions have formulated their special varieties of the spiritual exercise, but the exercise, as such, always contains certain definite parts or elements. Religious intention is essential to the successful performance of the spiritual exercise. Scientific experimentation with it, simply as a type of human consciousness, is futile. But in all cases where the exercise is practiced by persons with religious intent, a definite sequence of psychical states is observable.

Miss Tillyard's book analyzes the spiritual exercises that are practiced in the Hindu, Buddhist, Mohammedan, and Christian religions. The conclusion reached is that the psychical states are similar in devotees

of all these religions. What is different is the interpretation given to them.

So far as the reviewer is aware, this is the first time that any such survey and comparison of these worship methods has been attempted. The book is a supplement to the works of Von Hügel, Inge, and Underhill on mystical religion, without being in any degree comparable to them in ability. From the sociological point of view its value is very much lessened by the fact that the only spiritual exercises considered are those practiced by religious individuals in isolation. It is to be hoped that the author of this volume will follow it with another, dealing with the psychology of the rituals used in group worship.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

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*A Short History of Women.* By JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES. New York: Viking Press, 1927. Pp. xvi+382. \$3.00.

*Modern Youth and Marriage.* By HENRY NEUMANN (Leader of the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture). New York: Appleton & Co. Pp. xiv+148. \$1.50.

There is no reason for perpetuating the fallacy that sound scholarship must be dull or pedantic. On the other hand, there is no reason why scholarship should be watered or debased for so-called popular consumption. This is the blight of journalistic social science. For some strange reason the author of *A Short History of Women* seems to suffer from that blight, for his training in social anthropology should have qualified him for more solid work. This book is not really history or science. It is a medley of anthropological, biological, and social facts interspersed with smart *obiter dicta* and superficial generalizations. The author attempts, but not very successfully, to disarm criticism by announcing that his subject matter is controversial, and that he presents only a point of view. For this reason he might well have omitted his prophesying in the Epilogue (over which the spirit of Count Keyserling seems to hover). Certain equations implied or explicit sound unwarrantably dogmatic, to say the least; for example, life=sex; woman=*mana*; woman's status=fertility. Other generalizations are equally flimsy, for example, that the family has been so far abolished in America that an official Mother's Day had to be instituted.

Dr. Neumann examines sympathetically the perplexities and questionings of modern youth. The whole spirit of his six brief essays is embodied in the dedication "To One of the Nameless Many Whose Fidelity Keeps Life Wholesome." He accepts the changing aspect of modern fam-

ily life, refuses to believe that revolt means wickedness, stresses the factors of responsibility, loyalty, and moral backbone, reiterates the truth that following nature does not mean going right, and points out that the only real freedom comes through self-control. One of his most direct shafts is that the new is not necessarily better than the old, for the new can be foolish, too, and some conventions, at least, are still sensible. Equally pointed, too, is the observation that old errors tend to dress themselves up as new "science." This very sensible, brief series of essays closes on the optimistic and yet realistic statement that marriage is not the only failure and that domestic health is possible even in a sick world where the seamy side of sex is constantly played up. ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*The Behavior of Young Children in the Same Family* (Harvard Studies in Education No. 10). By BLANCHE C. WEILL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. x+220. \$3.00.

This study seeks to test the hypothesis that "The reason for the varieties of behavior of children in the same family is that they are not all reacting to the same family situation, for the situation on the surface is alike for all, is in reality a series of separate situations for each individual child." The materials used and presented in the book were the records of seventeen families with fifty-nine children, including twenty-five children brought to the habit clinics in Boston for help in behavior difficulties. Family situations tending to individual maladjustment were classified in four general divisions, with many subdivisions: (1) poor personal relations; (2) physical and mental disabilities; (3) social and moral maladjustments, and (4) economic pressures. This classification is purely external and formal, and does not grow out of an analysis of the actual personal interrelationships in family life. The case studies presented undoubtedly do indicate that "there are differences in the environments of each individual member of the families studied," but the proof hardly seems adequate for the further point that "these differences have shown themselves potent enough to have been the chief causes of the differences of behavior of the various children of the same family." This is an intriguing hypothesis, and the data in this study may create a presumption in its favor, but more adequate study than is given in this monograph is necessary to establish it. Dr. Weill has cleared the ground for further research in the study of the effect upon child development of the interaction of personalities within the family.

E. W. BURGESS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Character and the Conduct of Life.* By WILLIAM McDUGALL, M.B.; F.R.S. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927. Pp. xvi+394. \$3.75.

This book is avowedly "an essay in practical morals, and is not at all concerned with ethical theories." It ploughs over a great deal of the McDougall psychology, including the familiar list of inborn tendencies and several attacks on the Freudian school. It covers, in the main, factors in human nature, character, qualities of personality, injunctions to parents and children, young people, girls, young men, wives, and husbands. Trial marriage, but not birth control, is condemned. Dancing for young married couples is discountenanced. The author dares to put in a word "for the harmless necessary 'damn!'" An expletive relieves tension and does no harm." While certain of the chapters are full of homely common sense, on the whole the work is didactic and disappointing. It is a tame book, full of allusions but uninspiring to either science or letters. It lacks literary charm, in spite of copious quotations from Amiel. Hence it is not in the same class as William James's *Talks to Teachers*, or one of Royce's little volumes, or Cooley's recent *Life and the Student*.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*Highdays and Holidays.* By FLORENCE ADAMS and ELIZABETH MCCARRICK. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927. Pp. 337. \$2.00.

Miss Adams and Miss McCarrick, children's librarians in the New York Public Library, have compiled an anthology of verse appropriate to the year's round of "special days" which is far superior to the ordinary collection of banalities intended for the young. The authors appear to have a feeling both for that which is genuinely poetic and at the same time expressive of the memories and sentiments actually existent in this our American culture. The section on Lincoln's Birthday, which contains among others selections from Edwin Markham, Walt Whitman, Witter Bynner, and Edwin Arlington Robinson, is an example. Older holidays, on the other hand, such as Valentine's Day and May Day, are expressed better by verses taken from traditional folklore. It is to be regretted that a somewhat more adequate introduction is not included.

CHICAGO

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

*Economic History of the United States* (presented in outline). Reprinted from Putnam's *Historical Atlas*. By ROBERT M. McELROY, PH.D., LL.D., M.A. (OXON.) (Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth, Professor of American History in Oxford University, Fellow of Royal Historical Society, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford). New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927. Pp. 86.

This volume is a capable outline of American economic history. By a careful selection of facts the writer is enabled to present the story of American economic development with clarity. He stresses the rôles of geographic factors, the movement of population westward, the disappearance of the pioneer areas, the development of machine technology, and the growth of communication and transportation.

In the nature of the case he is forced to give scant treatment to the class conflicts, labor, reform, and agrarian movements correlated with the changes in technology and economic life which he sketches.

The book contains some very good maps which show roads, railroads, shifts geographically in trade and commerce, etc. It lacks both an index and a bibliography.

*The United States of America. Studies in Physical, Regional, Industrial, and Human Geography*. By ALBERT PERRY BRIGHAM, Sc.D., L.H.D., LL.D. (Professor of Geology in Colgate University). London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1927. Pp. x+308. \$3.00.

This book is based on a series of lectures delivered at the University of London in 1924. Space in the volume is about evenly divided between a discussion of the geography of the United States and a description of our industry, transportation, commerce, population make-up, education, language, traditions, government, and the tendencies in American life. The volume is primarily descriptive. The writer tends toward a rather facile, not to say superficial, optimism in his interpretations of American institutions, tendencies, and problems.

The volume is best in sections dealing with the geography of the United States. There are valuable maps and charts, and the text is interesting and readable.

*The Office of Indian Affairs*. Institute for Government Research, Service Monographs of the United States Government No. 48. By LAURENCE F. SCHMECKEBIER. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1927. Pp. 14+587. \$3.00.

Dr. Schmeckebier is a political scientist long engaged in research and publication for various branches of the federal government. His monograph is a useful compendium of information on our Indian policy and on the organization and work of the Office of Indian Affairs. There is a chapter on the history of our military and political relations with the Indians which is not mere historical whitewashing, an appendix collecting federal legislation dealing with the Indians, and an extensive bibliography. There is much material here on the development of an institution.

*Monografía del Departamento de Guatemala.* By J. ANTONIO VILLACORTA. Guatemala, Central America: Tipografía Nacional, 1926. Pp. 378.

This is just such an article, very much expanded, as appears in encyclopedias under the names of states and cities. The subject here is that political subdivision of the Republic of Guatemala which includes Guatemala City. The geography and the demography of each of the *municipios* making up the *departamento* are given in orderly detail. The statistical materials and maps describing the capital may serve students of the city. Otherwise the book will be chiefly of practical use to North Americans who are going to Guatemala. The chapters on ethnology and archeology are superficial.

*The Black Journey: Across Central Africa with the Citroen Expedition.*

By GEORGES-MARIE HAARDT and LOUIS AUDOUIN-DUBREUIL. New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1927. Pp. 316. \$4.00.

This is an account, in romantic style, of an automobile trip across Africa, from Algeria to the Indian Ocean, a trip made apparently in the interests of French colonial policy and perhaps of French automobile makers. The book contains little to interest social scientists. It suggests that imperialism may take its way on caterpillars, that there is a future for filling stations in Africa, and particularly that an immense amount of traveling can be done without seeing and reporting anything significant. To travel among little-known people without at all exploring them is a waste.

*The New Democracy.* By WALTER E. WEYL. New York: Macmillan Co., 1912. Reprinted 1912, 1913, 1914, 1916, 1918. Reissued 1927. Pp. 357.

Since the first edition of *The New Democracy* in 1912 a tremendous volume of water has rolled under the bridge: the great war, the Eighteenth and Nineteenth amendments, immigration restriction, comparative peace in Mexico, Teapot Dome, Daugherty, Lindbergh. In spite of these episodes the reissue of Walter Weyl's now almost classical statement of democratic meliorism will be welcome. Most of its facts are still challenging, and its brilliant style remains undimmed.

*Some Aspects of the Philosophy of L. T. Hobhouse.* By J. A. NICHOLSON. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XIV, No. 4, 1926. Pp. 86. \$1.00.

The author regards Hobhouse as primarily a philosopher, and in this opinion most American sociologists probably agree. Hobhouse has had considerable influence upon sociological thought, however, and many students of the history and tendencies of sociology will probably find this able summary of his philosophical writings useful.

*Old Houses of New England.* By KNOWLTON MIXER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. 346. \$5.00.

This volume is nothing more nor less than it purports to be: a description of early houses still standing in New England with a historical commentary on the owners and the life of the period. Human interest details are, however, rather scanty, the main emphasis being upon architecture.

*The Psychological Foundations of Management.* Edited by HENRY C. METCALF. Chicago: A. W. Shaw Co., 1927. Pp. vii+309.

This book contains a series of articles designed to "point out the contributions of industrial psychology to business management and to define the difficulties of psychological research in the industrial field." The contributors to the book are Henry S. Dennison, Professor C. S. Yoakum, John A. Garvey, H. S. Person, Miss M. P. Follett, Dr. Walter Bingham, Professor H. A. Overstreet, and Dr. Elton Mayo. Some of the more important topics considered are leadership, selection and placement, harmony and conciliation, control and management, and mental hygiene. These articles, while not profound nor strikingly original, are very valuable to those unacquainted with the literature in this field.

*Karl Marx's Interpretation of History.* By MANDELL MORTON BOBER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. Pp. x+370. \$3.50.

The painstaking documentation of references gives evidence of a very wide and careful reading of Marx's writings. The author has attempted to work out the exact and full content of the various concepts used by Marx, including them under the general heads "The Material Basis of Society," "The Human Element in History," "The Ideological Element," and "The Trend of History." One has the feeling that the calculation has been worked out to more decimal points than the accuracy of the data warrants. The final section of the work is devoted to criticism of the theories of Marx, based on the grounds that history gives evidence of too many forces in human nature and society to allow so simple a disposition of it all as Marx suggests.

*Problems of America. A Group of Articles on Social Adjustment* (weekly journal). Pittsburgh: Scholastic Publishing Co. Pp. 48. \$0.35.

This is a series of articles published recently in the *Scholastic*. The authors are distinguished, but the material they present has very little theoretical significance. The following are the topics discussed: "Social Thinking," by E. C. Lindeman; "Population and Food Supply," Warren S. Thompson; "Urban Congestion and Rural Life," Edmund deS. Brunner; "Public Health," George E. Vincent; "Eugenics," Samuel J. Holmes; "Immigration," William W. Husband; "Distribution of Wealth," Thomas Nixon Carver; "Industrial Democracy," John A. Fitch; "Crime," Winthrop D. Lane; and "Intolerance," by A. B. Wolfe.

*Proceedings of the Second International Country Life Commission* (held at Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., August 3, 4, 5, and 6, 1927), *Bulletin No. 5*. English edition issued from Michigan State College. Pp. 187.

This Conference, attended by representatives of twenty-five foreign countries and twenty-five American states, is very significant as indicating a world-wide interest on the part of educational leaders in the improvement of rural life. The addresses show that everywhere social changes are occurring in rural regions because of urbanization and modern communication. The desire voiced by the Conference is that farming peoples shall more adequately keep pace with urban advances in standards of life. To achieve this end, reliance is placed in educational methods, with emphasis on research and instruction in rural sociology.

## RECENT LITERATURE

### ABSTRACTS

The abstracts and the bibliography in this issue were prepared under the direction of a member of the editorial staff by C. D. Clark, H. C. Griffin, and Carl M. Rosenquist, of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago. Each abstract is numbered at the end according to the classification in the January issue of this *Journal*.

#### I. PERSONALITY: THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE PERSON

Verbesserte sich der Mensch von Urmenschen bis zum Heutigen? (Is Modern Man Better than the Primitive?).—Goodness appears in six successive forms or stages, characterized, respectively, by love of self, love of family, love of relatives, love of tribe, love of race, and love of humanity. The first two of these are found among the lower animals. Among men, the despot shows excessive development of the first forms; the genius, of the last. The ordinary man has a fair proportion of each, while the criminal is deficient in all. The exercise of goodness consists of the performance of definite acts, which, like all acts, are dependent upon brain development. Since the brain develops in the process of evolution and since goodness has value for humanity, it will continue to develop.—Frans Tël, *Archiv für Kriminologie*, LXXXI (Heft 4, 1927), 235-48. (I, 2.) C. M. R.

The Physiologic Life.—We know much less about the factors that affect the race than the individual. Modern man is adapted to former rather than present conditions. He cooks and denatures his food: he lives in an artificially uniform climate; he is more subject to pollution and poisoning; he has more stimulants and drugs; he has less fear, but more anxiety; he probably leads a less biological sex life; and he is subjected to a more continuous nerve strain. A symbiotic relation to infectious diseases seems likely. He has, in addition, occupied all the land area of the earth, thus exposing himself to new climates. Scientific progress may be a menace to the race, for some phases of the man-made environment do seem to injure the germ plasm. Can study prevent the danger to the race in the future?—A. J. Carlson, *Science*, XVII (April 6, 1928), 355-60. (I, 2; VIII, 2.) H. C. G.

Temperament and Social Class.—If we had a sufficiently accurate method of investigation we should find a significant statistical consistency of temperament among the members of a given social class, and this would be the more marked the more important the functions of the class in the general community. This temperamental consistency most certainly has an innate basis. If this holds good of temperament, it probably holds good equally or even more markedly with interests. Temperament mainly determines how we face the varied situations of life; interest, what we select from these situations to deal with, or with what class of situation among the many that life presents to us we shall be especially preoccupied. We have a common stock of instinctive endowment, but in one social class one set of instinctive tendencies is predominant. In any social group institutions and traditions grow very strong and very permanent and pervade a great proportion of the social activities of its members, and they also pass into the mental constitution of the members and develop in them specialized interests which are innate in the sense in which I am using the term. So the persons born into that class are predisposed toward certain occupations, certain skills, a certain outlook upon life. This is a double-sided process.—F. C. Bartlett, *Eugenics Review*, XX (April, 1928), 25-28. (I, 2.) H. C. G.

Über das Verständnis des Kindes für den Erwachsenen (Concerning the Child's Understanding of Adults).—An experiment designed to show the extent to which children understand adult ideas attempted to compare what children are afraid of with what they think adults are afraid of. The children had difficulty in telling what adults fear, but they distinguished clearly between the objects of their own fear and those of adults' fear. They ascribed their ideas of fear to experience and to phantasy. Fairy tales were found to have great effect in determining fears. The various kinds and degrees of fear were not well distinguished, though ability to do this increased rapidly with age. On the whole the children lacked judgment and critical faculties. The experiment indicates that children do not understand adults as well in this field as commonly supposed.—Maria Zillig, *Archiv für die Gesamte Psychologie*, LXII (Heft 1 and 2, 1928), 135-78. (I, 3.) C. M. R.

Massenwahn (Popular Delusions).—Taking its illustrations from the attitudes of the nations which were the enemies of Germany during the war, this article essays a description of the formation and operation of popular delusions, particularly those of a prejudicial nature. These delusions were not, as commonly supposed, the product of propaganda; they were inevitable under the circumstances. The propagandists, the propaganda, and the crimes committed in retaliation for supposed acts of inhumanity were all a result of the same causes. Psychoanalytically considered, popular delusions are similar to dreams, first, in that they are delusions of normal people from which they recover on awakening, and second, in that they represent wish-fulfillments, e.g., the enemy is always represented as having traits worse than one's own. These delusions are practically impossible to destroy, once they become current.—Kurt Baschwitz, *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, XXV (November, 1927), 83-115. (I, 4.) C. M. R.

Jugendliche nach der Strafhaft (Juveniles after Imprisonment).—The convict leaves prison, a society of his equals, where he has learned to fit in, where he has heroes and compensations for his feelings of inferiority, and enters a world where he does not feel at home and where he must lie to get a job. In some cases youthful delinquents so estranged may be brought back into society through occupational contacts. Several examples are presented to show how boys who were cruel to animals became kind to them and incidentally gave up delinquency after being placed in charge of cattle or other animals. In this treatment the animal served as a sort of elementary social being in the process of socialization.—Oscar Beck, *Internationale Zeitschrift für Individual Psychologie*, VI (March-April, 1928), 100-107. (I, 4.) C. M. R.

Über Faszination (Concerning Fascination).—Fascination is characterized by extreme attentiveness and complete motor inhibition, even paralysis. All ego functions disappear in the complete absorption in the object. The condition is very much like sleep, and easily goes over into hypnosis. A certain form of fascination may also exist over long periods, e.g., one is fascinated by a certain person. Fascination may take place at a juggler's performance or at a movie. In this case what the artist calls sympathy is equivalent to identification. It must be distinguished from imitation and from like response to like stimulus.—Siegfried Bernfeld, *Imago*, XIV (Heft 1, 1928), 76-87. (I, 4.) C. M. R.

Thinking in Concert.—The interdependence of men in modern life complicates the conditions of their thinking. As group members their thought is often addressed to situations within which certain values are dimly emergent, and require the meeting of diverse sensitivities and purposes in order to come into being. A social problem is always immersed in such a situation, and the parties to it react to the situation with their whole personalities, and not simply with their intellects. When they "interthink" as a group, the promise of their effort turns on the quality of their mutual stimulations. Group thinking of this sort is a needed corrective of "group conditioning," where similarities in social position and function impart to those who share them a common mental "set" that limits the range of their perceptions. Thus, while no one would impute a "group mind" to small employers as a class, yet one may speak of them as forming a "mind group," with characteristic attitudes and

points of view. Discussion under auspices which play up its subtler resources can become an episode out of which people find their older attitudes transcended and a new orientation among their impelling life-values.—Alfred D. Sheffield, *New Republic*, LIV (March, 1928), 115-17. (I, 4.) C. D. C.

## II. THE FAMILY

**Like Father Like Son-in-Law.**—Professors Pearson and Lee found that husband and wife are more alike, in easily measurable physical characteristics, than first cousins. There is also an assortive mating of people of nearly equal vitality, as measured by the life-span. There is a further tendency for people of like social inheritance to mate with each other. The behavioristic explanation of this is too superficial, and an adequate explanation must seek the biological basis for these facts. The apparent absurdity of the overrefined barriers erected by the caste system of India should not obscure the fact that the ability to retain superiority when once established is a primary necessity in racial progress, and the mating of like with like is a natural law too deep seated and too well established to be set aside by political systems. The practice in this country is much more sound biologically. Marriage is as severely restricted to members of the same social level as in any other country, but individuals change from one level to another according to their ability to demonstrate their true worth.—Donald F. Jones, *Scientific Monthly*, XXVI (June, 1928), 557-60. (II, 1.) H. C. G.

**Recognizing the Homemaker.**—Efforts are being made to get in the United States census some recognition for the homemaker. If they succeed, millions of women who have toiled without titles will no longer be listed as persons of no occupation. This gesture for recognition is not to be minimized in importance. It vocalizes the vague feeling of unrest which has been swaying women ever since factory, bakery, delicatessen, laundry, and electrical appliances simplified the problem of domestic efficiency. During the last ten years beneath the froth there has been an undercurrent of sane thinking on the subject of marriage and careers for women. Women's colleges are putting into their curricula experimental courses to help that large proportion of students who plan to combine marriage and a profession. Instead of less co-operation in the home, the plan that provides for the mother's outside work implies more. The father must add to the functions of provider and physical fatherhood those of homemaking and spiritual parenthood. Home is man's sphere no less than woman's.—Eudora Ramsey Richardson, *North American Review*, CCXXV (June, 1928), 693-800. (II, 3; VII, 4.) C. D. C.

## III. PEOPLES AND CULTURAL GROUPS

**The Rise of a Social Taboo.**—In the critical pioneer days of the Mormons in Utah the grain crop was seriously threatened by a pest of locusts, but the appearance of large flocks of gulls saved the situation. Now there is a taboo against killing these birds, and a monument has been erected to them. There were the following stages in the development of the culture complex of the gull: (1) a severe group crisis in which group survival is endangered; (2) failure of common-sense (naturalistic) techniques; (3) turning to God for help (plus working); (4) crisis continues to grow more alarming in spite of increased efforts and piety; (5) growing despair and great emotional disturbance; (6) appearance of gulls, with fear that they too might be destroyers, heightens emotional tone; (7) the gulls unexpectedly devour the insects (the aleatory element in social crisis); (8) the saving of the crops and thanksgiving to God; (9) the raising of the gull to a place of religious-economic significance and the placing of a taboo on its destruction; (10) a legend has grown up about the crisis and its solution; (11) final culmination in an object of veneration and communal attention (the monument). The fact that the gulls did not become an object of direct worship—the direction which the interpretation of this experience took—was determined by the previous experience by what the anthropologist calls the cultural patterns of the group.—Kimball Young, *Scientific Monthly* (May, 1928), 449-53. (III, 1, 2.) H. C. G.

**Die Fremdsprachen (Foreign Languages).**—The Romans learned Greek because they admitted the cultural superiority of the Greeks. The later cultural superiority of the Romans and the French led Europe generally to adopt Latin and French. Foreign languages are used as one of the means whereby the upper classes secure and maintain the distinction between themselves and the lower classes. The upper classes of Europe continued to use foreign languages until the rise of the lower classes created a demand for the native speech. The discarding of foreign languages and teaching them in the common schools has met with great opposition from the higher groups of society.—M. Vaerting, *Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie*, VII (Heft 1, 1928), 45–54. (III, 2; VII, 2.) C. M. R.

**Afghanistan and the Outer World.**—Afghanistan is being led, in the face of much reluctance in religious circles, to the ways of advanced Western civilization. Though its area is larger than France, the population of the country is only slightly over six million inhabitants. Some are probably of Aryan stock, though in a remote period tribes of Semitic origin entered Afghanistan and founded what is now known as the Douranni race. With the Islamic invasion, all of the mountain tribes accepted the new faith. Their chiefs made frequent conquests in India, sometimes actually occupying the throne of Delhi. Under Abdur-Rahman, who received the throne in 1881, the borders of Afghanistan were closed to European travelers, and a policy of strict isolation was followed. This policy was changed by Habib Ullah, his son and successor, who constructed good roads to the chief centers and developed trade. The coming of motors, the admission of European engineers, and the use of water-power are developing the ways of the West. Since the country lacks mineral resources, hides, dried fruits, and with the coming of refrigerator trains, fresh fruit, of incomparable value to India, must continue to be the chief exports.—George MacMunn, *Nineteenth Century*, CIII (March, 1928), 344–53. (III, 3; VII, 4.) C. D. C.

**The Irish Migration of the Forties.**—A potato economy, population increase, famine, and readjustment led to the migrations of the forties. The cycle of prosperity ran from prosperity to natural increase and outside additions to those on the soil, famine and extermination, redivision of land among the survivors, and increase. People on the margin of subsistence, lacking the capacity to develop new economic institutions, are regulated by the Malthusian law. Landlords tend to get rid of people. "Estate migration" forced peasants to leave land for economic reasons, and the landlords aided emigrants. Landlessness, rather than the food law, was really at fault. The traditional mercantilism and nationalism of the English policy resulted in population pressure which reduced people to a spade economy. After famine years came change.—Francis Morehouse, *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (April, 1928), 579–92. (III, 4.) H. C. G.

**Über ländliche Siedlung (Concerning Farm Settlement).**—Settlement on farms, or, as it is called, inner colonization, is now being intensively urged on the German people by the government, which has provided numerous aids for settlers. This movement is in complete accord with the German population policy because it will increase that portion of the population which has the best health and the highest net increase. Furthermore, a denser population in the country is expected to improve social conditions there, and thereby delay the drift to the large cities. It will also make possible a greater total population for the nation as a whole.—C. von Dietze, *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, CXXVIII (January, 1928), 38–48. (III, 4; V, 1; VIII, 2.) C. M. R.

**The State of Riverbank.**—Men have imagined utopias, erehwons, and typees in the South Seas, or have tried out Brook Farms, Soviets, Zions, and Houses of David at great trouble and expense. But in every shantytown in Riverbank projects are being tried out daily in communism, anarchy, polygamy, free love, and various other innovations. The state of Riverbank is a quasi-communistic commonwealth whose territory consists in non-contiguous fragments on both banks of the Mississippi from Keokuk to Hannibal. Its industries are fishing, garbage-picking, truck-raising, loafing, and bootlegging. Each local unit, known as shantytown, is located

between the railroad tracks and the water's edge on a no man's land of willow and cottonwood, of weed patch, sand bar, and mud flat. The population maintains continuity, almost every Riverbanker being the child of a Riverbanker, and more than likely the grandchild of one. Each person lives according to his ideas of individual expediency, and each shantytown is practically autonomous governmentally. The ordinary laws of property, marriage, sanitation, and taxation scarcely touch Riverbank.—Roman Laim, *Scribner's*, LXXXIII (March, 1928), 291-303. (III, 6; V, 3.)  
C. D. C.

**Chinese Views of Truth and Justice.**—Taxes and family life have been influential in determining attitudes toward law, truth, and justice in China. Although the Chinese have had longer experience in self-government than any other people, self-government was never practiced in any unit larger than the village. The central government has concerned itself principally with the collection of tribute, and has never had close contact with the people. They have been governed, not from above, but by habits formed unconsciously in family life. The Confucian system merely reflected the most prominent feature of the life of the times when it emphasized the importance of the family as the principal controlling instrument of human conduct. Of the five great duties (*wu-hun*), three pertain to the family, one to government, and one to that portion of society which is outside the family. The conservative influence of the family makes difficult all attempts at co-operation and explains the backwardness of China in communications, harbor improvements, sanitation, and other concomitants of enlightenment. The ethics underlying judicial procedure is closely allied to the ethics of the family system. If China is to exist in larger units than the farm village or military satrapy without reverting to the imperial form of government, its people must break their bondage to the village and family point of view.—John Earl Baker, *Asia*, XXVIII (July, 1928), 532-39. (III, 6; VII, 4.)  
C. D. C.

**Why Chinese Business Is Not Business.**—The task of introducing a new form of government in China is scarcely more difficult than that of introducing modern industry. The use of power is fundamental to the standard of living possible to any people. In manufacture alone, the United States has power-driven machinery at work equal to three times the effective man-power of China. Obstacles to the introduction of the steam engine include the cheapness of human labor, the high rate of interest, and the prohibitive replacement costs due to poor care given to machinery. Confucian etiquette hinders the industrialization of China. The intellectual fetish and scholarly etiquette prevent Chinese engineers and executives from keeping their influence with the workers, and interfere with effective supervision. The wearer of the silk gown cannot free himself from the entanglements of formality. China has tried to employ the corporation, but so far without success. Lack of legal protection and competent executives, and the tendency of trustees to favor relatives, have contributed to the failure of Chinese corporations. Industrialization of China will require decades of evolution, even if given all possible conscious assistance.—John Earl Baker, *Asia*, XXVIII (May, 1928), 390-97. (III, 6; VII, 1, 4.)

#### IV. CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION GROUPS

**Fascism i Norge (Fascism in Norway).**—Fascism, a reactionary, aggressive, social movement directed against the labor movement of Europe, begins typically with a strengthening of the powers of the government and ends with a dictatorship. In Norway the movement has taken three forms, each more extreme than the last. However, the lack of strong revolutionary tendencies in the Norwegian labor party has served to moderate the program of fascistic organizations, so that such profound changes as those of Italy and Spain are not likely to take place in Norway.—Håkon Meyer, *Samtiden*, XXXIX (Hefte 2, 1928), 109-17. (IV, 1, 3.)  
C. M. R.

**The American Labor Movement.**—The great difference between the labor unions of most other countries and that in the United States lies in the fact that the latter has confined itself to the historic purposes and methods of organized labor, whereas the former has embraced the purposes and methods of a very different move-

ment. Though the conflict between capital and labor has nowhere attained greater intensity than in the United States, and American unions have fought some of the most violent labor wars in modern history, the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle has never been seriously accepted by organized labor in America. It is not accidental that these methods have been rejected by the American labor movement. It does not deny the fact of industrial conflict, but it does deny that employers and employed have no interests in common. When the existence of an industry is threatened by legislation directed against it, employers and employed quickly discover that they have equal interest in combating that legislation. This mutuality of interest is always present in industry, though frequently obscured by struggle upon special issues. Loss of employment is as serious to the workers as loss of property is to owners, so they are vitally concerned in the success of the enterprise in which they are engaged. Increasing recognition of this fact is evidenced by the greater demand of the workers for an effective voice in management, and by the growing tendency of employers to grant that demand, as shown by the numerous experiments that are being tried out.—John Spargo, *Yale Review*, XVII (April, 1928), 499-516. (IV, 1.) H. C. G.

**The African Labour Problem.**—Africa is becoming more and more indispensable to the rest of the world. The last thirty years have witnessed an enormous increase in the volume of its foreign trade, though its mineral and agricultural resources are as yet scarcely touched. The basic condition upon which rests the future development of Africa is the solution of its labor problem. While white men have supplied the initiative, capital, and organization, practically all the manual work in African production has been performed by native labor. The relation between blacks and whites is a vital factor in the labor problem. In South Africa the old theory of the racial division of labor is breaking down with the appearance of a considerable white wage-earning class and with the increasing ability and ambition of the natives. The problem of the "poor white" is haunting South African statesmen. Analysis of economic tendencies in South Africa plainly indicates that equality of economic opportunity between the white and black races is becoming inevitable. This involves the recognition of the position of the native as an integral part of industry, with the same right to be paid in accordance with his output and the same right to protection by the state. In West Africa, and those portions of Central and East Africa which are climatically unfavorable to the white man, native labor holds the entire field, skilled and unskilled. The humanitarian notion of developing and protecting the native is being recognized as the key to the prosperity of West Africa.—*Round Table*, LXXI (June, 1928), 498-521. (IV, 1, 2; VII, 1.) C. D. C.

**Changing Position of the Jews in Poland.**—The position of the Jews has long been a thermometer of Poland, for they are more sensitive to social and psychological changes than any other element of Polish life. The defeat of the Jewish parties in the recent general election is symptomatic of their present position. The direct reason for the defeat was the split between the Jewish parties themselves. Though always presenting a united front when their national life is endangered, the Jews give way to fighting among themselves once that danger is removed. As many as eight different Jewish parties were bitterly struggling among themselves in the parliamentary election. Whatever its shortcomings in other respects, the Pilsudski régime has at least abandoned anti-Semitism as a government policy. The anti-Jewish baiting, which once was to the Polish press what sport and sex are to American yellow journals, has for the most part been stopped. The Jews are now treated like any other national minority in Poland. With removal of the old persecutions, the social and political life of the Jews broke up into its natural divisions of class and personal interests.—William Zukerman, *Current History*, XXVII (June, 1928), 402-4. (IV, 2.) C. D. C.

**The Peopling of Hawaii.**—Hawaii constitutes a most interesting racial and geographic study. The islands were settled by hardy Polynesian navigators in the fifth century A.D. They remained comparatively unknown until the eleventh century, when intercourse was maintained between Hawaii, the Marquesas, Society, and Samoan islands. In 1778 the islands were rediscovered by Captain James Cook. Trade

in sandalwood began in the early nineteenth century, followed soon after by the whaling industry. Foreign ships brought cholera, smallpox, measles, consumption, and blood diseases which wiped out great numbers of the inhabitants. The native population declined from 130,313 in 1832 to 62,959 in 1866. Development of agriculture in the central plains, especially vast sugar and rice plantations, led to demand for immigrant laborers. The resulting influx of Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Portuguese, and other Caucasians has given the territory extraordinary racial complexity. Three-fourths of the 110,000 Japanese and 90 per cent of the Filipinos and Koreans are plantation laborers. The problem of education in the territory is largely the problem of Americanizing children whose parents, coming from the Orient, speak no English.—O. W. Freeman, *Journal of Geography*, XXVII (April, 1928), 125-41. (IV, 2; V, 4.) C. D. C.

**Polish Messianism: Some Impressions.**—In its origin Polish Messianism arose out of a suffering nation's self-introspection. Its philosophy may be considered as a conciliation of French spiritualism with mysticism. The central notion is the intimate association of nationality and personality. A nation is a group of souls bound by the national consciousness of a mission to be fulfilled for the benefit of mankind. The Polish people today think no more in terms of the Romanticism of the thirties and forties of the last century, but in those of present necessities: of the education of millions of enfranchised peasants, of needed co-operation with other free peoples of Europe. Polish Messianism brings to such problems a spiritual conception of nationality, the Christian law of remedial suffering and sacrifice as the law of the life of nations.—W. Caldwell, *Contemporary Review*, CXXXIII (April, 1928), 484-90. (IV, 2.) C. D. C.

**Die jüdisch-christlichen Mischehen (Jewish-Christian Mixed Marriages).**—Intermarriage between Jews and Christians was strictly forbidden until recently by both groups. Such marriages are now very common, especially where the Jews constitute a relatively small proportion of the population. Jewish women enter into mixed marriages less frequently than do Jewish men; Catholics marry Jews less frequently than do Protestants. Mixed marriages are more often sterile than others; mixed families with children have fewer children. These children are extremely variable in physical and mental traits. Divorces are relatively frequent among mixed marriages.—W. Hanauer, *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*, XVII (Heft 4, 1928), 513-39. (IV, 3; II, 3.) C. M. R.

#### V. COMMUNITIES AND TERRITORIAL GROUPS

**Where Farmers and Laborers Unite.**—To Denmark alone belongs the distinction of having a government under joint control of the workers from the farms and the workers from the cities. Such a government implies an unusual degree of mutual understanding between classes commonly in sharp opposition. The unusual training provided by the free public schools of the Danes has developed a high degree of intelligence in the field of social and political activities. The government aids materially in the extensive co-operative societies of farmers and city workers, and by providing credit has helped large numbers of families to own farms. Co-operative banking and credit associations furnish capital for all social and industrial enterprises that the farmer and laborer find advantageous. Government, industry, business, and religion are all democratic. Denmark almost alone among European nations seems to have no acute and menacing social problems.—J. E. Kirkpatrick, *World Tomorrow*, XI (April, 1928), 176-78. (V, 1; IV, 1; VII, 1.) C. D. C.

**Problems of Constructive Agricultural Co-operation.**—Co-operation in western Australia received its first impetus by reason of the resentment felt by producers at seeing agents becoming rich in handling the produce and requirements of the farmers. The original system adopted has been the Rochdale plan, though many of the pools have later adopted the no-profit plan. Commodity marketing as preached by Aaron Sapiro is unsuited to the small pioneering producers of western Australia, since few single commodities can afford individual administration costs. Gathered together into one large concern, they gain tremendously in power. In the case of

wheat, a combination of the two plans, Rochedale and no-profit co-operation, and of the two systems, commodity and departmental marketing, has been effectively achieved. To deal with farmers' produce successfully a strong central organization is, first of all, essential. The question of subsequent development then becomes one of forming local co-operative concerns linked up with the central concern. In such matters as butter and cheese factories and flour mills it has been the practice for farmers in one locality to erect their own factories and to dispose of their produce through a co-operative selling organization.—J. Thompson, *Economic Record (Journal of the Economic Society of Australia and New Zealand)*, IV (February, 1928), 38-45. (V, 1; VII, 1.) C. D. C.

**The Fundamental Values of Farm Life.**—The fundamental values of farm life are not primarily material and economic, but spiritual. High among spiritual values is the discipline which farm life affords. In the farm family each member has at heart the success of the agricultural enterprise upon which the home depends, and learns the lessons of responsibility, loyalty, and mutual helpfulness. Another value of the country is its freedom, which lies in the opportunity afforded the country man to be himself, to develop individuality, and to escape from being merely the expression of the mode. The country offers greater spiritual completeness to the individual than does the city. The city is too specialized and the division of labor has gone too far for the average man to see life as a whole. It follows that rural people have on the whole a more intimate conception of the sincere relationships and personal values of everyday experience. Farming is an industry in which there is still a chance to work creatively. Finally, the opportunity to get at the heart of nature is a major value of rural life. Co-operation is a psycho-social process of the greatest significance, not only because it brings excellent material results, but also because it intensifies all other spiritual values of the rural community.—Luther L. Bernard, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII (April, 1928), 142-60. (V, 1; I, 4.) C. D. C.

**Great Cities and Their Economic Problems.**—In striking contrast with pastoral or agricultural occupations is the mature and complex form common throughout the civilized world at the present time. The characteristic feature of the latter is a widespread specialization of economic activities focussed upon towns which serve not only as nodal points for exchange of goods and for intercourse, but also as centers of intensive production. Towns continue to grow in size because an ever increasing proportion of activities center where lines of communication converge. The great city, or *Weltstadt*, stands at a meeting place of both regional and international highways. The tendency is toward a world-wide "rationalization" of industry organized ultimately from a few great centers. The great city represents a concentration of human activities and forces from all points within the group. The peculiar ringlike arrangement of secondary towns with reference to all great cities is determined by an interplay of forces in somewhat the same way as is the orbit of a planet with reference to the sun. Already the bulk and complexity of cities are creating problems that baffle solution. These problems fall under the following heads: (1) those concerned with securing vital supplies; (2) those arising from traffic congestion and the enforced sprawling of the city over a vast area; and (3) those which concern nervous wear and tear on the active inhabitants. Some solution may be found by giving less attention to large-scale production, by concentrating the movement of goods in transit trade of certain well-defined enclaves and routes, and by imposing drastic restrictions upon certain forms of traffic.—E. M. Shanahan, *Economica*, XXII (March, 1928), 51-63. (V, 2.) C. D. C.

**The Calpolli-Barrio in a Present-Day Mexican Pueblo.**—Teplotizitan is not a primitive society today; it is a folk group in the special sense—an illiterate enclave surviving inside a new cultural framework imposed from outside by a literate conquering culture of a very different nature. The local festal and religious organization (of the old calpolli), conflicting with no pattern imposed from outside by Spanish culture, persists in the barrio, altered so far as required by other cultural changes. The barrios are place units, but tend to include groups of uninterrupted family lines tracing descent through the father's side. The barrio is of great importance in the

religious organization and social interplay of the community. The barrios have obviously different cultures, and the members of a barrio tend to think and act alike. In a large measure this is because of the unifying and centralizing influence of the chapel and its saint, with the attendant co-operative work and play.—Robert Redfield, *American Anthropologist*, XXX (April-June, 1928), 282-94. (V, 3.)

H. C. G.

**Some Population Gradients in the United States.**—Population gradients and their relation to the basic topography suggest a fertile field of co-operative research among American geographers, agricultural experts, and students of population. A journey of one hundred miles in any direction almost anywhere in the country will reveal noteworthy differences in population density due fundamentally to variations in topography, fertility, and climate. An example which involves rural as well as urban population is found in Texas. East of the Balcones Escarpment lies one of the greatest cotton-producing districts in the country, with a rural population rivaling that of Illinois, while to the west lies the rocky Edwards Plateau maintaining a sparse population consisting mainly of poor whites, or "hill billies." Other sharp contrasts are afforded by the front-range region of Colorado, the lower peninsula of Michigan, southern Illinois, and eastern Tennessee. It is clear that further expansion of population into districts of less favorable topography and humidity can be made only as a result of pressure, of dynamic cultural change, improvement of technique, and with some diminution of certainty of livelihood at the present standard of living.—A. B. Wolfe, *Geographical Review*, XVIII (April, 1928), 291-301. (V, 4; III, 4.)

C. D. C.

## VI. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

**State Control of Education.**—The state should be an active social agency for the physical, moral, intellectual, and industrial betterment of all, without regard to economic or social status. Such a purpose involves the establishment, maintenance, and direction of a school system, to promote which all American states have set up at one time or another some form of central administrative control. Centralized control by state departments of education began when states offered financial aid to local schools on condition that they conform to certain standardized requirements. Although the chief state school officer is the nominal head of its school system, often his salary is less than those of many city superintendents. Seventeen states prescribe no qualifications whatever for the office. Until recently the duties of state superintendent or commissioner of education have been merely clerical, exhortatory, and advisory, but his powers are being rapidly enlarged to include selection of textbooks, organization of courses of study, formulation of policies of school finance, certification of teachers, interpretation of school laws, and other vital educational matters. The increased duties of this office indicate the change from localism to centralization in public education.—Edgar W. Knight, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII (January, 1928), 16-28. (VI, 3.)

C. D. C.

**Education in Germany Today.**—Although significant changes have been made in the school systems of most countries since the war, nowhere have more significant reforms been introduced than in Germany. The absence of military drill and exercises in present German schools is in strong contrast with those of pre-war days, and with English public schools, which are now nearly all organized into O.T.C. units. The youth of Germany were among the leaders for a thoroughgoing educational reform. Largely through their influence a great Federal Educational Council was held in Berlin in 1920. A radical change was the adoption of the *Grundschule*, which all children between the ages of six and ten must attend. After 1929 all private preparatory schools for children between these ages must be abolished. The subjects of study are religion, community study, German, arithmetic, singing, drawing, gymnastics, and for the girls, needlework. There are no fixed periods of instruction, and integration of the work is left to the teacher. On finishing the *Grundschule* a pupil may continue in the elementary school or he may enter the *Mittelschule*, a six-year course preparing for commerce and agriculture. By means of the *Aufbauschule* the talented pupil may pass from the seventh year of the elementary

school to one of the four types of secondary schools. The new system is achieving a new spiritual, cultural, and educational unity.—Stephen P. Cabot, *Atlantic Monthly*, CXLI (May, 1928), 686-96. (VI, 3; VII, 2.) C. D. C.

**The Relation of Play and Recreation to the Social Hygiene Program.**—Both recreative activities and sex relationships are problems of behavior; and behavior is governed by two principal factors: satisfactions immediate or remote, that are inherent for the individual in the contemplation or performance of a given act, and what Professor Sumner calls the mores or folkways of the group. One very potent folk belief is that pre-marital sex experience is a physiological necessity. This belief has persisted in spite of the relatively high degree of education of the believers. Play builds up the fundamental nervous system, muscle strength and control, stimulates the endocrines, and makes it possible to do a great amount of work with interest and with the minimum of fatigue. It develops habits of concentration and persistence in spite of failure, develops will power, teaches one to solve situations, to make decisions, and then to act, develops leadership, confers a sense of achievement and adequacy. It has social values because it develops group consciousness as opposed to individualism. It teaches co-operation and team play, develops loyalty and a willingness to work for the group. Play is thus useful in building up a desirable sex ethic.—Joseph E. Raycroft, *Journal of Social Hygiene*, XIV (May, 1928), 263-70. (VI, 4; II, 1.) H. C. G.

**Newspaper Mass Production.**—Even though the true journalist insists upon viewing his vocation as a profession, the task of producing daily newspapers successfully is today a most complex operation, involving the superimposing of professional efforts upon a solid business foundation. The business aspects of this operation are amenable to the economic laws that determine success or failure in any commercial endeavor. With the realization of this fact has come the development of group operation of individual newspaper properties—scientific mass production applied to newspaper making. "Chain journalism" is the editing and operation of a group of newspapers in different cities by a single corporation with centralized control. Chain operation makes for financial stability, economic independence, and protection of the local unit from domination by large advertisers, public utilities, or other interests. The passing of personal journalism, while costing us some picturesque characters, has its compensations. In a democracy enlightenment and education by the press are needed more than self-appointed leadership. Chain newspaper development does not mean journalistic monopoly, but it does signify recognition of the passing of personal journalism.—Roy W. Howard, *North American Review*, CCXXV (April, 1928), 420-24. (VI, 7; VII, 1.) C. D. C.

## VII. SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE SOCIAL PROCESS

**Die soziale Schichtung der Erwerbstätigen im Zeitalter der Dampfmaschine und in dem der Elektrizität (The Social Stratification of the Workers in the Time of the Steam Engine and in That of Electricity).**—The technique of production has been observed to exert a profound influence upon the relative size of certain economic groups. Thus the use of electrical machinery greatly increases the relative number of persons employed in a supervisory capacity and decreases the relative number of unskilled laborers. The steam engine, by concentrating vast quantities of power in a small area, brought about a corresponding concentration of workers, followed by minute division of labor and the development of a proletariat.—Paul Kriesche, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, IV (March, 1928), 11-18. (VII, 1.) C. M. R.

**Den kooperativa Rörelsen i Finland (The Co-operative Movement in Finland).**—In spite of its newness, the co-operative movement is very strongly developed in Finland, both with respect to production and consumption. The latter form is largely confined to the cities, while the former is more common on the farms. The greatest handicap has been lack of capital, but this is being remedied by co-operative savings accounts. Membership is recruited through advertisements, exhibitions, and other propaganda.—J. W. Keto, *Nordisk Tidskrift*, IV (Häft 1-2, 1928), 93-103. (VII, 1.) C. M. R.

**Collectivist Industry in Russia.**—Russia is a collectivist state. The experiments in pure communism have almost altogether disappeared, not even Russian human nature being able to stand the strain of a moneyless, strictly equalitarian economy. The bulk of factory production is handled by great quasi-independent state trusts, nearer perhaps to state capitalism than state socialism. Transportation, communication, the mails, super-power, are government monopolies, and, like our post-office department, experiments in state socialism. Ninety per cent of agricultural production is in the hands of the peasant as a private trader. Distribution is in the hands of the co-operative, of the government, and of the private trader, with the first two increasingly outbalancing the last. The co-operatives are no longer part of the state mechanism, but, like the trade unions, now function as independent organizations. The state planning commission attempts to harness the whole of Russian economic life to a definite program, and sets up quotas of production for each branch to meet, five years in advance. In 1927 the trust mechanism as a whole exceeded pre-war output by nearly 10 per cent. However, the quality of goods is still inferior to that of 1913. Deplorable as it may appear to orthodox thinkers, the Russian enterprise is going up—rather than downhill.—Stuart Chase, *Asia*, XXVIII (May, 1928), 368–73. (VII, 1, 4.) C. D. C.

**America and Scientific Leadership.**—Although American institutions of higher learning have more living graduates than have similar institutions in all other countries, they have failed to give us pre-eminence in fundamental scientific research. Of the eighty Nobel awards made to date, American scientists have received five, while twenty-three went to Germany, twelve to Great Britain, eleven to France, and six to the Netherlands. One reason for this low rank in the highest achievements of pure science is the emphasis our colleges and universities put on "mass production" and the average. Another is the pressure for quick financial returns and practical economic results. Nearly one thousand industrial research laboratories, interested primarily in immediate returns, compete for the services of young scientists in the United States. The newness of our country, the demands on applied science in developing our industries and agricultural lands, and the instability due to constant influx of immigration and shifts in population have been unfavorable to fundamental research. The problem of extending such research in this country involves the provision of more adequate physical opportunity for the research worker, and an education that stimulates the development of curiosity and imagination.—William M. Jardine, *Atlantic Monthly*, CCLI (June, 1928), 840–45. (VII, 2; III, 6.) C. D. C.

**Modern Religion and American Citizenship.**—Religion requires a theory of man as well as a theory of God. Orthodox religions with antiquated and inadequate doctrines of God may live on simply by virtue of the accuracy of their doctrines of man. The difficulty in America between church and state is that we have two rival doctrines of man which are mutually exclusive. Uniform fundamentalism faces human nature in a minatory mood. American citizenship, on the other hand, is essentially naturalistic, if not frankly pagan, in its doctrine of man. Neither one of these doctrines can suffice the future. Church and state alike need a common theory of human nature upon which both may build with confidence and reasonable hope.—Willard L. Sperry, *Yale Review*, XVII (April, 1928), 417–30. (VII, 2; IV, 3, 4.) H. C. G.

**Vom nächsten Krieg (On the Next War).**—In spite of disarmament conferences and the like, war is quite possible, for Europe was never better armed than at present, nor more active in military preparation. But the next war will be a war of technicians, not of armies. Other things being equal, the wealthiest country will win, since great resources will be required for the production of war machinery. The increased importance of the noncombatant population will necessitate more attention to maintenance of the morale of civilians and will change the objective of attack. Instead of attacking the army, the enemy will send aeroplanes with poison-gas bombs to kill or terrorize the people in large cities. There is no longer any doubt as to the danger and deadliness of poison gas. Several European countries are perfecting defenses designed to meet attacks in which it may be used. Some difficulty in organiz-

ing the civilian population for the next war may be expected, on account of the extraordinary strength of pacifism; but if armies are not necessary, the refusal to take an active part in war may be of less significance than formerly.—Franz Carl Endres, *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, LIX (Heft 1, 1928), 48-74. (VII, 4.)  
C. M. R.

#### VIII. SOCIAL PATHOLOGY: PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

**Die kriminalistische Bedeutung des Schlafes (The Criminalistic Significance of Sleep).**—Testimony based upon observations made while asleep or partially so is very unreliable, while lack of sleep does not affect the accuracy of testimony unless the witness is much fatigued. Utterances of suspected persons made during sleep have been used as evidence against them, but there is grave doubt as to the validity of this procedure. Attempts to hypnotize, chloroform, or attack sleeping persons without waking them have practically always failed. Occasionally crimes are committed by somnambulists or by persons in pathological states resembling sleep. Crimes of omission, such as neglect of duty by the soldier or the railway employee, are sometimes the result of great loss of sleep.—A. Hübner, *Archiv für Kriminologie*, LXXXI (Heft 2-3, 1927), 86-101. (VIII, 1.)

**Verbrecher und Dirne (Criminal and Prostitute).**—Out of the attempts of natural science and of sociology to discover a criminal type has come a socio-biological criminology. But the study of criminalistic tendencies of individuals is less important than the characterization, description, and evaluation of the milieu. Only by a consideration of the milieu can we recognize the object of our chief interest, the professional criminal. The same environment which produces criminals also produces prostitutes, but the classes are neither equal nor parallel. Their likeness lies in their social harmfulness, and their common bond is the procurer.—Hugo Weinberger, *Archiv für Kriminologie*, LXXXI (Heft 1, 1927), 33-37. (VIII, 1.)  
C. M. R.

**Zur Frage der Kriminaltelepathie (On the Question of Criminal Telepathy).**—Occultism becomes of interest to the criminologist when, as in a recent case in Germany, a man is accused of obtaining money under false pretenses by practices involving clairvoyance, ostensibly for the purpose of solving crimes. In order to decide the question of guilt or innocence in such a case it is necessary first to decide whether or not occultism has a scientific basis, and second, whether or not the defendant acted in good faith.—Albert Hellwig, *Archiv für Kriminologie*, LXXXI (Heft 2-3, 1927), 102-40. (VIII, 1.)  
C. M. R.

**Zur Psychobiologie des Verbrechers (On the Psychobiology of the Criminal).**—Psycho-biologically speaking, man is a system of nervous reflexes. These reflexes are subject to processes of development and degeneration beginning before birth and continuing until death. The criminal is either neurotic or psychotic, that is, his reflexes are wholly or in part retarded in their development. Neuroses and psychoses are of various kinds, recognizable by the emotions involved, and not all of them show criminal tendencies. This view of the nature of crime necessitates a changed view of the theory and value of punishment.—Hans Lungwitz, *Archiv für Kriminologie*, LXXXI (Heft 4, 1927), 207-15. (VIII, 1; VIII, 4.)  
C. M. R.

**The Psychopathology of the Juvenile Delinquent.**—Delinquency is a protest against the existing social order, since the delinquent child is merely making a normal response to an improper situation. For some reason he has been unable to make contact with the social world. Deformities often play a rôle in isolating the child, as do also illegitimacy and lack of parental affection. Education is therefore the obvious remedy, and the school offers the best opportunity as a place for the establishment of a psychiatric guidance clinic.—W. Béran Wolfe, *Internationale Zeitschrift für Individual Psychologie*, VI (March-April, 1928), 121-30. (VIII, 1; I, 3.)  
C. M. R.

**Über einige Nebenfragen des Bevölkerungswesens (Concerning Some Questions Incidental to the Population Problem).**—The question of the actual length of

generations is difficult of solution because data are difficult to secure, because the meaning of the term is not clear, because generations of men and women and of first and last children are of different lengths, and because illegitimacy cannot be taken into account. To avoid some of these difficulties the generation is arbitrarily taken as the time between the birth of the father and of the oldest legitimate married son. A fairly extensive investigation shows great variety in the length of generations among the several social classes and occupational groups at different times, but the personal factor affects these so erratically that valid conclusions as to the average length of generations for any group or any time cannot be drawn.—Herman von Schullern-Schatthofen, *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, CXXVIII (January, 1928), 49-75. (VIII, 2; III, 6.) C. M. R.

**Geburtenrückgang (The Falling Birth-Rate).**—The fears of overpopulation which spread over Europe at the close of the eighteenth century have now been replaced by fear of depopulation. The history of past civilizations, Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and others, shows that with advancing culture the birth-rate falls below the death-rate, so that at last the civilization gives way to barbarism. Recent figures indicate that the birth-rate is decreasing most rapidly in the most civilized countries and, of course, among the members of the white race. A colored invasion of Western Europe is not at all improbable if this tendency is not checked. Among the remedies suggested are education for duty to race and nation, a tax on single persons and tax exemption for large families, material aid for mothers, poor children, and illegitimates, restriction of vote to mothers only, and opposition to the city drift, alcoholism, immorality, divorce, and emancipation of women.—Richard Korherr, *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, XXV (December, 1927), 155-90. (VIII, 2.) C. M. R.

**Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung 1925-28 (The Increase of Population 1925-28).**—The population of the earth has increased by 45,000,000 during the last three years, or at the rate of about 8 per cent a year as against 9 per cent in the years immediately preceding the war. There are now 112,000,000, or 6.2 per cent more people on the earth than there were at the middle of 1914 or the beginning of 1920, at which times the earth's population totals were the same. Europe has gained 9 per cent annually during the last three years as compared with 13 per cent before 1914. Some countries, e.g., France and Austria, have fewer people in the same area than they had in 1914. The greatest change in vital statistics is found in the fall of the birth-rate in Western countries. For example, the birth-rates in 1926 for several European countries were as follows: France, 18.8; Great Britain, 18.3; Switzerland, 18.2; Estonia, 17.7; Sweden, 16.9.—Alois Fischer, *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, V (April, 1928), 335-47. (VIII, 2.) C. M. R.

**The Theory of Population.**—The theory of population, viewed as a part of general economic theory, is still full of gaps and ambiguities. The problem of human numbers stands a little apart from other problems in economics. It is logically separate, for example, from the problem of the best form of economic organization, since the problem of numbers continues to exist under socialism or any alternative system of economic and social relationships. From the point of view of the economist, the theory of population has two chief branches. The first deals with causes determining the growth or decline of numbers; the second is the theory of the relations between economic welfare and changes in numbers. The first rests mainly on a statistical, inductive basis, while the second branch offers more scope for deductive reasoning. Maladjustment of population is a function of two variables, actual and optimum numbers. If  $A$  represents actual numbers and  $O$  the optimum and  $M$  the degree of maladjustment, then  $M = \frac{A-O}{O}$ . Positive values of  $M$  indicate overpopulation; negative values, underpopulation. Over a period of time, either  $A$  or  $O$  may change while the other remains constant, or both may change either in the same or in opposite directions. Since there is no natural harmony between these two variables, our practical aim must be a harmony deliberately contrived.—Hugh Dalton, *Economica*, XXII (March, 1928), 28-50. (VIII, 2; VII, 1.) C. D. C.

**Arbeitsschutz für Jugendliche (Labor Protection for Youth).**—In recent years there has been a vast increase in the amount of legislation designed to protect youth in all its activities. This has been particularly true with regard to labor. Child labor laws were passed in Prussia in 1839, but they remained practically unchanged until after the war. Now it is proposed to establish a regular eight-hour day, to prohibit night work for all persons under eighteen, and to provide for an annual vacation of two to three weeks in the country.—Walter Maschke, *Die Arbeit*, V (March, 1928), 49-158. (VIII, 3.) C. M. R.

**Die Verstaatlichung des Aerzestandes: ein sittliche Forderung (The Socialization of Medicine: A Moral Necessity).**—It is manifestly immoral for so large a class as that of the physicians and surgeons to profit directly from the pain and suffering of their patients. A number of remediable evils are attributable to this condition. The low economic status of many physicians forces them to welcome serious epidemics and to object to the introduction of newly discovered, effective remedies. Often they are tempted into engaging in practices which are illegal as well as unethical. Conspiracies to profit at the expense of the public are sometimes entered into by chemical manufacturing concerns with physicians, who agree to recommend certain remedies for a share in the proceeds of their sale. The socialization of medicine would remove most of these evils, since it would make the physicians primarily interested in prevention of disease, rather than fostering it. One of the methods by which this could be achieved is through the division of the whole country into districts of suitable size, assigning a certain number of physicians to each and holding them responsible for the health of all the people in their respective districts.—Walter Gmelin, *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, XX (Heft 1, 1927), 28-51. (VIII, 3.) C. M. R.

#### IX. METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

**Experimente zur Soziologie (Experiments in Sociology).**—This article describes an attempt to measure the strength of the altruistic impulse and the degree of correspondence between altruistic words and altruistic deeds. Children were found to work harder for themselves than for others. Students were asked to give money for a calculating machine for their class, for the relief of students who would otherwise have to leave school on account of economic losses sustained in the Mississippi flood, and for the relief of Chinese and Russian students suffering from starvation. The first project, though comparatively trivial, received more money than either of the others, although the last involved the saving of lives. In a subsequent experiment the same students expressed themselves verbally much more altruistically than the amount and distribution of their gifts had indicated. A knowledge of the correlation between acts and words in altruistic movements will be of great value in dealing with international relationships.—Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, IV (March, 1928), 1-10. (IX, 2.) C. M. R.

#### X. GENERAL SOCIOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

**Our Hidden Cities.**—Early projects in social research in the United States were both a consequence of a mounting social spirit in the American democracy and a contribution to it. Changes in the old social philosophy of individualism have impelled us to get at facts and to make them common knowledge. The social sciences were for long the cinderellas of our universities and colleges; and it was not until toward the end of the nineteenth century that they gathered strength as professional bodies. This delayed the development of social research, but at the same time guarded its beginnings from academic cramp. We are also indebted to European sources for this movement. From England the charity organization movement spread to the United States, where these societies came to study their cases as clues to social action. By the nineties American students were returning from German universities full of the inductive method of studying social and economic problems, and specialization. From East London young Americans brought back the settlement movement. The Pittsburgh survey brought together the experience and methodology of

these specialized lines of research. This American development took shape along French lines. Paralleling the survey movement has gone forward the work of research under the aegis of the sociologists—notably Giddings, with his original concepts and scientific method, Park and Burgess, with their psychological and organic approach to group life, and others. Slightly antedating the Pittsburgh survey was the birth of the Municipal Research Movement and city and regional planning.—Paul U. Kellog, *Survey Graphic*, LX (July 1, 1928), 391-93, 409-11. (X, 1.)

H. C. G.

**The Significance and Use of Data in the Social Sciences.**—Fundamentally the processes in all sciences have the same function—the acquisition of knowledge and its application to the affairs of the human race. Science is built up, brick upon brick, by the securing of data and its interpretation by logical reasoning. The field of social phenomena requires the development of methods of investigation, systems of measurement and comparison, experimental apparatus, and a technique peculiar to itself. The data used in the social sciences are divided into two classes: qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative data are factors, elements, or conditions observed to exist in phenomena the relative value of which have not been measurably stated. Quantitative data are those which have been subjected to intensive analysis and their comparative force in a phenomenon defined and measured. The principal difficulty in social science is the creation of quantitatively stated data. Such data have been developed, in varying degrees, by the statistical method, the case study method, observation, and experimentation. Quantitative statement of psychological factors and experimentation in many social phenomena are most needed.—John Candler Cobb, *Economic Journal* (Journal of the Royal Economic Society), XXXVIII (March, 1928), 63-75. (X, 2; IX, 1.)

C. D. C.

**The Nature of Historical Repetition.**—It is admitted that history's task is to recover the past and present it in perspective. But should history be so written as to serve as a guide to the future? The idea that history repeats itself in cycles still has some vogue in a modified form. Only recently has the belief that history never repeats itself displaced the idea that a sufficient knowledge of natural laws would explain history. If history is a science at all, it is a branch of biology, studying the reactions of time and circumstance upon the bodies and minds of the human race. History repeats itself with a difference. The historian must be an expert in mathematical historics to resolve a complex event into its several component factors. History can be written adequately only by those who are great scholars and great students of the life-sciences. It is not true that history never repeats itself; but its study has other uses than predicting events.—E. W. Adams, *History*, XII (Number 48, 289-98. (X, 2.)

H. C. G.

**English Political Economy.**—The comparative insularity of British economics would have been its undoing if it had not had within itself lasting resources of vital strength. English political economy, far from being created *in vacuo*, developed out of attempts to deal intelligently with practical concerns, such as the economic problems growing out of the Napoleonic wars. Contrary to the views of critics and some defenders, it has never been in any real sense deductive or a priori, and has never put a very heavy burden upon the economic man. A mechanistic or contractual, as contrasted with an historical or institutional, view of the structure of economic society has determined its method. The most promising recent development in economics is the increasing use of statistics. The statistician brings new facts into view, and helps us to test, not the truth, but the significance of our theorems. Expectations of enthusiasts who believe statistical methods will usher in the dawn of a completely new day in economics are bound to be disappointed. The empirical foundations of scientific knowledge are not made up of separate bits supported by the observation of a series of detached facts. A system concerned merely with the relations of variables which are defined only by their mathematical attributes is not economics any more than pure mathematics is mechanics. The final terms of every chain of economic inferences reach out into other systems of relations, often non-economic in character, and it is from these relations that they get their meaning.—Allyn A. Young, *Economica*, XXII (March, 1928), 1-15. (X, 2, 3.)

C. D. C.

Volk, Familie, und Statistik (People, Families, and Statistics).—Germany lost through the effects of the war by deaths, by lowered birth-rates, and by alienation of territory a total of more than twelve million people. This loss is so great that with present tendencies to low birth-rates the country will never recover from it. If existing trends continue, Germany will have a population of 67,500,000 by 1950, which will fall to 63,000,000 by 1975, and continue falling. The marriage rate is very high, but the fecundity of marriages has fallen by half since 1900. All social classes are affected. An active population policy, centering its attention on the family and its problems, will be necessary if the German people are to save themselves from suicide.—F. Bürgdorfer, *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv* (Heft 3, 1927), 349-69. (VIII, 2.) C. M. R.

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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME XXXIV

NOVEMBER 1928

NUMBER 3

## SOCIOLOGY, ITS METHODS AND LAWS

### PART ONE. OF METHODS

EUGENIO RIGNANO

University of Milan

AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION BY

HOWARD BECKER

University of Chicago

### ABSTRACT

I. Static sociology studies the social and economic organization of society, dynamic sociology its progress and evolution. The data of static sociology are (a) physical-technical structures, (b) institutive, or conscious sociological, structures, (c) spontaneous, or unconscious sociological structures. The anatomy of the two latter kinds of structures, which die when the organisms die, cannot be studied apart from their physiology. This is because the anatomical study can be made only on living organisms and because the phenomena are parts of an integrated, continuous process. Hence sociology cannot occupy a fractional domain, like some sciences, but must make a synthetic study of society as a whole. This does not mean, however, that each separate sociological investigation must study society as a whole or seek a cause of causes. Sociological discoveries should ascend gradually from particular laws to more and more general laws. This ascent can be facilitated by using the concept of "sociological factors" and studying the immediate relationships of social phenomena without going too far back into their causes.

II. There are three methods of research: *pure observation*, which became fruitful only when, owing largely to the materialistic interpretation of history, it began to be used to check up hypotheses; *experimentation*, good substitutes for which can be available in studies of pathological variations, new colonies, and revolutions; *comparison*, of human and animal societies; of different societies existing at a definite time in different parts of the world; and of different consecutive states of the same society. Deductive methods have had more value in economics than in other branches of sociology because of the relative simplicity of some economic factors.

III. Sociology depends on biology and psychology (a) to explore the innate individual and racial differences in men; (b) to ward off sociological errors, like the

optimists' denials of class struggle, which disregard established facts about human nature; (c) to show the influence of the social environment on the individual; (d) to explain the mental activity of a collectivity and the rôle of leaders. Sociology depends on inorganic sciences to help explain the influence of physical environment, such as climate:

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We are already familiar with the fundamental methodological division ordinarily made between the static and dynamic aspects of sociology. To the static division falls the duty of discovering the laws governing the organization of society, and to the dynamic division the laws of its progress or evolution.

In accordance with such a dichotomy the static part should comprise not only the anatomical study of society, but also the study of all the laws which so regulate economic and sociological phenomena in general that they produce at any given moment the life of society—that is to say, physiological study of society itself.

## I

Here arise some moot points which should at once be clearly and unambiguously answered: When *sociological* phenomena are studied from the point of view of statics, is anything gained by separating statics into two parts, anatomy and physiology? Can the division be made as precisely as in biology, and will sociology profit by it as much as biology has already profited?

This latter science presents the possibility of a clearly marked distinction, thanks to the very nature of living organisms. Life is built up and maintained by a series of mechanical movements, by circulations and osmoses of liquid and gaseous substances, by chemical reactions—all carried out within a mechanism of extremely complex structure. This mechanism tends to remain almost immutable during a long life-period, precisely because these vital phenomena have as their principal functions the reconstitution rather than the modification of this mechanism—reconstitution by compensation for the effects of wear, and in general by the maintenance of the organism in as stable a condition as possible.

A point of still greater importance, however, is that this mechanism possesses the following remarkable property: the death of the individual leaves it almost unaltered (for a certain period at least) in its organization and in its material composition. It is nec-

essary to add that the actual state of this organization and material composition, i.e., its anatomical structure, has definite, prime importance in determining its physiological phenomena. One can readily see how this state of affairs, which is *specifically biological*, renders easy the clear delimitation and the separate study of anatomy, and what great usefulness this latter has for the consecutive study of physiological phenomena.

This state of affairs changes when we turn to the consideration of social life. The mechanism by which the latter is realized has two parts: one is quite ephemeral, vanishing the moment the life of the organism flickers out; the other remains almost unaltered (for a short time at least) even after the death of the society. This enduring structure is the only possible object of study for a sociological anatomy clearly separated from sociological physiology. Among modern societies this structure (which is nevertheless much more complex than in ancient societies) is made up only of the surviving material products of the work of man and society. The science of economics denotes this ensemble by the word "capital": e.g., private dwellings, public edifices, the state of cultivation of the soil, industrial establishments, machines, raw materials for industry and chattels for the satisfaction of human needs, roads, bridges, canals, etc. This structure, which at bottom is none other, in a broad sense, than Marx' instrument of production, we may designate as the *artificial telluric factor* or the *physical-technical structure*.

The other part of the social structure, that part not capable of survival, is in its turn constituted by organs which belong to two distinct categories, although they pass from one to the other by insensible gradations.

The first of these categories comprises those organs making up the *institutive, or conscious sociological, structure*: they are the most clearly formed and the most apparent, and they can be observed and described even when considered apart from their functions. This is possible because the sociological bond which holds them together is of such a nature (legal, hierarchical, etc.) that it does not derive directly and immediately from the acts in which their functions are exercised. They constitute the *social institu-*

tions; they are thoroughly fixed and determinate; all their parts are solidly co-ordinated with each other, e.g., legal, ecclesiastical, and similar institutions. Their principal function is to erect and maintain inflexible *cadres* of rules or social arrangements which like levees serve to dam up into well-established channels the flood of all the actions and reactions which can arise between all the members of society and which otherwise would be entirely free. Among these *cadres* of rules the most fundamental is that constituted by the laws which fix the rights of property.

The organs comprised in the second category make up the *spontaneous*, or *unconscious sociological, structure*; these organs, in contradistinction to the first, are identical with their function in so far as they are *organs*. That is, the sociological bond which holds the elements of these organs together exists only to the degree and at the moment that these organs exercise their function. The organ is constituted by the function, not vice versa. The bond holding the elements of these organs together consists solely in certain actions and reactions and in certain relationships which are established among these actions and reactions—relationships which are created or destroyed as the actions and reactions arise or cease. These acts and these relationships are at once the function and the organ. Thus, e.g., in the actual system of production based on the exchange of goods in a freely competitive market the producers in a given industry, or even in all the industries of a country, in spite of being entirely dissociated from each other, and in spite of producing without any definite knowledge of each other's activities, nevertheless constitute, in their ensemble, a true and proper social organ. They form such an organ because of the specific acts of production and the numerous economic and sociological relationships of mutual dependence thus initiated between the different processes of production and between the latter and the different forms of consumption; these relationships are established in form and being at the very moment when the processes of production give rise to them, and exist only while such processes are carried on.

These organs of the second category nevertheless at times approximate the nature of the first; i.e., they acquire an existence per se, distinct and separate from the functional act. This is a con-

sequence of the crystallization of the relationships into increasingly stable contractual bonds, such as agreements and momentary coalitions gradually formed among entrepreneurs; these interweave still further to form industrial syndicates; the latter, in the course of time, frequently consolidate into trusts.

In every case, even when this crystallization of free relationships is not reached and the social structure which they form is consequently altogether unconscious and spontaneous, this structure is nevertheless always compelled to take form within the inflexible *cadre* of social regulations which have been expressly framed for this particular variety of action. Thus, the so-called economic structure of any given society—the most important category of the *unconscious sociological structure*, which comprehends the whole production and distribution of wealth—has always been forced, even in the periods when it was most unconscious, to take form within the framework of the property regulations then in power. This does not mean, however, that the liberty of development accorded by the latter to this unconscious structure has not been very great at all times; consequently the economic structure has always been of very great importance in the ensemble of sociological phenomena.

From all that we have said it follows that the anatomical study of all this strictly sociological structure, in contradistinction to the physical-technical structure, can be undertaken only upon the living organisms; moreover, when studying the anatomy of the more specialized organs (which are identical with their functions) constituting the unconscious sociological structure, *such study must not only be carried on while the organs are alive, but must also probe into their vital functions*. The anatomical study of these organs, whose importance can scarcely be overemphasized, should consequently be carried on in close conjunction with physiological study of the same organs. Economics, for example, uses this method of dealing with its phenomena.

A method of study, therefore, where the anatomical and physiological divisions are as sharply separated as in biology is not at all adapted to sociology.

Another fundamental methodological conception put forward

for the first time by Comte and since explicitly or implicitly accepted by all sociologists, is contained in the following assertion:

Sociology, like biology, deals with phenomena which are parts of an integrated, solidary, continuous process. Hence neither science can attach any exact significance to analytic knowledge per se; this knowledge must be interrelated and co-ordinated by a final synthetic treatment, for synthetic knowledge alone approximates reality. This means, then, that in sociology, no less than in biology, the spirit of the ensemble should prevail over the spirit of detail. In other terms, instead of chopping sociology up into so many analytical studies, thus following the fractional method proper to the inorganic sciences, we must always view society from all its different aspects at once.

Here we must make a distinction. True it is that in such a science as sociology, where the phenomena are so highly complex and specific, we should never cease to reckon with entanglements, or reciprocal interferences, for by reason of their very complexity and specialized nature, this reciprocal interweaving actually takes place much more often and more intricately than in more simple and more general phenomena. But this is no reason why our methodology should always force us to consider these phenomena *en bloc*; those who advocated such treatment apparently thought that by one master-stroke they could simultaneously grasp the ensemble of reciprocal relationships among the phenomena and the supreme innermost law of their being and becoming.

All the sciences have passed through a phase thus characterized by a methodological attempt to place the chief, if not the sole, emphasis upon the synthetic rather than the analytic approach—and this just when the investigation of the new phenomena had barely commenced! We need only remember, in respect to the inorganic sciences, the cosmic synthetic explanations of the ancient Greek philosophers.

It is, moreover, quite certain that no science can effectively make ensemble treatment supreme over detail work—either in its “dogmatic” or in its methodological part—until that science has come of age, has reached maturity.

It is easy enough to understand why all the sciences necessarily

pass through this initial phase. As a plain matter of fact, when one approaches a science for the first time, its phenomena do not yet appear in sharp focus; hence, some general characteristics of this or that category of phenomena are more striking than the different special characteristics of the various phenomena. It even happens that almost invariably *one* single general characteristic impresses the new observer most deeply; so much so that it causes him to consider the new system of phenomena to be more homogeneous and more unified than in reality it is; at the same time, it leads him to attempt the discovery, from his preliminary approach, of the one valid law explaining the single general characteristic he has just observed. That is, he is led at the first stroke to attempt the discovery of that fundamental and unique law which, according to his point of view, regulates all the phenomena of this new science. In this phase of scientific thinking, we may even say that the existence of specific and particular laws has not been conceived of at all.

Sociology, perhaps, has not yet entirely passed through this initial phase. All the sociologists, from the oldest to the more recent, claim to have arrived in one leap at the supreme sociological law, or else at the fundamental sociological cause, from which all the particular laws must proceed and in which all the other secondary causes must be comprised. To direct their efforts toward the discovery of particular, specific laws would be altogether too modest an undertaking—not worth the while of these disdainful gentlemen.

Thus this cause of causes was for Comte the tendency of the human mind to pass from the theological to the scientific stage; for Marx, the instrument of production; for Loria, the density of the population; for Kidd, the religious phenomenon; for Tarde, imitation alone; and so on. These sociological causes and the laws relative to their manner of operation neither are nor can be anything else than *some* causes and *some* particular laws. But each of them is on the contrary considered by its author as the single and supreme cause, as the law unique and fundamental.

Nevertheless, the history of all the sciences, without exception, stands before us as proof to the contrary; i.e., that they have taken

shape gradually by first discovering the most particular and specific laws and then ascending from these to laws increasingly general. To choose an example from physics: we see how Oersted's exceedingly specific law as to the deviation of the magnetic needle conditioned by the electric current led little by little to the more general laws of Ampère (in which Oersted's law was only a simple, particular case) relative to the action of spiral coils transversed by currents on the magnets and between themselves; and how these laws led by degrees to those still more general dealing with the totality of relationships between magnetism and electricity, of which the solenoidal laws of Ampère, in their turn, came to be simply so many specific cases.

Here, then, is the process which has been followed not only by physics but by all the sciences, biology and psychology along with the others. Sociology, certainly, will not be able to follow a different course.

And the introduction of this procedure (ascending from particular to increasingly general laws) into sociology itself can be rendered much easier by adopting the idea of *sociological factors*, a direct derivation from the very general principle of *fructifying causation* (Spencer).<sup>1</sup> The law of fructifying causation, in accordance with which any phenomenon the effect of antecedent causes becomes in its turn the cause of subsequent effects, is the more precisely verified the more complex and specialized are the phenomena themselves. Because of this it acquires exceptional importance in biology, and for so much the more reason, in sociology. And this is why a related concept of *factors* acquires primary importance in these latter sciences—much greater than in any or all of the others.

This idea of factors consists in considering the phenomena, or the categories in which the phenomena are placed, only as they actually exist—which is to say, to consider them without becoming preoccupied with problems of their genesis, and only in so far as these factors in their turn act upon the other phenomena solely in virtue of their actual present states of existence. In other words,

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Spencer, "The Multiplication of Effects," *First Principles*, chap. xx (New York: Appleton, 1875), pp. 431-58. *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. II (New York: Appleton, 1897), p. 581.

they are studied altogether independently of the causes by which they themselves were produced. As a consequence of this there devolves upon the respective sciences the supreme, primary task of discovering specific laws relative to the actual effects or to the active tendencies of these factors. Then comes the finding of laws regulating the composition of the active tendencies of the different factors. Next, there is the necessity of discovering the complex resultants of the eventual interaction of several factors at once; and the various forms in which this reciprocal influence may take place must also be determined. Finally, when the specific, particular laws have thus been found, comes the task of gradually ascending to the laws of increasing generality—of such nature, in other words, that the laws first discovered, dealing with active tendencies and with the composition of different factors, finally come to be simple, specific cases.

## II

Once arrived at this fundamental methodological point, a few words will suffice for the examination of the resources of scientific research—which for sociology as for the other sciences consist of pure observation, experiment, and comparison.

So far as pure observation is concerned, everyone in recent times has agreed that hypotheses or theories (even though they are tentative) are absolutely necessary in order to direct, collect, and co-ordinate observations which without them would yield nothing but an unorganized, chaotic, factual mass, of no utility whatsoever. It belongs to the imaginative processes of genius to frame such provisional hypotheses even from the most fragmentary, disordered, and frequently unconscious observations, usually limited to a small number of facts. And the indispensable condition which these hypotheses must fulfil before they can claim the right to be admitted, even provisionally, to the precincts of science is that they possess a positive philosophical character—which is to say, they must abstain from all pretended explanation by means of innermost, primordial, and final causes, and must restrict themselves solely to affirming the existence or non-existence of simple relationships of succession or similarity among phenomena. A hypothesis

satisfying these conditions, even though the ensuing facts may demonstrate its falsity, nevertheless renders very valuable service, precisely because it gives a particular direction and co-ordination to the observation of the facts. So true is this that we can say that sociological observation of phenomena began to become systematic and truly useful only when the influence of the materialistic interpretation of history gave rise to various hypotheses and theories of the kind just mentioned. When the followers of the materialistic interpretation asserted the existence of certain well-determined sociological laws, which were violently attacked by others, and consequently subjected to reciprocal criticism and verification by their defenders and their adversaries, sociology began to make real progress.

More especially, it is only since statistics have been invoked for the support or the rejection of opposing theories that they have ceased to be useless piles of rubbish filled with figures and have effectively become *the* instrument of sociological observation par excellence.

As to experimentation, even though sociology cannot extensively employ direct experiment, certain pathological cases immediately available may be regarded as equivalent, inasmuch as they produce naturally that isolation or isolated variation of different specific conditions for production of phenomena which should be obtained artificially by direct experimentation, but which would be too difficult because of the great complexity of the phenomena.

The pathological cases, however, are not the only ones which could furnish substitutes for experiment. We must, for instance, recognize the fact that Loria, more than any other economist, has the merit of having proved that an excellent substitute for experiment is offered by new colonies—excellent because among all the conditions determining economic phenomena there is present only one of them (the existence of soil as yet unoccupied) which is substantially different from the corresponding conditions of the mother-country. As is well known, the data of experience thus furnished brought about Loria's discovery and demonstration of one of the most important laws of sociology, i.e., that the wage-system cannot be maintained when land is free.

As to revolutions (which are the pathological cases especially studied by Comte), it should be observed that because they are the manifestation or the result of the turning of the balance between the "pressures"<sup>2</sup> of some of the social classes, and because of the conscious modifying action brought about by the new classes just come to power, revolutions are especially adapted to bring out in high relief the sociological law of the struggle of the classes and to clear up the actual modes of the action of the factor of the social consciousness (which we shall discuss later on).

In regard to comparison, it is generally known that various forms are distinguished: (1) comparison of human and animal societies; (2) comparison of different human societies existing at a definite time in different parts of the world; (3) comparison of different consecutive states of the same society.

We shall never be able to exaggerate the importance of comparison of human societies with those of the other animals, for it is from just such comparison that we can await a reply to the following general question: In the habitual acts, both those which are strictly individual and those which have social bearings, executed by the members of the collectivity, and in the common moral characteristics manifested by the latter, what part is innate and what part is acquired? That is, what part is due to pure instinct or to the psychical part of human nature in general already holding fixed sway in the germ plasm, and what, on the other hand, is the part due to early education and training by the parents or to simple imitation by the child and young man of the behavior of his parents or his fellows, or to the general sociological milieu which surrounds these members of the collectivity? Genuinely direct experimentation would in this case consist, first of all, in absolute isolation of the individual from his own society after birth, and then, following this absolute isolation, experiments should be made by varying the intensity of primary relationships between the indi-

<sup>2</sup> This term is used instead of the literal translation "weights" both because of its dynamic connotations and the fact that Bentley (*The Processes of Government*, 1908) and others after him use it in a sense equivalent to Rignano's *poids*. See also Peter Odegard, *Pressure Politics: The Story of the Anti-Saloon League* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), for a somewhat related concept, especially chap. iv, "Pressure."

vidual and society. This direct experimentation, however, is much easier to practice upon animal than upon human societies, the more so as in the first all the other conditions are simpler. Sociology, consequently, has every right to request of experimental ecology<sup>3</sup> the solution of this question, which is so extremely important for further sociological research.

The second of the most important forms of sociological comparison is that of different human societies existing at a definite period in different parts of the world. This method has perhaps been most developed by recent sociology, with excellent results. Not altogether foreign to the interest in such research, however, has been a totally erroneous, prejudiced notion concerning the "necessary" uniformity of the development of every society, according to which notion they all must pass or have already passed through the same stages and identical forms of development. But be this as it may, it will still be necessary, both for the method to be followed and for the results which may be expected, to distinguish between the different cases where this comparison can validly be made: among greatly dissimilar or similar societies, among societies almost equally developed, e.g., our European societies, or among societies widely separated in the scale of civilization, e.g., the most savage tribes compared with our own civilization.

Finally, historical comparison (comparison of the different consecutive states of the same society) no longer retains its former unexceptionable position, held when the entire scope of sociology was restricted to the discovery of a single formula expressing the totality of social development—which formula was assumed to be the same for all societies. This historical method is today reduced to the same importance (to say the least) as that just mentioned, i.e., the method of comparing similar or dissimilar, equally or unequally developed present-day societies. As a matter of fact, the static division of sociology, when compared to the dynamic, has at present gained all the importance due it, for we have finally grasped the fact that sociology cannot be summed up in a single formula and can consist only of a vast ensemble of numerous and

<sup>3</sup> "Ecology is a new name for a very old subject. It simply means scientific natural history" (Charles Elton, *Animal Ecology* [New York: Macmillan, 1927], p. 1).

diverse sociological laws. Moreover, the evidence shows how great is the importance of faithful and high-quality observation if sociology is to be an exact science. Now, fidelity and quality of observation can be obtained only in contemporary comparisons, for the history we at present possess has until very recent times followed erroneous methods of observation (and, in large part at least, these errors are now irremediable), for it paid most attention to phenomena of least interest to the sociologist, and neglected the most fundamental, especially those relating to economics; further, we cannot give much confidence even to those facts which it does report. In contrast to this, observation having contemporary societies for its object can proceed according to the scientific rules which we now possess and can also proceed under the control of all living sociologists; it is therefore possible to obtain from it highly relevant material which at the same time has the highest guaranties of accuracy.

Another extremely interesting methodological question which it seems necessary to raise at this point runs somewhat as follows: How does it happen that one of the most important branches of sociology (namely, economics), in addition to the methods of pure observation, experiment, and comparison just examined, i.e., in addition to the inductive method, also permits of the use, in part at least, of the deductive method? And this in spite of the fact that, if we regard only the level occupied by sociology in the rational series of the classification of the sciences, the use of this method ought to be excluded *a priori*?

We should be greatly mistaken were we not to recognize the valuable service which the deductive method has rendered economic science in the past, and which it may still be capable of rendering. It is true that legitimate complaint has been made by those who believe that this method has given rise to abuses, and their consequent resolve to march henceforth with their eyes firmly fixed on the inductive method is equally justified and legitimate. But we cannot deny that some good results have been obtained, and even that some genuine laws have been discovered, by following this method which up until very recent times has been given the preference, i.e., the method of deduction based upon a limited num-

ber of very general empirical laws which might almost be taken (so much in evidence are they) for the postulates of economics. Let us repeat, however, that this fact could not have been foretold on a priori grounds, i.e., merely by meditating upon the place held by sociology—of which economics is a branch—in the series of the sciences.

This abnormality that the science of economics has presented (and still in part presents) is due to an abnormal simplicity in the determining conditions of some or all of its phenomena. And the abnormal simplicity of these conditions derives precisely from the fact that out of the three great categories of factors into which, without exception, all sociological factors can be grouped—(1) the individual factor, (2) that of the environment in the broader sense, and (3) that of the social consciousness or of collective action—two of these, the first and the last, always manifest themselves as extremely simple conditioning factors in the production of economic phenomena. Especially was this true in the early stages of the actually *economic* system, when political economy was really born.

Indeed, the first or individual factor could theoretically comprise everything that the different members of a given society manifest in the form of psychological qualities and moral tendencies, whether these are innate and racial or are developed after birth by the social and physical environments. But of all these characteristics of race or of environment (which may be quite numerous and varied and which often have remarkable activating effect in other sociological phenomena) there remains only one very general and very simple individual factor, the economic man (*Homo oeconomicus*); all the others may be neglected, for their action is almost zero.

The factor of social consciousness or collective action could theoretically comprise, as implied by its name, all the agreements and understandings (*ententes*) among the different members of society and all the corresponding actions entered upon among the individuals themselves or among the infinite number of their different groupings. It would thus embrace all the conscious sociological structure, i.e., all social institutions, all activity of the

various classes as they struggle with each other, all the private associative movements which today are directed toward the most various social ends, etc. In strictly economic phenomena, however, there remains out of all the conscious sociological structure only the actual framework (*constitution*) of property, which has been unchanging in its essential form for a long period reaching almost to the present, and which is as simple as could well be imagined in the structure of private property and in a *jus utendi et abutendi* for the owner and his heirs. On the other hand, the direct action of the other factors of social consciousness or collective action have been zero, almost, one might say, up to the present day. This was because of the dissociated, individual nature of the process of production and distribution of wealth, more especially when neither the stage of agreements between entrepreneurs, industrial syndicates, and trusts on the one hand, nor of unions, workers' resistance-associations, on the other, had yet been reached.

There remains, then, only the factor of environment in the widest sense. This, so far as the main body of static and dynamic sociological phenomena is concerned, could comprise in its turn the natural telluric factor, the artificial telluric factor or the physical-technical structure, the spontaneous sociological structure, and the factor of relative density and absolute increase of population. For a considerable number of fundamental as well as secondary economic phenomena, almost all of which belong to the static, and only a very small number to the dynamic, division of economic science, all four factor subclasses are constant in time and simple in action.

It is then because of this exceptional simplicity of the factors concerned that we have the possibility of a genuine and legitimate application of the deductive method to economic phenomena.

Let us take for an example Ricardo's law of rent, a law discovered by pure deduction and which in this connection is typical. It can be divided into two parts, the content of one being purely static, and the other dynamic. As regards the first part, the natural and artificial telluric factors reduce themselves to the simultaneous existence of plots of ground with differing degrees of fertility, natural or acquired; the action of the population factor reduces itself to rendering necessary the cultivation of addition-

al soil less fertile than that already in use; and finally, the action of the spontaneous sociological structure reduces itself to setting a single market price for all commodities of the same sort, although they may have been produced on soils of differential fertility and with the expenditure of different quantities of labor. Such great simplicity in the determining conditions of the phenomena being given—a very small number of factors and the greatest possible simplicity in their action—deduction has been possible; and indeed, it alone led to the discovery of Ricardo's famous economic law: The cost of commodities is determined by the amount of labor necessary for production on the least fertile soil; soil of superior fertility yields the same return for labor as that given by less fertile soil, and a surplus in addition; this makes it possible for the owner of the most fertile soil to lease it to other laborers in return for a premium equivalent to the whole surplus.

The dynamic part of Ricardo's law—i.e., the future necessity of all societies to descend to soil of increasingly inferior quality, and the consequent indefinite increase in the land rent of the soil first put under cultivation—and which he also obtained by deduction, has been, on the contrary, contradicted by experience. Ricardo combined the elementary empirical laws mentioned before with that of the continual increase in population density, but he did not reckon with the variations which could be produced in the artificial telluric factor. That is, he did not take account of all the possible improvements in agricultural technique; and this alteration, by which a constant factor became variable, rendered all the results of his reasoning false. Deduction nevertheless proved capable of dealing with these eventual variations also; later this was to be accurately performed by John Stuart Mill; even the introduction of this slightly greater complexity in the determining conditions of the phenomena still did not exclude the use and fruitfulness of the deductive method.

The fact that political economy offers the possibility of applying this method while all the other divisions of sociology vouchsafe it no foothold is just what has given and still gives the former an altogether exceptional character, so that it remains separated from general sociology almost as if it did not form one of its divisions.

But from all that we have just said it also becomes apparent that as soon as this simplicity in the determining conditions of the phenomena ceases for any reason, deduction becomes inapplicable even to economic facts. This may come about when the factor of environment (in the widest sense), while still remaining the sole active agent, also becomes more complex; but above all it occurs when the two other fundamental categories join in the action, especially the factor of social consciousness.

These new factors render the phenomena so complex that deduction can no longer give any result; when this stage is reached it is henceforth necessary to resort to purely empirical procedure, to a strictly inductive method. This would have been the case, for instance, when investigating the manufacturing of the Middle Ages, because of the fact that a high degree of collective consciousness existed among the artisan class. A consequence of this was the setting up of extremely detailed regulations by these freemen [artisans lived in the towns, and "*Stadtluft macht frei*"]; these rules related to admission to the guild, apprenticeship, methods of work, etc. Thus the factor of social consciousness intervened in the determination of the respective economic phenomena in a way which was more complicated and yet more direct than during the period when the actual economic régime began to establish itself. In this later period (late eighteenth century) the capitalist or *bourgeois* class, newly come to power, managed to break down all barriers of every nature whatsoever which could possibly restrict their capital's field of action or set up limits to the exploitation of the laborer. And so the factor of social consciousness again became of extreme simplicity, being reduced, as we saw before, to the mere existence of a right of property, itself very simple.

But today it is just this factor of social consciousness which again begins to operate in all economic phenomena in all countries where the capitalist régime is most highly developed; and the deductive method again becomes valueless just because of the renewed influence of this factor, whose direct action upon all economic phenomena manifests itself either through agreements between entrepreneurs or their syndicates and trusts, or again through unions and other workers' resistance-combinations, or finally through

what has been called social legislation, to which the capitalist class resorted (against their economic self-interest) when pushed by the disquieting agitation of the proletariat. This new factor of social consciousness so complicates the phenomena that deduction loses all value in the determination of new laws. A single example, that of Lasalle's law of wages, will serve for all similar cases. This rigid "law of bronze" was also discovered by deduction, and has been valid in the past. But the intervention of the factor of social consciousness, i.e., the organized resistance of the working class, has deprived the reasoning which led to its discovery of any value whatsoever, because this factor was entirely neglected. And even if Lasalle had wished to reckon with it he would scarcely have been able to estimate a priori the effects of its action. Wages in all industries, where the resistance of the proletariat has been well organized, have been raised far above that minimum subsistence level to which this law reduced them.

### III

Passing to consideration of the direct relationships of sociology with other sciences, it must be emphasized that first of all sociology is dependent upon its relationships with biology and psychology, for these sciences furnish it the first element of sociological phenomena—in short, man. These sciences can be of great value to sociology chiefly because the first steps in the social series, i.e., the first embryos of society, cannot be directly explored, but must be deductively reconstructed, almost in their totality, by the use of results furnished by the two sciences that immediately precede sociology. This is the method which Spencer, among others, followed with excellent results. Instance his well-known psychological explanation of the genesis of religious beliefs; this was based upon the reconstructed emotional and intellectual nature of primitive man. His nature being thus given, the simple facts of seeing his own shadow, his own image reflected in the water, his inability to grasp the difference between sleep and death, and above all the reality attributed to dreams where the deceased appeared and seemed active—these simple facts necessarily led to the belief in a spirit-double for each individual. Further, they led to a belief in

a life beyond the grave for this double, in the same surroundings as those obtaining in real life, and from this issued the belief in these doubles' participation (both benevolent and malevolent) in all the affairs of the living.

Biology and psychology can be of further assistance to sociology, thanks to the continual criticism and control which they should exercise upon sociological laws dealing with the physiological or the moral and intellectual nature of man, as these cannot contradict biological and psychological laws already established. Such a controlling influence would, for instance, be of service to-day, if the need for it had not entirely ceased, in demonstrating the impossibility of all optimistic theories which explicitly or implicitly deny the sociological law of class struggle. This law was discovered empirically, but nevertheless it could have been deduced *a priori* from the data which psychology supplies concerning the "average" moral nature of man.

At the present time psychology could aid sociology more than ever by making clear the psychological laws relating to the various formative and modifying influences exerted upon the psychic nature of the normal man by the similar nature of each of his fellows or by the totality of his surrounding sociological environment. These laws are, in a word, those prevailing in the phenomena of suggestion in the broadest sense of that term, individual as well as collective. Once knowing these, we could follow their lead into greater knowledge of phenomena of a psycho-sociological nature. For instance, the phenomena of imitation pointed out by Tarde, those of collective religious behavior, and others of a similar nature, are still waiting for exact laws which completely explain them. And it is the function of psycho-sociological laws such as these might be to explain in their turn various important sociological phenomena.

Thus regarding great social revolutions there has been general and just recognition of the fact that their fundamental cause is the slow change which goes on in the relative amounts of the pressures exercised by the various classes, this change being frequently, if not always, consequent upon changes in their respective economic power. It goes on in such a way that at a given moment the equilibrium of the pressures is destroyed and there results a

veritable upheaval of such nature that certain classes succeed certain others in political power, or, more generally, in the preponderant amount of their effectiveness as sociological factors. But certain secondary phenomena which, although produced within the *cadre* of the principal event, are nevertheless very important—so important that at times they alter the complex essence of the event itself—will be explicable only by these psycho-sociological laws, when once they are better known than they actually are at present. The great French Revolution, with its imposing secondary phenomena of psycho-sociological nature, is a very characteristic example of this sort of events.

Further, where religious movements are concerned, even the explanation of the *primary* fact (in large part at least) must be on the basis of these psycho-sociological laws. It is quite true, for instance, that the diffusion of Christianity throughout the whole Roman Empire seems explicable by comparing and connecting it with an agitation of proletarian claims and hopes, and the writer has elsewhere adduced certain facts toward the support of this hypothesis.<sup>4</sup> In that work the two following theses have even been developed: first, that a collectivity, in accord with a sociological law, is inclined to acquiesce in the *status quo*, whatever this may be, in proportion to the intensity of its religious faith; second, that a long-enduring period of war intensifies religious faith and develops ecclesiastical institutions, while a long-enduring period of peace has precisely opposite effects, i.e., it enfeebles religiousness and atrophies the medium of religious expression, or religious "organ," because of decreasing use. The writer believes thus to have explained how it was that the proletarian-Christian agitation was propagated throughout the Empire only when, because of the long duration of the great *Pax Romana*, a high degree of irreligiousness had already disseminated itself. But this does not at all preclude the fact that the mechanism genuinely active in this diffusion can and should be largely explained by the aforesaid psycho-sociological laws. Again, these laws alone can explain the later diffusion of

<sup>4</sup> Eugenio Rignano, *Un socialisme en harmonie avec la doctrine économique libérale* (Paris: Girard et Brière, 1904); see last chapter, "La conscience collective de la classe prolétaire en tant que facteur sociologique."

Christianity among the barbarians as well, because when it reached them it lost entirely its character of proletarian agitation and retained only that of a simple religious movement. The same is true of the diffusion of Mohammedanism.

And furthermore, in all these or similar phenomena, what is the degree of power, considered as a sociological factor, possessed by a Jesus or a Mohammed? To consider it to be zero, or nearly so, as several students of the matter today wish us to do, is perhaps somewhat extreme, although it is certainly less distant from the truth than the contrary exaggerations, which emphasized the tremendous measure of power that, as sociological factors, they were supposed to have had. But the exact amount, as a matter of fact, is still altogether unknown.

Next, psychology and biology, in conjunction with the comparisons between human and animal societies already mentioned, should throw light on certain fundamental problems. One of these is, we repeat, that of distinguishing, among the general characteristics evidenced by a given people, those which are true and proper racial characteristics (i.e., those which are due to dominant characteristic patterns already present in the germ plasm of each individual) from those which are due to the surrounding milieu, i.e., to the forming and molding influences of the physical and sociological environment. Between these two extremes lie the intermediary characters, partly due to the racial factor, partly due to the environmental factors; in this case the problem is to distinguish the part assignable to each of these various factors. This is at present undertaken by the positive school of criminology, but with reference solely to the abnormal individual. If, on the contrary, this research could some day be extended to the normal individual—"the average type" of a definite people or race—it would be able to furnish sociology with valuable information.

This information would become still more valuable if, at the same time, the solution of the long-debated biological question of the inheritance of acquired characters (Lamarck-Darwin-Spencer vs. Weissmann) were achieved. This question today interests the sociologist as much as the biologist, for its solution would enable us to decide whether the characteristics shaped by the environment

(and by the sociological environment in particular) have or have not a tendency to become fixed in the germ plasm; for if they did, racial characteristics of fundamental import would be transformed. The writer's studies in biological synthesis have led him to believe this transmissibility certain, and even to propose a hypothesis dealing with the transmission of these acquired characters.<sup>5</sup>

The direct dependence of sociology upon the other sciences, i.e., the inorganic sciences (astronomy, physics, chemistry, etc.), is quite evident, being given the necessity of knowing the real environment where sociological phenomena unfold themselves. It seems that atmospheric conditions (barometric, thermometric, hygrometric, and electric) in particular have a remarkable importance; but we have very little sure and exact information on the subject. This is evidenced by the crudity of all previous attempts to find in such things as the nature of the soil or the peculiarities of the climate an explanation of the characteristics of the various races and peoples. And in a still more specific field, the bold attempt to find some influence exerted upon revolutions by meteorological phenomena has thrown no light on the subject. Nevertheless there is one fact quite well adapted to test the importance of these studies dealing with the influence of the physical environment in the determination of sociological phenomena; perhaps they can arrive at an answer, not merely vague but precise, to this question: Why has civilization had its cradle in warm climates, and why has it since advanced in an ever constant and definite direction?

After thus rapidly outlining a few of the methodological principles which, in the writer's opinion, should be followed by the sociologists, our next step is to speak of the chief laws sociology may claim to have already discovered. This we will do in the second part of our study.

<sup>5</sup> See the writer's works: (1) *On the Inheritance of Acquired Characters: Hypothesis of a Centro-Epigenesis*, (2) *Biological Memory*, (3) *Qu'est-ce que la vie?* (4) *Man Not a Machine*. Editions of these works have appeared also in French, German, and Italian.

## THE INTERRELATION OF EMOTION AND INTELLIGENCE

DAVID L. MACKAYE  
Tulare, California

### ABSTRACT

The effect of "emotional instability" upon the measurement of intelligence is well known; the accuracy of the measurement is impaired. Emotional factors strongly affect the "fruitfulness" and "direction" of the intelligence; but we still insist upon treating intelligence as a thing apart. Evidence is offered that intelligence is part of a *total organic attitude* involving also attitudes of mind, emotional conditions, ingrained habits, and conditioned behavior. In children of high-school age this total attitude is the essential factor in counseling and segregation. The greater the emotional contribution to the total attitude, the more *subordinate* is the intelligence. This attitude is a changing complex in response to situational factors. Transient situations may produce emotional disturbances reflected in lower results in mental testing at such times. The inequalities in mental tests from a given child are an index to his emotional capacity. The total organic attitude becomes more complex through the operation of a long-continued disturbing situation, possibly also through inherent characteristics of the individual reacting in extraordinary ways to temporary situations. Inasmuch as behavior grows out of this total attitude and decisions in domestic, educational, and vocational crises are dictated by it, the total attitude itself and the situational factors which produced it are the essential factors in counseling high-school children. Classes segregated according to these factors present more uniform teaching problems than classes segregated on the basis of intelligence tests alone.

The "defects of intelligence, in a large majority of cases," says Terman in *The Measurement of Intelligence*, "also involve disturbances of the emotional and volitional function." The frequent coincidental appearance of a low intelligence score with odd behavior is familiar to anyone engaged in mental testing. We are familiar with the misbehaviors of individuals placed in positions demanding more than their mental powers can perform. In the latter case there are emotional irregularities arising out of shortcomings of intelligence. The level of intelligence furnishes the cause and the emotional or volitional disturbance is the result.

Dr. Terman's statement, however, is a difficult one. It is not clear that he intends to say that defects of intelligence are generally the cause and the emotional disturbances the result, or that they are both involved in a common condition not in itself mentioned.

The same uncertainty attends the application of testing methods to the individual in whom are combined various conditions of emotional and volitional power with the general intelligence that is being measured. Indeed, the entire literature on the matter of testing warns against the effect of "emotional instability, fatigue, and illness" as affecting the accuracy of results.

We rather arbitrarily assume three separate and distinct elements of personality which we distinguish by the names of emotion, will, and intelligence. Our practical difficulties come at the point where we attempt to isolate one factor and gauge its power. In spite of these difficulties, constantly disclosed, the educational procedure of segregating individuals into three or more groups on the basis of only one of these factors, giving each group, to some extent, a different social and economic training, is now well advanced.

It is the opinion of the writer, however, that this educational segregation on the basis of intelligence cannot be criticized until it is extended to the high school. It is unfortunate that a technique, primarily developed in and for elementary education, should be bodily transferred to secondary education and applied to the developing *social* individual.

Dr. Terman states succinctly the relation between these three elements: "Even in the normal individual the fruitfulness of intelligence, the direction in which it shall be applied, and its method of work are to a certain extent determined by the extraneous factors of emotion and volition."

The word "extraneous" may be objected to with some reason, yet certainly the intelligence is a factor which in one fundamental quality—its level of ability—is separate and distinct. When we leave the subject of intelligence and turn to that of behavior, however, it is impossible to put into one category that part of the behavior which is due to intelligence and into another that which is due to emotional capacity or incapacity. It is total behavior, in the final analysis, which education wishes to deal with and to shape.

Pressey, Chambers, and others have made some attempt to measure emotional conditions objectively. The Hughes scale, used in Pasadena, in a limited way attempts the same thing. None of these scales has come into general use, and it is remarkable that the

educator has at his disposal only a meager literature on emotional conditions to compare with his voluminous authorities on intelligence.

It is the purpose here to present some evidence of the identity, in school children, of the intelligence as measured with other factors causing the total social behavior of the individual. What is meant by total social behavior may be illustrated by an intelligent criminal and a soldier. Both at times will use their *intelligence* for ends inimical to their own physical welfare, a biological contradiction. The first, animated by attitudes toward society, will intelligently plan activities in which he has little chance to gain; the second, directed by his intelligence, may risk his life in battle for the sake of a comrade. In either case it is easy to isolate that part of the total activity due to intelligence. In neither case will the measurement of that intelligence provide us with the key to the total activity. This observation, of course, is a commonplace one.

#### I. INTELLIGENCE AND EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE

There is a point in common between the criminal and the soldier. In the *use* of the intelligence both have been governed by the *total organic attitude*, involving attitudes of mind, emotional conditions, ingrained habits, and conditioned behavior.

*The total organic attitude in children.*—The following two case reports will illustrate the importance of this total attitude in educational measurement.

A rural school graduated seven children to its union high school. At "the head of the class" was a mulatto boy who was ranged as superior by tests among 175 entering Freshmen, as well as by his class accomplishment and teacher's judgment. At "the foot of the class," by the same tests and judgments, was the daughter of an Italian farmer. In each case the judgment of the teachers was supported by five objective tests taken over the eighth-grade year. On the basis of these measurements the boy was placed in the A group and the girl in the D group, in a five-group segregation.

At the end of the Freshman year the boy had a percentile rank in achievement in the whole class of .03, and the girl a percentile

rank of .58. At no time did any of the teachers dispute the findings regarding the boy's intelligence.

1. E. B., boy, 13: Father from Jamaica Negro stock which had migrated to Canada after receiving much white blood; mother light mulatto with Caucasian features. Of three older sisters, two had married white men (one since divorced) and the third was an eleventh-grade student. Girls predominantly Caucasian in features, dark in color; E. B., on other hand, with distinctly negroid characteristics. Parents members of an extreme sect; farmers. Their attitude toward school clouded by religious prejudices; non-co-operative in community.

E. B. above average in all tests, sigma  $\frac{1}{2}+$  in intelligence in a group of 175, but scholarship superior. In preregistration conferences with counselor, disclosed that he was devoid of purpose and unable to choose between various educational opportunities. In reality he was in revolt against choices sought for him by home and school. His attitude caused the counselor to enter on his case report: "E. has quick, sharp mind which will give no trouble but which might become unsocial if strong attitudes are not built up."

During Freshman year failed in two subjects; barely passed in two others. Refused to turn in work or to take part in class exercises. Sullen in counseling and unresponsive to all attempts to reach him. Ran away from home three times; returned voluntarily twice and was taken back by companion third time. Parents equally unable to deal with him. Developed strong desire to be a cowboy; associated with companions of similar interests and ideals, read much of western fiction. At no time a disciplinary problem in classes. Held in school by compulsory law.

2. P. R., girl, 16: Parents naturalized Italians of Lombard stock, both closely associated with evening classes of immigrant education type for several years prior to P. R.'s graduation. Substantially well off, owning 80 acres of improved land; holding to peasant ideas of family labor which imposed an equal burden on wife, daughters, and farm hands.

P. R. failed in most of elementary school work and graduated because of age. Attitude in preregistration conference rebellious in effect; obvious that she was stating choices made for her by her parents, rather than her own. Found to be doing from five to seven hours of farm labor daily in addition to school work. Family's consent to her high-school registration obviously due to pride alone.

Work during Freshman year of standard grade, including that in Spanish, although she had scored 325 (failure) in Wilkins Foreign Language Prognosis test. Previous dislike of school decidedly changed. No evidence that work at home had been lessened by more time than was consumed in longer trips to and from school.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>From case reports of Tulare Union High School, S. J. Brainerd, supervising principal, Tulare, California.

It may be seen from these reports that the active intelligence of both of these individuals, as measured by its success in school tasks, was highly correlated with the total behavior picture observable at the time, even to the extent of affecting the scores of standardized tests. P. R. performed work in high school of a grade superior to that possible to a child with the I.Q. originally indicated for her and supported by other tests.

*Personality and its "emotional situations."*—An analysis of these cases reveals, though not too sharply, an emotional condition as not only controlling behavior but affecting the use of intelligence. There is no clear-cut appearance of a physiological agent. Until the laboratory has furnished in general for "emotional instability" a preciseness of definition such as Dr. Cannon has furnished for the coarser emotions these cases must be descriptively dealt with. The cases of E. B. and P. R. may be analyzed by reviewing, as follows, all possible causes of the instability, some of which may not be indicated in the brief reports given previously:

#### CASE E. B.

1. *Racial antagonisms.*—There is no evidence that E. B. is made to feel racial inferiority. Another mulatto boy is well received and liked by the school group, and E. B. could not reasonably have expected poor treatment because of his race, inasmuch as race feeling in the community is not strong and E. B. himself had been a leader in his elementary school group.

2. *Religious prejudices.*—E. B. does not share the religious intolerance—or even the beliefs—of his parents, and could not be applying these to the schools. It was this disharmony between boy and parents, however, which caused the trouble at home over this period.

3. *Opposed desires.*—While the home was critical of E. B.'s low vocational ambitions, increasing friction there, the school had not been unsympathetic. The "cowboy ambition" was not uncommon among the boys of the district, and it was being successfully used as motivation in agricultural education. The school, in fact, might have expected to offer satisfactions to the boy impossible at home, but he declined even to register in courses most nearly allied to his expressed interests.

4. *Conflicting ideals.*—The cowboy ambition could be taken as the boy's interpretation of ideal character and life, when compelled to make an interpretation of it in vocational terms, yet what he meant by "cowboy" and what the school meant by it were two different things. Beyond question E. B. was conscious of a distinction in ideals between himself and the school; his personality was at stake, as he saw it, in the issue of the conflict.

In Table I E. B. reappears as No. 4, described, among other things, as "sullen" and "egotistic." His sullenness was above the usual degree; his attitude toward adults when called into conference was such that it had a distinct effect upon his interlocutor. It has to be considered as an emotional condition, but because we lack specific skill in diagnosing and describing such conditions, our tendency is to label it "unsocial attitudes" and leave ourselves directionless in all efforts to guide the child.

In the case of P. R. the situation is reversed. The maladjustment was observed when she was first encountered, and to large extent an adjustment was secured. The question here is not the cause of a failure, but the condition which made her appear to be, and to be erroneously classified as, a potential failure.

#### CASE P. R.

1. *Racial antagonism.*—There was and are no social difficulties as the result of her Italian associations. Her father is a citizen, her uncle an elementary school trustee, and she became an active member of the high-school cosmopolitan club. Distinction of race has never been impressed upon her in an odious way.

2. *Social difficulties.*—If anything, she was better adjusted socially in the elementary school environment, in which she was a scholastic failure, than in high school, where the quality of her work vastly improved.

3. *Excessive labor.*—There is no question that she keenly felt her status as a farm laborer in her father's home, but her condition in this respect did not change the following year. The eighth-grade failure cannot be charged against time taken up in farm work, because the same amount of work was continued during the Freshman year.

4. *Suppressed expression.*—Certain capacities for independence which P. R. possessed were, however, suppressed during her elementary school life. She attended school less than a mile from her home; her father kept in close contact with her teacher, was well-informed on the work done, and unduly critical of it. The high school was 16 miles away; he knew nothing about high-school subjects, and lost his critical (and punishing) rôle. She developed and expressed certain dramatic abilities in physical education and in general was able to rely to a much greater extent upon herself.

This exhausts the situational possibilities which might account for P. R.'s failure in one environment and success in another. She retains nervous mannerisms and tensions, and is obviously not yet certain of her ability to control her own plans, yet her independence has been increased and her success increased proportionately.

Certain similarities are to be observed in these two cases. In both cases there was a decrease in school accomplishment to the point of failure when in a situation inhibiting the expression of their personality according to the urges in them. During these periods their behavior was described as "sullen," "nervous," "mean," and in other terms indicative of emotional disturbance, and both of them had high emotional capacity. In both cases their level of achievement or intelligence was reflected in standardized tests as "low" during those periods of disturbance and at higher levels at the periods of lesser disturbance.

Had P. R.'s eighth-grade tests been taken at their face value she would have failed to graduate and returned to the exclusive environment of her father's home, suffered under the same disabilities, and probably have reacted at the same level to any future tests.

## II. SITUATIONAL ORIGINS OF EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE

The cases of E. B. and P. R. have been discussed at length to illustrate what is meant by the expression used here, "the total organic attitude"; to point out certain origins of emotional disturbance; and to suggest the value of the case report rather than a standardized test as a means of segregation in secondary education.

The inherited equipment of the individual is a contributor to this total attitude. A reference to this at greater length will be made farther on. At the moment it is desired to point out the situational origins of emotional disturbance and the subordinate position taken by intelligence in the total organic attitude under such conditions.

The two charts submitted (Figs. 1 and 2) plot the performance of two individuals in sigma values through a series of five tests.<sup>2</sup> Two of these tests dealt with the vocabulary sense (recognition and reproduction) and were designed to exclude ideation. Two others dealt with memory functions (a standardized rational mem-

<sup>2</sup> All segregation tests at the Tulare Union High School are scored in terms of standard deviation (which resulted in the discovery of the *emotional range* mentioned later) in order to avoid the use of absolute scores and the possible harmful effect such may have on teachers' opinions of pupils.

ory test and another requiring the written completion of a situation presented orally). The fifth was the Otis self-administering test of mental ability.

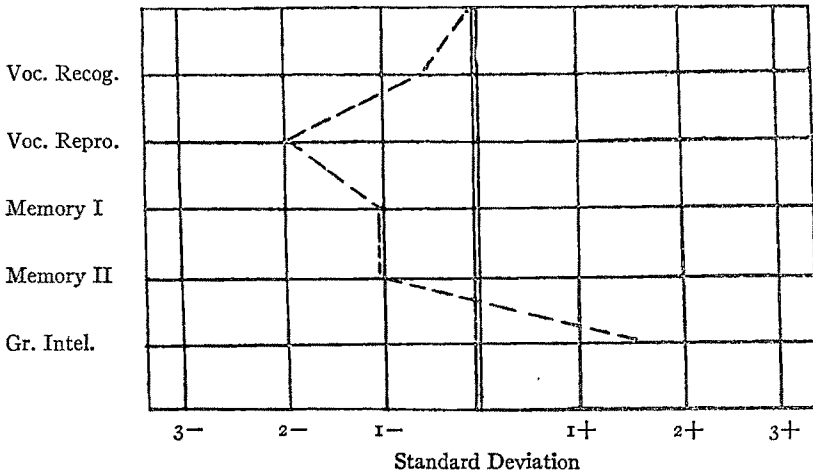


FIG. 1.—F. I.

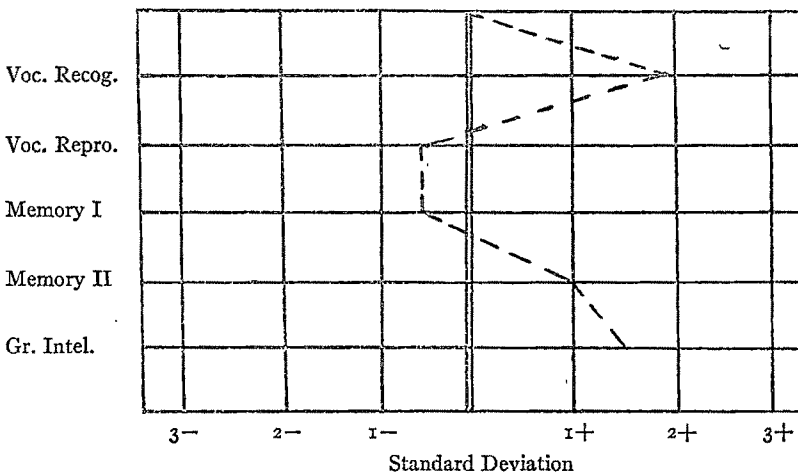


FIG. 2.—E. R.

In these two cases there is a lack of correlation between the scores on different tests corresponding to certain emotional disturbances known to have existed at the time.

F. I., girl, American, age 15: Father dead and mother remarried with five children by second union. Mother, an educated woman, has been (in the opinion of F. I. and her older sister) shamefully abused by the stepfather, who has reduced her to the status of a domestic servant and peddler. This bitterness has resulted in the older children living apart from the present family. Both girls have turned to one of the narrow sects for release from this emotional pressure. Living below comfort level. F. I. shows in dress and appearance traces of poverty and lack of home care. Has well-balanced ideals and desires to be a teacher. Tests: G.I.Q., 119. Comparative rank in intelligence, superior. All other tests low average or below average. Quality of work in eighth grade corresponds to four special tests, but teachers' opinion of girl's capacity corresponds to intelligence test.

Under more or less constant emotional tension derived from reflection upon mother's situation, the economic poverty resulting, and the religious stimulation in which refuge was sought. Evidence seems to sustain opinion that intelligence level is actually high but its use inhibited by factors just mentioned.

E. R., boy, American, age 14: Parents ranch owners. Well-connected socially. E. R. of buoyant, active temperament; good scholar; adaptable in social situations. Father killed in crossing accident in middle of E. R.'s eighth-grade year, resulting in removal of family from ranch to town. Economic status preserved. Tests: G.I.Q., 118. The father's death occurred between Tests 1 and 2, with a resultant depression in boy's responses for the following two tests, as indicated on the chart. Toward end of year buoyancy was reasserted; was able to speak to counselor about the tragedy without acute feeling. Test reactions all superior except during period of undoubted emotional stress following father's death.

It is just as likely, and so proves, that the intelligence test will score on a low level and the other tests on a much higher level. It seems to be a matter of indifference; the essential point is that certain conditions may exist at which time the child's response to a test will be much lower, in relation to the median response of his group, than at other times. When a difference of two sigmas exists in the results of the vocabulary group or the memory group of tests, it is referred to as *emotional range* and it is tentatively assumed to indicate personal situations involving such emotional stress that there is an inequality of performance, from time to time, on like tests.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The "emotional range" has been observed as an aid to guidance in this school for the past two years; while further study of it is necessary, it has already been learned that an easily discoverable domestic, economic, or psychological situation exists, as predicted by it, in a majority of cases.

A summary of the situations reported in cases in which emotional instability is a known factor indicates the following possible causes for a subordinated intelligence; as shown by low scores at certain times:

1. Religious overstimulation, or conflict between youth and home in matters of religious observance.
2. Conflict between ideas of the youth and those of the home regarding educational or vocational plans.
3. Alien home backgrounds.
4. Economic or social backgrounds limiting the exercise of good intelligence; viz., a child of such intelligence in a migratory, agricultural family.
5. Unstable ideals or working concepts, usually resulting from idleness.

In all of such cases as are referred to, good or better intelligence is assumed. Where low intelligence is real as well as indicated the emotional range is not found in testing results.

### III. INHERENT TRAITS AND SITUATIONAL ORIGINS

The discussion thus far has touched only upon specific situational origins of emotional instability, with a resulting subordination of intellectual abilities over the specific period of time. There remain, of course, cases in which there are the same reactions observable without a specific situational cause. Certain inherent traits may be suspected in such cases which do not exist in the same force in those heretofore discussed.

Overstimulated sex activities undoubtedly provide one of these causes, but it appears positively in only a few cases. It may exist in sublimated form in other cases, as in a girl showing the typical emotional range in testing results, and emotional disturbances under observation. No specific cause for this could be found. The general cause might be surmised from her strongly developed and fixed desire to be an evangelist.

There appears frequently a type of student, illustrated in Table I, who appears to have emerged from an abnormal situation, distant in time, with attitudes fixed in the appearance they then assumed, or else who has lived in a general causative situation not at

once observable. The situation of being an only child, or of psychological irregularities in the home, etc., would be included under the latter head. During the counseling period these students present personalities which seem to permit of no adjustment, and, in spite of obviously good intellects, fail in scholarship, in social relations, and in practical adaptations.

At least five of the pupils in Table I, or 20 per cent, show emotional irregularities which affected the use of their intelligence in school work. In these cases the cause may only be surmised; undoubtedly the reasons suggested before operated in some cases. The table is presented to show further the dependence of efficient intellectual functioning on emotional stability.

It may be observed here that the distinction between the cases below (Nos. 4, 8, 9, 13, and 17) and the case of E. R. cited previously may be one of a difference in inherited equipment. E. R. passed through a short period of high emotional disturbance and recovered his equilibrium. It seems quite possible that with a different emotional nature a different result might have been expected. A thirteen-year-old boy whose mother had died at his birth burst into tears at the routine question of the counselor, "Is your mother living?" and passed into such a disturbed condition that the interview had to be discontinued.

In Table I the impressions of the four teachers of each of twenty-five Freshman pupils (classified as "superior" and "good") are set against their percentile group in test scores which were the basis of their classification, and their percentile group in achievement at the end of the first semester. The pupils are the twenty-five highest in the classification list of their class. The description of the personality is composed of the exact words used by the teachers in referring to them.

The following conclusions may be derived from Table I.

In the case of Nos. 7, 11, 18, 23, and 24, it may be supposed that the original classification was in error. As they were not problems, either in discipline or in scholarship, this group of five were not closely studied.

In the case of Nos. 4, 8, 9, 13, and 17, it is obvious that intelligence is not involved in the failure. It is hardly probable that after

TABLE I  
AGES IN ALL CASES ARE FROM 14 TO 16, INCLUSIVE

No.	Sex	Terms Used by Teachers in Describing Personality of Student	Percentile Class Group in Classifying Tests	Percentile Class Group in Achievement
1 . . . .	Girl	Quiet, alert, responsible, modest, unassuming, idealistic, honest, humorous	.9424	.9500
2 . . . .	Girl	Mentally keen, modest, good sport, dependable, capable, co-operative, sensitive	.9424	.9856
3 . . . .	Girl	Dignified, attentive, dependable, ambitious, enthusiastic, strongly emotional, co-operative	.9424	.8791
4 . . . .	Boy	Coarse, abrupt, unsocial, non-co-operative, sullen, egotistic	.9424	.0389
5 . . . .	Girl	Diffident, companionable, honest, sweet-tempered, fond of fun, self-reliant, quiet, refined	.9424	.9500
6 . . . .	Girl	Retiring, unselfish, altruistic, unassuming	.9424	.9856
7 . . . .	Boy	More intelligent than industrious; ordinary, dependable, with little personality	.9424	.5849
8 . . . .	Boy	Nuisance; lazy, puerile, self-satisfied, self-confident, obstreperous, unreliable, conceited, selfish; sociable	.9424	.0106
9 . . . .	Boy	Lacks balance and determination; intentions better than performance	.9424	.1134
10 . . . .	Girl	Active, good-natured, attentive, sunny, sociable, independent, resourceful, cheerful, pleasant, conscientious, <i>careless</i>	.9424	.8791
11 . . . .	Boy	Self-reliant, understanding, industrious, quiet, likable	.9424	.7905
12 . . . .	Girl	Purposeful, gentle, <i>forceful</i> , conscientious, sweet-tempered, fine-grained; too narrow and straight-laced	.9424	.9856
13 . . . .	Girl	Easily distracted; has to be watched in a test; indolent, not very likable, temperamental; a "puzzle"	.7899	.5849
14 . . . .	Girl	Clean-cut, wholesome, honest, lovable, dependable, modest, well-poised, exceedingly fine	.7899	.9500
15 . . . .	Girl	Somewhat of parasite; cute baby; quiet, agreeable, afraid to do something not exactly right; "drives me crazy"	.7899	.8791
16 . . . .	Girl	Bewitching, trifling; works for grades; afraid of mother; pleasant, untruthful, self-centered, courteous; not honest	.7899	.7905
17 . . . .	Boy	Subtle, sullen; his own enemy; stubborn, unable to follow directions, erratic	.7899	.4005
18 . . . .	Boy	Self-respecting, pleasant-mannered, industrious	.7899	.4005
19 . . . .	Girl	Harmless, trifling, silly, polite, self-centered	.7899	.7196
20 . . . .	Boy	Always behind; alibi; easily discouraged; sullen, conceited, impudent, sulky, shiftless, lazy, good-natured	.7899	.2445
21 . . . .	Girl	Quiet, retiring, faithful, dependable, initiatory, naive, unsophisticated, truthful, <i>very splendid personality</i> ; shy, retiring	.7899	.7905
22 . . . .	Boy	Lazy; "fools me when I think he is dumb"; intelligent, merry-eyed, dignified	.7899	.8791

TABLE I—*Continued*

No.	Sex	Terms Used by Teachers in Describing Personality of Student	Percentile Class Group in Classifying Tests	Percentile Class Group in Achievement
23 . . . .	Boy	<i>Faithful</i> , plodder, tiresome, egoistic, slow, lazy, unambitious	.7899	.2445
24 . . . .	Girl	Sociable, well-poised; seldom finishes things; quiet, agreeable	.7899	.1134
25 . . . .	Girl	Pleasing, attractive, talented, self-centered; too conscientious; all-around school citizen; enthusiastic, eager	.7899	.9856

a year's observation, supported by five tests and the opinion of previous teachers, a boy or girl should be classified above the 90 percentile rank, yet have only enough intelligence to perform in the .01 percentile group. In these cases there is no apparent, immediate situation causing emotional disturbance. The case reports regarding most of them, however, indicate that the tendencies toward this condition had been observed a year earlier, but that they had not been strongly developed. The new educational situation may have had something to do with bringing out the development.

## IV. SUMMARY

The cases cited are illustrative of a substantial percentage of a large number of pupils studied in a single rural high school, that is, in the observation of children of this age, emotional "instability" is disclosed as a characteristic feature of their behavior. When this "instability" is studied in connection with their domestic and economic situations the periods of disturbance are seen to be frequently connected with specific and immediately observable factors in that situation. In other cases a general and long-continued factor may be present.

The "instability" is, in these cases, a total reaction to a situation unique in the child's experience, a situation to which he has developed no adequate response: the death of a parent, abuse of a loved person which he cannot halt, stupid repressions of himself, and so on. The knowledge he has is not enough to interpret the situation for him, and he is not old enough to meet *that* fact with resignation and philosophy. His distressing sense of helplessness, the

rationalizing shifts he makes to appear to himself superior to the situation—these reactions may be surmised more or less accurately by anyone whose childhood memories have not faded too much.

This emotional disturbance involves his physical and mental parts; it is a total organic attitude. In this attitude he faces *all* situations, including the one which gave rise to it. His decisions for the time being are the decisions evolved out of this total attitude, including those made in domestic, educational, and vocational crises. His behavior is dictated by it. It is impossible to analyze his acts with the view of determining what part of them are the product of the pure intelligence.

During this period the intelligence is subordinate to the total organic attitude. The greater the contribution to this total attitude made by physically-based emotional reactions, the less accurate will be a measurement of the intelligence at that time. There is *always* a total organic attitude.

For the purpose of class segregations in high schools, that is, during the period of greatest development of the personality, the situational factors are important. The factors which count the most are those which child experience is the least capable of understanding and resolving. The behavior of persons around him is often more potent than mere physical circumstances.

Teaching problems will be more nearly uniform in classes segregated in this way than in those segregated according to intelligence tests.

The extent of emotional capacity may be roughly gauged by the inequalities of mental performance, measured by objective tests, over a sufficiently long period of time, at least in pupils possessing high average intelligence or better.

## THE MARRIAGE PROBLEM IN RECENT FRENCH LITERATURE

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H. W. CHURCH  
Meadville, Pennsylvania

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### ABSTRACT

Marriage, which in Anglo-Saxon countries is primarily a union of two individuals, is regarded in France rather as an alliance between two families. A brief historical survey shows that in France the family, and not the individual, has been, and still is, the fundamental social unit. Only recently has the institution of marriage been the subject of serious question or attack. The present essay is an attempt to set forth the views of a few carefully selected recent or contemporary French writers who attack or defend the traditional idea of marriage and the family. Of these, *Henry Bordeaux*, the novelist, proves to be an ardent crusader in the cause of the family, while *Paul Bourget*, a novelist with strong Catholic sympathies, and *Hervieu*, a free-thinker and dramatist, both agree that marriage should be and must be indissoluble. On the other hand, *Brieux*, the dramatist, thinks that motherhood without marriage is the right of every woman, and that in time this right will be socially recognized. *Romain Rolland* seems to attack the institution of marriage in his latest series of novels, but comes to no definite conclusions and warns us not to draw any for ourselves until the cycle is completed. *Victor Margueritte's* scandalous novel *La Garçonne* was regarded as a violent attack on marriage, but later volumes show that he was merely attacking certain abuses in marriage for which man is responsible. The conclusion is that in literature at least the institution of marriage in France has not been seriously attacked.

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At the risk of seeming pedantic, let us begin our study of this subject by consulting the dictionary for an answer to the very elementary question: "What is marriage?" The *New Standard Dictionary of the English Language* defines it as follows: "A mutual and voluntary compact, properly based on mutual regard and affection, and suitably ratified, to live together as husband and wife until separation by death." Larousse, a French authority of equal standing, says simply that marriage is a "legal union between man and woman," and amplifies this by a rather lengthy account of such things as consent of parents, publication of bans, the dowry, and various forms of the marriage contract. The statement is added that the husband owes protection to his wife, and the wife obedience to her husband. Not a word here about a "voluntary compact" or "mutual regard and affection."

Of course bare dictionary definitions are scant material on which to generalize, but it happens that in this case the lexicogra-

phers give us a rather accurate distinction between the different conceptions of marriage which prevail in France and in Anglo-Saxon countries. Let us elaborate a little. For us, marriage is a union between two individuals; it concerns primarily only the two principals, who wisely or unwisely have chosen each other as life-partners. Consent of parents is usually perfunctory if thought of at all. Both husband and wife have their individual rights, and in case either feels that the other has violated his part of the compact not even the presence of children prevents a rush to the divorce court. Legal separation, followed by remarriage, has come to be regarded not only as a right, but as a duty, and the words "till death do you part" are almost as obsolete as the word "obey," so much so that European writers do not hesitate to characterize American marriage as consecutive polygamy.

In France marriage is regarded quite differently. Instead of being a union of two individuals it is more apt to be an alliance between two families. The marriage contract plays a rôle which seems preposterous to Americans, but we must remember that in France marriage, while not primarily a business arrangement, is nevertheless a contract in which the financial interests of both parties must be carefully guarded. Young people do not choose their life-partners. This is done for them. A marriage must be *bien assorti*. Love is not undesirable, but quite unnecessary. If the parents have chosen wisely love will probably follow the marriage. Divorce is of quite recent origin, and has not yet acquired the social status that it has reached in America. Generally speaking the French family is still an indestructible unit, and the personal rights of either husband or wife, particularly of the wife, are regarded as of much less importance than the interests of the children. Love and marriage being not necessarily coexistent either in theory or practice, we must not be surprised to find that extra-conjugal love affairs are not considered a sufficient reason for the breaking up of the home, which is an institution vital to society and without which there would be social and moral anarchy.

A very brief historical survey<sup>1</sup> will show how deeply rooted in

<sup>1</sup> This historical introduction follows closely Funck-Brentano's *Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1926).

the French consciousness this conception of marriage and the family really is, for it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the family in the history of France.

When repeated invasions by Northmen, Huns, and Saracens had reduced the fair land of France to a state of complete anarchy, the family was the only organized force sufficiently strong to accomplish social reorganization. It was the head of the family who organized the defense of life and property and literally reigned as a king in his little domain. The enlargement of this family idea, the transformation of private institutions into more or less public ones, resulted in what we know as feudal society. And the complex and highly organized social system which flourished under the *ancien régime* is traceable directly to this feudal society.

In the eighteenth century Retif de la Bretonne, a rather obscure historian, gives us this definition: "The state is a great family composed of all private families, and the prince is the father of fathers." In Diderot's *Encyclopédie* we find this: "The family is a society which serves as the foundation for the national society, for a people, a nation, is only a composite of several families."

Each family had its own customs, sentiments, ideals, and social position, which heredity had definitely fixed. All these were jealously guarded. An ill-considered marriage might introduce incompatible elements and so threaten the ruin of the entire organism which long generations had laboriously built. Therefore in marriage the individual counted for nothing at all, the family for everything. Love matches were as rare as in European royal families of today. As a matter of fact, families of all rank married their sons and daughters exactly as reigning princely houses have always done. A marriage was an alliance which was expected to bring a definite contribution in wealth or power to the family which received the bride into its ranks. The horror of *mésalliance* was not confined to the nobility, but was just as strong among the bourgeoisie and the peasants. A princess of royal blood could not marry a simple nobleman. Neither could the daughter of a land-owning peasant marry the son of a day laborer. The *mariage de raison* was universal. Love marriages were held in such disfavor that some fathers actually preferred irregular conduct on the part of their

daughters to a legal union in which the heart was the chief factor. Mlle Montpensier, the *Grande Demoiselle* of the seventeenth century, discharged a young woman from her service for no other reason than that she dared to marry the man she loved. Such a pernicious example was not to be tolerated in a servant. This same great lady was most tolerant of love affairs outside of marriage. So strong was the prejudice against the *mariage d'amour* that we actually find the question seriously asked: "Is it ridiculous to love one's husband?" and there are records of noble ladies who actually did love their husbands and yet hid this absurd passion from the public eye as though it were some secret sin.<sup>2</sup>

Few social institutions survived the French Revolution without being profoundly affected, but even this great upheaval left the traditional idea of marriage and the family practically untouched for the time being, although seeds of disintegration were then sowed which have been bearing fruit ever since. Such a thing, for example, as the divorcing of Josephine by Napoleon would have been unthinkable before 1789.

To turn now to literature, we find that Jean-Jacques Rousseau had already launched an attack against marriage as a business arrangement with his *Nouvelle Héloïse*. More nearly contemporaneous with the Revolution, Mme de Staël arose as a vigorous spokesman against the one-sided character of the usual marriage contract and of man-made marriage laws, which kept the wife in virtual legal slavery. The change in literature from rationalism to romanticism was bound to affect the institution of marriage. A few of the romanticists, identifying natural impulses with inspiration from on high, openly advocated and practiced free love. The all too famous affair of Alfred de Musset and George Sand is an example of this. Alexandre Dumas *fils*, himself of illegitimate birth and never able for a moment to forget the fact, used the stage as a pulpit from which to advocate divorce as a remedy for the evils of the marriage system. Balzac and the later realists and naturalists, while not directly attacking marriage, nevertheless ruthlessly tore aside the

<sup>2</sup> As late as 1849 Alfred de Musset's *Louison* gives us an interesting instance of this situation with the rôles reversed. At the climax of this play the repentant husband exclaims: "Il est de mauvais goût d'oser aimer sa femme."

mask of assumed respectability from the marital relation and revealed social sores that cried for healing or amputation.

More recently the marriage problem has been made more acute by the rise of feminism, a movement which in one of its many phases aims at equal rights for women, particularly in respect to their relations with the other sex. Marriage, according to this program, must either be made an equal partnership or be abolished. The belief is growing that the institution is antiquated, a survival of medievalism, wholly incompatible with modern individualistic philosophy, and should therefore be done away with. Some advanced feminists insist that with or without marriage motherhood is an inalienable right of every woman, and that complete control of the child should always belong to the mother. In fact the child should bear the mother's name instead of the father's, thereby removing forever the stigma of illegitimacy and reducing the father, who now exercises full legal control, to the state of a mere financial provider.

It will thus be evident that France has a real marriage problem, and that it expresses itself in terms quite different from those in which we think of the corresponding problem in America. Here we are apt to think of marriage reform in terms of uniform divorce laws or stricter control of those who shall be allowed to marry. Such a radical idea as "companionate marriage" is still regarded with a proper degree of horror. In France, on the other hand, the question is more likely to be stated thus: "Shall there be indissoluble marriage such as the church insists upon, or no marriage at all?"

Let us now proceed to examine the attitude of certain representative recent or contemporary writers who treat the problem we have been describing. And in order to keep our study within reasonable length we shall have to confine ourselves to a carefully selected few of those who take a direct stand either for or against the institution of marriage as it now exists.

Contrary to the usual rules of jurisprudence we will first listen to the defense. Our initial witness is already crying to be heard, for he has spent the greater part of his life actively defending marriage and the family against real or imaginary dangers. He is Hen-

ry Bordeaux, a member of the Académie Française, the most widely read of living French writers and the one who reaps the richest financial reward from his literary efforts. He was a great friend of Theodore Roosevelt, for reasons which are easily understood. Almost all of Bordeaux's novels up to 1913 had as their central theme the solidarity of the family. From the point of view of art it is almost too bad that the war did not end M. Bordeaux's literary career, for since then, although novels continue to flow from his pen with appalling regularity, he seems to have little or nothing worth while to say. Before the war, however, he had a great deal to say, and said it very forcefully.

If there ever was a crusader in the cause of the family it is Henry Bordeaux. Individualism is in his eyes the greatest curse of the age. It was the direct cause of the inglorious defeat of France in 1871, and if the nation is to regain her lost prestige she must carefully treasure up what is left of the precious heritage of the past and give new life and vigor to the old institutions. Chief among these is the traditional family. Less prominent in the picture, but still important, is the church. A little less loudly, for obvious reasons, M. Bordeaux hints that a return to the monarchy might not be a misfortune. According to Bordeaux the first great enemy of the family was Martin Luther,<sup>3</sup> who gave his approval to divorce, which has become the scourge of all Protestant countries and is now menacing France. The next staggering blow at indissoluble marriage was struck by the Révolution, for ever since 1789 France has been the scene of an ever more bitter struggle between individualism and the family. If all of Bordeaux's important novels treat some aspect of this struggle it is because he believes that the most sacred of all social institutions is seriously threatened.

It is unnecessary to analyze all his novels, as he repeats himself too much to be a first-rate artist, but we will try to state some of his important ideas. In his first novel, *Le Pays natal*, we learn that a young man who inherits large country estates is in duty bound to marry, settle down on these estates, and administer them for the good of the community rather than sell them and go to

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bordeaux's article, "The Family and the Individual, a French View," *Atlantic Monthly* (February, 1915), pp. 173-85.

Paris to follow an individualistic career. *La Peur de vivre*, declared by Roosevelt to be the greatest novel of its generation, teaches us, among many other things, that if an insolvent banker commits suicide it is the duty of his brother to preserve the family honor by paying off his debts, even at the sacrifice of his own daughter's dowry. The main theme of this book is the courageous facing of life, exemplified in the person of a heroic widow who sacrifices everything to preserve the family traditions and at the same time assure the happiness of her children.

*Les Roquevillard* is one of the most interesting of these family novels. M. Roquevillard, the elder, possessor of valuable family estates and more valuable family traditions of honor and service to the community, has a son who revolts against family ideals and elopes to Italy with a married woman. His escapade brings dishonor, suffering, and financial embarrassment to the entire family and causes the death of his mother. The book shows with great effectiveness that the entire family is always responsible for the acts of its every member and therefore suffers more or less justly when one of its number is false to its ideals. It also shows that a young man born into an influential family must sacrifice his own personal interests to those of the family and the community. Family estates must not be sold until after a family council has been called, to which uncles, aunts, and cousins are invited. M. Roquevillard is a venerable patriarch, the ideal of M. Bordeaux, the type of the ancient *pater familias* and the more recent country nobleman, a member of the intellectual élite which must assume the responsibility of guiding the uneducated peasant toward the intelligent use of the new privileges which the Republic has unwisely intrusted to him. In this as in the other novels mentioned the traditional *mariage bien assorti* is emphasized, and there is a goodly amount of Rooseveltian propaganda for large families.

*La Neige sur les pas* shows the marriage bond under the most severe strain imaginable. The wife has deserted her husband and young daughter to live in Switzerland with a lover. It is no passing caprice on her part, for she remains with her new companion until both are victims of an Alpine accident which kills the man and severely injures the woman. Even in the face of this wilful and

persistent infidelity of the wife, M. Bordeaux brings the family to a happy reunion, the child being of course an important factor in bringing about the reconciliation.

Other Bordeaux novels<sup>4</sup> might be cited, but as the ideas in them all are fundamentally the same, we will proceed to the examination of another witness.

This second witness is Paul Bourget, also an Academician, and a prominent figure in the field of the psychological novel. Although his first book, *Le Disciple*, is on the index, Bourget has long been, like Bordeaux, almost a propagandist for Catholicism. One of his best novels, *Un Divorce*, treats directly, as the title indicates, the problem of the dissolubility or indissolubility of marriage. This novel is well worth our detailed consideration.

A woman who had in early life been a devout Catholic has divorced her husband, for reasons that would satisfy any divorce court in Christendom, and remarried. She has a son by her first husband and a daughter by her second. Her second husband is a freethinker, as she believes herself to be. For him, their civil marriage is as real and sacred as if it had been solemnized by the church. He has, however, yielded to a caprice of his wife in consenting that his daughter be raised as a Catholic. At the opening of the story the child is preparing for her First Communion. The mother, her dormant religious faith reawakened, wishes to partake of the communion with her child, but realizes to her horror that she is barred from the sacraments because in the eyes of the church she is living in sinful union with the father of her daughter.

In this distressing situation she finds herself face to face with another problem. Her son has fallen in love with a young woman who at first seems to have all the qualifications for an ideal wife. But it is discovered that she has already lived in free union with a man to whom she has borne a child. Confronted with this fact she asserts with dignity that she does not believe in marriage, and that her union was in her eyes just as honorable as though both mayor and curate had legalized it, the fact that she has been basely deserted not affecting her honor in the least. Imagine the mother's

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *La Robe rouge*, *La Croisée des chemins*, *Les Yeux qui s'ouvrent*, *Une honnête femme*, and his masterpiece *La Maison*.

horror when she discovers that the son insists on marrying this girl in spite of her past.

At this point in the story the divorced husband accommodately dies, thus paving the way for an easy solution of the main situation, a religious marriage with husband number two. But Bourget does not cheapen his novel by such a happy *dénouement*. The second husband, considering himself already as properly married as it is possible to be, indignantly refuses the suggestion of a religious ceremony. The son, in the meantime, converted to the ideas of his fiancée, has united himself to her in free union.

Thus the novel ends with the unhappy mother still living in what the church regards as a state of adultery with her second husband. It is interesting to note that this has the approval of the priest, on the ground that if she leaves the home she will endanger the religious education and hence the salvation of the soul of her daughter. There is also the hope that the freethinking husband will see the error of his ways and consent to the religious marriage. One shudders to think what would happen to the poor woman in case she should die before this conversion takes place, for until then she is barred from all the sacraments of the church.

Many important theses regarding marriage are laid down in this book, but the main one is that, precisely as the church teaches, union between man and woman can be of only two kinds, either lifelong indissoluble marriage blessed by the church, or plain unqualified adultery. Marriage is a sacrament, and no body of human lawmakers can interfere with or modify the law of God. The tragedy for the mother in Bourget's novel is that her own second marriage was in the author's eyes just as sinful as the free union of her son, and that since she was herself living in a state of adultery she was powerless to prevent her son from doing the same thing. Thus the novelist has given us a powerful picture embodying exactly the Catholic conception of marriage.

Having now heard two witnesses who present the point of view of the church, let us try to find one who is not influenced by religious convictions. Paul Hervieu, who died some twenty years ago, was a professed freethinker.<sup>5</sup> Like most of the naturalistic play-

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Article by M. Estève, *Annales de L'Est, Université de Nancy* (1917), p. 14.

wrights of his generation, of whom he was one of the best, his principal theme was love. The marriage problem is treated directly in several of his plays, the most important of which are *Les Tenailles* and *Le Dédale*. The title alone is sufficient to give a good idea of the former. Marriage is there likened to a pair of pincers holding in its relentless grasp two struggling unhappy victims. *Le Dédale*, which is more important for our purpose, treats exactly the same theme as Bourget's *Un Divorce*. Again we are introduced to a woman divorced and remarried. Her first husband has the custody of their child. The illness of the latter brings the mother back to her former domicile. What follows is sordid enough. Old dormant passions are reawakened and the second husband is betrayed. A dilemma is thus created which seems to be even too much for the dramatist, for he can find no better *dénouement* than to have the two rival husbands meet and quarrel in the darkness on the brink of a yawning abyss, into which they both fall and are never heard from again.

Hervieu's fundamental thesis is the same as Bourget's, that a woman cannot contract a real second marriage as long as her first husband is living,<sup>6</sup> and the fact that two writers so different in religion and temperament arrive at the same conclusion is rather a good indication that the indissolubility of marriage rests on a much firmer foundation than mere church dogma.

Lest this paper run to unwarranted length it is time to begin to search for witnesses on the other side of the case. They are not so easy to find as one would imagine. Sympathetic treatments of all possible vagaries of love and passion exist in abundance, but so far as the writer is aware not a single reputable French writer, before the war, launched a direct attack upon the institution of marriage. Although it is quite common to find marriage treated disrespectfully or even satirically, even the few post-war attacks on it turn out upon closer examination to be merely smoke screens, and when it comes to facing the direct issue the author generally runs for cover.

Our first thought is to turn to Brieux, whom Bernard Shaw has

<sup>6</sup> It would be interesting to parallel this with a novel or play treating the same situation with the sexes reversed, i.e., the question of whether a man may contract a valid second marriage during the life of his divorced wife, but so far as the writer knows such a work does not exist, which fact may in itself have some significance.

called the greatest French dramatist since Molière—possibly because Brieux resembles most closely Shaw's idealized conception of himself. Brieux is an avowed reformer, and uses the drama chiefly as a vehicle for preaching. He has often touched upon marriage in his plays. *Maternité* and *Les trois filles de M. DuPont*, for example, treat respectively the evils of involuntary child-bearing and enforced childlessness in marriage. *La Femme seule* is devoted to the problem of the unmarried woman in society. In *Les Hannetons*, a very grim comedy indeed, Brieux gives us a demonstration of the fact that the man who seeks to escape the responsibilities of marriage by forming an illicit and supposedly temporary union often falls into a much worse situation than he has avoided by not marrying.

But these are all among Brieux's earlier plays. The one which deals directly with our question bears the significant title *L'Enfant*. This is getting at the root of the matter, for it is highly probable that if some solution could be found for the proper bringing up of children, all the powers of church and state would not long avail to save the institution of marriage. Brieux's play, written in 1922, deals specifically with the post-war situation in France. The fact is recognized that the terrible slaughter of the war has disturbed the balance of the sexes, so that there are two million Frenchwomen doomed to involuntary spinsterhood by the mere fact that there are not husbands enough to go around. Brieux's heroine is one of those women who believe in the inherent right of all women to maternity regardless of matrimony, and acts accordingly. The entire last act of the play is devoted to a succession of attempts on the part of her family and friends to persuade her to marry the father of her child, who obligingly returns from South America for that purpose. She finally gives a reluctant consent to the marriage, but her final words are these: "I yield, but nevertheless I know that I am right—perhaps not for now but for some future time." This can mean only one thing. The author believes that the time will come, and presumably not very far in the future, when motherhood without marriage will be entirely regular and will win social recognition, but that society is not yet ready for this revolutionary development. Let us see if we can find a writer who thinks that it is.

If there is any man in Europe who can be depended upon to

speak his convictions even though the whole world be against him it is Romain Rolland, he who at the time of the first battle of the Marne was proclaiming to the world that Frenchmen and Germans were really brothers and that the war was sheer insanity, he who alone in all Europe was not swept away by war hysteria and who kept saying things that though they sound innocent enough today were regarded as the blackest treason in 1915. Before the war Rolland had become world-famous for his great ten-volume novel *Jean-Christophe*. In this novel the hero is carried from the cradle to the grave, engaged in a constant struggle against insincerity, fraud, and untruth, and finding in this constant warfare the fullest development of his own individual soul.

A few years ago Rolland began another novel, or rather a series of novels, bearing the general title of *L'Ame enchantée*. This time the central figure is a woman, who like the earlier Jean-Christophe is to battle her way through life seeking to achieve complete freedom, to be true to herself, to keep intact her highest ideals and aspirations in the face of almost insurmountable obstacles. Naturally the first important problem that faces her is the question of marriage. Most of the first volume, *Annette et Sylvie*, is devoted to this problem: "Shall Annette Rivière marry the man she loves, thereby sacrificing her own individuality and belittling herself to the point of living primarily for him instead of for herself, of becoming an accessory to his career, an additional asset in the family treasury, his treasure, his choicest possession to be sure, but still his possession, almost his property?" Although she allows herself to be betrothed her whole nature shrinks from the final step. Marriage she consistently and repeatedly refuses, even after she knows that in the eyes of society it has become a necessity.

Here again we encounter the deliberate choice of motherhood outside of marriage. Does this mean that Rolland, like Brieux, believes that marriage is a moribund institution about ready for the scrap-pile? Perhaps, but let us not be too hasty. Rolland himself warns us in a Preface, which is repeated in its essentials at the beginning of the third volume of the series, not to draw any conclusions until the entire work is completed. *L'Été* and *Mère et fils*, the second and third volumes, throw no additional light on the

question, except perhaps in the latter where the son discovers the secret of his birth and the identity of his father, with the subsequent renunciation for all time of the father and the pardoning of his mother. If then we wish to be fair to the author we will do well to await the appearance of the fourth and final volume of the work.

The danger of drawing premature conclusions is particularly well illustrated in the case of the final witness for the prosecution, M. Victor Margueritte, long a leader in the post-Zola school of naturalism. Beginning in 1923 Margueritte has given us a series of three novels bearing the general title of *La Femme en chemin*, which, like Brioux's *L'Enfant*, treat the changed conditions which confront woman since the war. The first volume in this series, *La Garçonne*, was greeted with cries of horror. The scandal resulting from its publication exceeded anything of its kind for generations. The book was branded as vicious, immoral, untruthful, an attack upon the good name of France, an insult to everything decent. The author was ignominiously expelled from the Legion of Honor.<sup>7</sup> His enemies accused him of catering to obscenity in order to make money. To this M. Margueritte very aptly replied that he had always been a wealthy man, and that if he had wanted to stoop to pornography in order to amass a greater fortune he would certainly not have waited until so late in life. Anatole France contributed a characteristic letter in defense of Margueritte, in which he urged the governing body of the Legion of Honor not to make the mistake of adding *La Garçonne* to the already long list of masterpieces that have become famous largely through efforts at suppression.

What then is *La Garçonne* that it called forth such a storm? Certainly not a book for a young girl to read to her mother, but just as certainly not deserving of all the abuse heaped upon it. Its tone is convincingly sincere; the accusation that Margueritte was a dollar-chaser may be dismissed with the observation that conservatives in art always apply this term to anybody who presents something new and startling, which they cannot understand and therefore cannot appreciate. *La Garçonne* is an attack upon man-made

<sup>7</sup> It is highly probable that this action, as well as much of the hostility to *La Garçonne* was caused not so much by its alleged immoral character as by the author's well-known disapproval of the Treaty of Versailles.

marriage from the point of view of the woman, a study in the double standard of morals. It presents, so to speak, revision downward, the assertion that woman has equal rights with men to all the vices which he has long claimed as his special privilege. If the man can enter matrimony with a past, so can the woman. So does Monique Lerbier, the heroine of the book, and the larger part of the novel is devoted to a very graphic account of the acquisition of that past. In Monique's defense it should be stated that her revolt against convention does not take place until after she has discovered that her father is virtually selling her into marriage in order to advance his own business interests, and has also learned that her fiancé is lying to her and deceiving her on the very eve of the proposed wedding. It is to be noted that at the end of the book Monique submits to the despised conventions and becomes as respectable a wife and mother as anyone could desire.

The scandal caused by *La Garçonne* was so violent that it soon burned itself out completely, and the author was left to complete his series without further molestation. Curiously enough, the second volume, *Le Compagnon*, is a more direct attack upon the conventions than was *La Garçonne*, and might logically have been expected to call forth even louder exclamations of horror. But either the guardians of morality, having once registered moral indignation, regarded their duty as accomplished, or else they decided to give M. Margueritte no more free advertising and so held their peace.

In *Le Compagnon* two couples are placed in contrast. Annik, a woman lawyer, lives in free union with Amédée, a Socialist deputy. Each pursues his individual career, the woman being financially independent of the man. Their union is blessed with two children, and the perfect harmony and happiness of the household is broken only by the repeated attempts of Amédée to persuade Annik to become his legal wife. Contrasted with this couple is Annik's sister, legally wedded to a cruel, unfaithful, miserly tyrant, who is strong in the knowledge that the law gives him every right over his wife and her child, even though he knows that the latter is not his own. The main thesis of this book, aside from an important political element which we need not discuss, and the obvious and somewhat

overdrawn contrast between free union at its best and marriage at its worst, is that man-made laws make virtual slaves out of wives, depriving them even of their most sacred right, that of bringing up their own children as they wish. Even Annik, who is unmarried, is obliged to resort to trickery in order to retain legal control over her children.

By this time we are about convinced that Margueritte is an avowed enemy of marriage, but wait, there is another volume. With *Le Couple* we are transported into the future. The realist becomes a prophet. To our surprise we find that the children of Monique, the ex-garçonne, and of Annik, the advocate of free union, marry in the most conventional way imaginable. But there is a difference between marriage in 1940 and in 1923. The revolt of Monique against the double standard and of Annik against marriage dominated by man have had their effect. Marriage has been liberated from male tyranny, and woman may now enter matrimony without selling herself into bondage. She has equal rights with her husband, and, miracle of miracles, the old double standard has been abolished, but this time by revision upward, so that the bride may expect the same standard of pre-marital purity from her husband that he in all ages has expected from her.

Behold Victor Margueritte, who three years before had been expelled from the Legion of Honor for gross immorality, transformed into a preacher for a moral standard so high that it has few parallels in the whole history of French literature.<sup>8</sup>

Thus it seems that the star witness for the prosecution has broken down under cross-examination, and that the case against marriage must be dismissed for want of evidence, or to drop the figure, that the good old institution of matrimony is comparatively safe in the hands of French dramatists and novelists for some time to come.

<sup>8</sup> Margueritte's latest book, *Ton Corps est à toi* (1927), is the first of a series devoted to an attack on the enemies of birth control.

# BIG BUSINESS AND THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

WILLIAM CHRISTIE MACLEOD

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

## ABSTRACT

The formative period of colonization in North America was directed by the joint-stock business companies chartered for the purpose of pushing foreign trade abroad. The aim of these companies in early seventeenth-century North America was, of course, profit for their stockholders. North America did not promise big returns compared with rival investment fields, and the North American companies avoided the heavy sinking of capital which would be necessary if subjugation of the natives were to be effected. The result was the failure to assimilate economically the native peoples; this eventuated in their extermination, and the result is the racial contrast between North and Latin America. Seventeenth-century corporation finance, not the qualities of the native Indian, determined the exterminative Indian policy of the North American colonies.

## THE INDIAN OF HISTORICAL MYTHOLOGY

The Indian dealt with by British, Dutch, Swedish, French, and Russian colonists in North America, we are told in the school books, were, when compared with those handled by the Spaniards, a peculiarly wild and untamable lot, both innately and by virtue of a more or less democratic tribal organization, especially incapable of regular life and field labor, useless as slaves, and generally incorrigible. And as a consequence, those good books tell us, the colonists in what became in time Teuton or Nordic North America put their shoulders, or those of imported black slaves, to the labors of the field, and let Lo, the Poor Indian! go his own way.

Now this prevalent interpretation of a fundamental difference in the course of history in Teutonic and Latin America ignores many things which, when taken into account, make it acceptable only to Chicago school children.

First of all, as I have shown elsewhere<sup>1</sup> on the basis of sources which have always been available to the historians who have so boldly ignored them, the Indians north of the Rio Grande were not, in essentials of character or social organization and political

<sup>1</sup> See especially my *Origin of the State* (Philadelphia, 1924).

and economic life, very materially different from those of Latin America. Tribal or national government was most typically oligarchic or monarchic. Captives were generally kept as chattel slaves, and used in the fisheries and corn fields of their masters. The commoners of the native states or tribes were trained in subjection to their native overlords.

The picture drawn by Lewis Morgan in his *Ancient Society* and in the various history textbooks is based on native life as it appeared after the deterioration of population by disease, rum, and firearms, and the disintegration of political and economical life and general moral breakdown, had changed the Indian to a creature far removed from the aboriginal man as he existed when first met and dealt with by the early colonists.

Another important fact ignored is that certain North American achievements, temporary, and ultimately failures only because of the final dominance of other than the Spanish way of dealing with Indians, demonstrated conclusively the tractability of the North American Indian. Spanish conquests and missionization achieved the civilization, not only of the Indians of southern California, but also of the whole of Florida and the coastal regions of what later became the colony and state of Georgia. And somewhat similar policy on the part of the French on the St. Lawrence achieved the missionization of the Indians of the Huron tribes. Even some villages of the Delaware Indians of Pennsylvania and Ohio were made quiet, peaceable, and industrious pacifists by the Moravians, and Duncan, on the coast of British Columbia, turned a tribe of one thousand Tsimshian head hunters into a puritanic, low-church Episcopalian village of salmon cannerymen. All these tribes were close kin, racially, economically, linguistically, and socially, to other North American tribes who appear in history as exemplifying the ferocious and fanatically intractable and indomitable Indian whom the North American colonists could not have been expected to subjugate politically and exploit economically.

#### SPANISH METHODS

The difference of Indian policy as between Spaniard and North European was not due, therefore, to any significant differences in

the Indian dealt with. It was due, essentially, to the fundamental differences in methods of finance adopted in colonization enterprise.

The Spanish colonization in its initiation was, financially and administratively, closely under the direction of the Spanish crown. Conquistadores might volunteer to pay the cost of their own expeditions on the promise from the crown of reimbursement from the spoils of conquest and an administrative post on the lands conquered; but never did the crown relegate any of its powers to private parties, or permit any deviation from its Indian policy, which required always the absolute and unqualified submission to Spanish administration and one or another of the forced-labor systems used by Spain, including the mission system, in which, under the eyes of soldiers and missionary administrators, the Indians were obliged to learn Spanish economic methods, and eventually to pay the cost of colonial development.

*The initial cost, sometimes very heavy, of absolute conquest never deterred the crown from insisting on no compromise with the erstwhile independent Indian tribes or states.*

The Spaniards in the days of their colonial vigor found subjugation, social assimilation, and economic exploitation of their Indians not a particularly difficult task. They pursued the task promptly before one and another tribe could acquire firearms and horses, while the Indians had only primitive man's weapons to resist the superior military means of the European.

They carried out the task with professional soldiery, who were not diverted from it in a given area until it was completed. They cleverly used diplomacy, playing tribe against tribe, and holding the threat of force to obtain voluntary submission on the part of many native tribes. Thus they conquered much American territory with virtually no fighting. By striking at the Indian's means of subsistence, his corn fields, they forced the Indian to the alternative of starvation or submission, and refused always any peace except upon conditions of complete subjection and the acceptance of measures of social and economic assimilation invariably involving a forced-labor system under civil or religious control.

The Indians of what is now our state of Florida, for example,

were subdued and missionized virtually without the firing of a shot, merely through the threat of an attack by the formidable soldiery at hand and the diplomatic playing of hostile tribe against hostile tribe. To achieve his ends Pedro de Aviles, the conquistador of Florida, even went so far as to marry the daughter of one powerful chief, an expedient at which John Smith, the would-be conquistador of Virginia, would certainly not have turned up his nose.

On the coast of Georgia the Indians gave some trouble in 1592, but the Spanish soldiery struck at the native corn fields and granaries and starved the rebels into submission. "No harm, not even death," wrote the commandant, "that I have inflicted on them has had so much weight in bringing them to obedience as the act of depriving them of their means of subsistence."

Incidentally, the "pacification"—as Latin conquest was called—of Florida proceeded along the same years that the pacification of the Philippines was progressing (1565). The "Indios" of the far eastern islands were treated in the same way as the "Indios" of Florida, and subdued quite as bloodlessly; and in the Philippines the Spanish were left to work out the civilization of the natives.

The Indian policy in North America, outside the Spanish sphere of influence, was, in contrast to the energetic subjugation, exploitation, and assimilation of the Spaniards, a policy of *laissez faire* or hands off. The Indian was treated as unwanted, pushed back and kept outside of the range of European culture, left politically independent and unassimilated socially and economically. This hands-off policy reflects certain peculiarities of the finance of colonization in North America.

#### NORTH AMERICAN LAISSEZ FAIRE AND ITS FINANCIAL BACKGROUND

Colonial enterprise in North America—English, Dutch, Swedish, and Russian, and, for the most part, French—was initiated and carried through its development stages by big business corporations whose charters or certificates of incorporation, granted by their respective sovereigns, turned over to the corporation the entire conduct of colonial enterprise in particular spheres, with the task of getting the necessary money from the pockets of their stockholders and providing military defense and government for

the established colony. The sovereigns of these trans-Pyrenean nations were financially unable themselves to undertake the costs of colonial enterprise, while private capital was available chiefly through the medium of the corporation with its distribution of risk through limited-liability stockholding. In political power, in capital resources, in world-wide ramification of interests established through interlocking directorates, in achievement, these seventeenth-century business corporations do not pale in comparison with the magnitude of our great modern corporate combinations of capital.

These business corporations, unlike the Spanish crown, had but little of that zeal for propaganda of the faith which was the urge behind the crusading methods of the Spanish crown. What they sought was profits.

Moreover, to satisfy their importunate stockholders they sought immediate profits. Therefore they dared not, or so they thought, lay out too much in "organization expense," that is, in promoting the project and developing it to the dividend-paying point.

In North American promotions "too much" was very little. In the formative period of the early seventeenth century, British, Dutch, French, and Swedish investors were lured by the wealth of the Far East and by the sugar and tobacco plantations of the tropical Americas. Abundant capital was available for the East India companies, and enormous dividends were paid on the stocks of these companies.

North America was out of the limelight. It promised little. The mines of silver and of gold first hoped for did not appear. Money sunk in enterprise in North America was more often than not a total loss, and seldom yielded profits in any way to be compared with those derived from investments placed elsewhere. There was never any encouragement to induce directors of North American enterprises to "go in big."

*The subjugation of the Indians would require what was always considered too great an outlay for "organization expense."*

And when Indian wars eventually arrived, the aim of all concerned was, not to carry on until the Indians were subdued, but to stop the economic and financial loss as soon as possible.

EXEMPLIFICATIONS

Some exemplification of this is desirable and we will choose particularly the first Nordic colony in America, Virginia, founded with the English settlement at Jamestown in 1607. This colony was founded and governed until 1624 by the Virginia Company, sometimes known as the London Company.

Virtually without precedent, save that of the Spanish, which required a larger initial outlay of funds than the Virginia Company was prepared to make, its Indian policy wavered. In 1609, under the local directorship or "presidency" of John Smith, it began conquest of the natives after the Spanish fashion, and then, after some promising success, owing to the bickering and dissension consequent upon the bad management of the period, relinquished the gains made and busied itself with attempts to make the colony self-sustaining and dividend-paying without Indian labor or taxation. By 1619 the colony was self-supporting owing to the cultivation of tobacco begun in 1612.

That the following up of the occupation of Indian villages and corn fields began at the Falls and at Nansemond in 1609 would have ended in successful subjugation of the then some ten thousand of native population under the rule of Powhatan there can be no reasonable doubt. After fifteen years of colonization (in 1622) there were in Virginia only about four thousand settlers, including several hundred Negro slaves; and since the importation of white debtor-servants and of Negroes was very expensive, the employment of the labor of Indians, who since unnumbered centuries had been used to hard labor in the cultivation of corn and tobacco, would have been an economic boon.

The first secretary of the colony, Strachey, resident in Virginia, in 1612 advised the subjugation of the Indians and their reasonable exploitation. But more interesting is the eminently practical soldier, sailor, and administrator, John Smith.

He tried to impress upon the directors of the Virginia Company, directors whose office was in London and who merely managed the business end of their enterprise from the home office, that the task of subjugating the Indians would be simple and easy if properly financed and managed. He himself offered to go through

with what had been conspicuously begun in 1609, when he was for a time in command of the colony, and, sure of success, asked for no salary for himself, only a right to profit by the exploitation of the subjugated Indians after the Spanish fashion, in which the Indians were "commended" to their conquerors and forced to labor for their profit.

He explained that the Indians should be kept from acquiring firearms to the lessening of the relative military superiority of the whites. Under his administration the death penalty was the reward for anyone selling firearms to the Indians, but since then the authorities had winked at the practice.

Still, as yet, the Indians had acquired but few, and Smith was sure that by undermining Powhatan's power through promising perhaps special privileges to discontented chiefs under him, and by getting the tribes hostile to Powhatan to attack simultaneously, within one year, with a small command of only forty professional sailors and one hundred professional soldiers, he could subdue the Indians of Virginia and have them working, not for Powhatan and his under-kings, but for the colony through the mediation of John Smith and his garrison.

Smith emphasized this all-important point: that what was, above all, necessary was a permanent garrison of professional soldiers, always under arms, always ready for action in offense and defense, never distracted with business as were the colonists. Colonists, he explained, were too much concerned with the constant importunities of farming and trade to be able to afford the time and energy for warring with the Indians.

Some of the directors were willing to accept Smith's offer. But the majority replied that the working capital of the company was insufficient to finance even the small garrison Smith asked for, and that the economic rack and ruin consequent upon the massacre of colonists by the Indians in that year had destroyed the possibilities of further interesting investors in the stock of the company.

The result of the *laissez faire* policy of the Virginia Company was its own economic failure. In 1622, before the Indian outbreak, there were in Virginia about four thousand settlers, including the then very few Negro slaves. These were scattered about in eighty

settlements. The Indian massacre of that year was the beginning of twelve years of desultory guerilla warfare. After two years of this there were left in Virginia only 1,253 whites and 22 Negroes, and these were concentrated in six settlements, the other seventy-two plantations and their improvements having been ruined.

And this was what was left, after an investment of English capital in Virginia, between 1606 and 1622, of the then enormous sum of £200,000 taken from the pockets of more than one thousand stockholders; not until 1619 had the colony become self-supporting, and only three years later had come this devastation and heavy capital loss.

The men on the directorate of the Virginia Company who had chosen the *laissez faire* Indian policy rather than Smith's plan were big promoters and financiers who, in large part, were also heavily interested financially in the profitable East India Company and in profitable West Indian promotions.

#### THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY

Such was similarly the case with the directors of the Dutch West India Company, which in 1623 began its development on the Hudson and Delaware rivers, with the field office on Manhattan. At a time when this company could find any amount of money for the immensely profitable poaching it was doing in the sugar country of the Portuguese in northern Brazil, adopting there the prevalent Latin-American forced-labor system for the Indians, it begrudged every dollar spent on the Delaware and Hudson. Despite the bitter lesson experienced in Virginia in 1622, it followed the Virginia *laissez faire* policy of dealing with the Indian problem. There was no very serious restraint on the sale of firearms to the Indians because the Company expected its profits to come chiefly from trade in the furs which the Indians brought in. So in 1643 and 1644 the Company's local representative, Director Kieft, finally found an Indian war on his hands, not as a result of a program of subjugation, but of the nasty irritations set up when sovereign political groups try to operate on the same sphere or territory. As a result of this Indian war the Dutch colony suffered as the Virginia colony did from 1622 to 1634.

The directorate of the company—meeting, of course, in Holland—seeing their North American promotion near ruin, appointed a committee of its members to investigate the situation. This committee reported on December 15, 1644.

They pointed out the fact that, although Dutch traders had been operating on and about Manhattan since 1598, and the present company had been pouring guilders into the Hudson and Delaware since 1623, the net result to the company had been a loss of 550,000 guilders (\$220,000), an enormous sum when measured in the then purchasing power of money.

Director Kieft proposed to the committee that the company forthwith undertake the subjugation of the Indians, or exterminate them. But the committee recommended against this, primarily because "it would necessitate so heavy an expenditure on so uncertain an event *and so little appearance of profit*." The committee saw no "appearance of profit" in any case in North America. They recommended, however, that the New York office be kept open, but only because the company owed a moral obligation to afford defense to settlers already placed on the Hudson and Delaware.

Director Printz, Delaware representative of the New Sweden Company, which founded what are today New Castle, Wilmington, Chester, and Philadelphia, likewise wanted his company to finance a campaign of subjugation and Christianization of the Delaware Indians, but that company also objected *on the grounds of too great an expense in view of the small prospects of profit*.

#### THE BRITISH CROWN ITSELF

The crown of Great Britain watched with interest the struggles of British private enterprise in planting the British lion's feet firmly in North America, but would never lift a hand to aid in time of trouble. During Indian massacres the King merely sat back and drew more tightly the strings of his usually slender purse. When the insolvent Virginia Company in 1622 asked James I for aid in its Indian war he promised much, and gave nothing. When in 1715 the Carolina colony, then in its youth, was going through the throes of massacre by the Indians, when the Indians canceled their debt of some £10,000 sterling to their creditors, the fur-traders, by massa-

cring the traders, when the colony was already £80,000 in debt as a consequence chiefly of the Indian wars and the issues of bills of credit were ruining the merchants there, the crown declined to open its purse.

So parsimonious, or pecuniarily cautious, with regard to the southern colonies, the crown could hardly be expected to be less so with regard to the nests of heretics in New England. So the United Colonies of New England fought out alone their Indian war of 1676. In this later war, with King Philip and his allies, one-tenth of the adult males of the United Colonies fell in battle, as many women and children had been slain, hundreds of homes destroyed, thirteen towns wiped out, a year's harvest lost, and English civilization in New England would have been wholly wiped out had it not been for the timely assistance of some Christianized Indians who served the Puritan armies as scouts. The financial drain was almost ruinous, the cost to the United Colonies being about £80,000, or the equivalent of about \$2,000,000 in our present purchasing power of money. These colonies did not trouble to ask for the aid they knew they would not get. Even the then English colony of New York smiled serenely at the misfortunes of the Puritans, and at the trade mart of Albany sold King Philip's Indians all the arms and ammunition they had wampum and furs enough to buy. The Puritans met a part of the costs of the 1676 war by the sale of one thousand or more Indian prisoners as slaves in the slave markets of the West Indies and North Africa.<sup>2</sup>

In the course of time the British crown took control of one and another North American colony out of the hands of the various private enterprises, and the colonies became "crown colonies," with policies to be determined by the crown. But by the time the colonies became crown colonies they were self-supporting and profit-

<sup>2</sup> The reader will be inquiring about the "proprietary colonies" under other than business corporation control. These are of very minor importance. Maryland was merely a small slice cut from the territory of the Virginia Company. The Carolina proprietors promptly organized themselves into a business company for the exploitation of their territory. New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey had been under Dutch and Swedish business corporations for more than forty years before the English crown acquired them. The English New Jersey proprietors organized business companies to hold and exploit their territories.

able, and there was no wisdom, in the King's opinion, in going to the expense of subjugating the Indians, who by that time anyway were well equipped with firearms and were rather good shots.

The British crown merely carried on the Indian policy established by the British, Dutch, and Swedish companies in North America. In 1624, for example, the crown succeeded in revoking the charter of the Virginia Company, and Virginia became the first crown colony. The crown subsequently, through its local governor, came to terms with the sovereign Indian tribes, ending the twelve years of guerilla warfare which had lasted since the massacre of 1622, and continued the old *laissez faire* policy of the Virginia Company, obtaining a peace which lasted, however, only for ten years, ending in another massacre by the Indians in 1644.

The *laissez faire* policy of the crown, really definitely formulated only so late as the period of the French and Indian Wars begun in 1754, was subsequently taken up by the revolutionary colonies and became essentially the policy of the United States.

#### THE RESULT

The result was tragic for the natives north of Mexico. They were destined to be less fortunate than the natives of Latin America, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, and other areas where forced-labor plans were adopted. The North American Indian did not receive the benefits of compulsory education, nor any measure of protection from an overdose of freedom, nor any absorption into the new scheme of things in the re-created continent. Instead, he was permitted to live beyond the ever extended pale, free to follow the paths of glory to the grave, a noble sort of pariah, neglected, rejected, and dying out.

The Europeans in North America, neglecting what there was of native labor, looked to the importation of Negroes and of white debtor-slaves or indentured servants for auxiliary labor. The broods of servants as they became free shifted out to the frontier to become petty farmers, dependent on their own labor. Protestant religious groups, many of them communistic, added to the many thousands of small farmers' families who were content to depend largely upon their own labor for subsistence.

These hordes of small farmers very effectively edged the Indian off the land and farther back into the woods away from close contact with European culture. He was a useless pariah who was kept isolated out in the "Indian Country." He was a "warrior," not a laborer, able to handle the scalping knife, but not the plow.

My calculations, conservatively made, indicate that there were aboriginally more than 1,000,000 Indians in North America (north of Mexico), and that the probability is there were nearly 3,000,000. Considering the opportunity for increasing a population with an improving economy, it is plain that we might have had among us today, instead of our 15,000,000 Negroes, as many persons of Indian blood. But instead there are north of Mexico only about 75,000 full-blood Indians, with about 200,000 official "Indians," mixed-bloods who are largely white in blood.

But Mexico, where the Spanish policy worked itself out, has a population of 15,000,000 which is more than 80 per cent of Indian blood, the vast majority being full-blood Indian, despite the prevalence of Spanish speech. And from Mexico may come a renewal of Indian blood in America north of Mexico. There are now in the United States about 1,500,000 Mexicans largely Indian in blood, and immigration of Mexican labor bids fair continually to increase the proportion of Indian blood in the at present dominantly Negro and Caucasian United States.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The data on which the above study of financial determinants in history is based may be found in my socio-historical study *The American Indian Frontier*, just published in the "History of Civilization Series" (Kegan Paul, London). Peculiarities of the Latin Argentine Republic and of Brazil are there discussed.

## SARGASSO ICEBERG: A STUDY IN CULTURAL LAG AND INSTITUTIONAL DISINTEGRATION

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HOWARD BECKER  
University of Chicago

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### ABSTRACT

The Lutheran church in Germany threatens to disintegrate. It is under the influence of destructive cultural changes to which it seems unable to adapt so as to hold its power. Necessary adaptation to cultural change is prevented by passive resistance of peasant parishioners. The peasant has a set of attitudes, built up through a long historical process and now imbedded in the mores, which lead him passively to resist those in authority, especially state officials. The behavior pattern is, "Do what you're told, if you're told often enough, but do no more than that, and do it grudgingly." The pastor is looked upon as an emissary of the to-be-resisted state. He cannot initiate changes which involve any change in, or increase of, the traditional duties of the parishioners. This would be no great disadvantage in a static order, but the old monarchical, static, *status* order is breaking up. Cultural changes are breaking up the order to which the church has so long been adjusted. These changes are: (1) improved transportation, which permits (2) decentralization of factories and (3) allows workers to commute from the villages to factory towns. (4) This introduces disintegrative influences into the communal life of the village, among them (5) proletarian anticlericalism, (6) the older-younger generation conflict, due to the break-up of the patriarchal family, (7) bad feeling between the peasant and the "lazy eight-hour worker." (8) The revolution disestablished the Lutheran church; the peasant apparently cannot be educated to its voluntary support, partly because of the passive-resistance attitude mentioned. Unless apparently impossible changes occur, the Lutheran church will disintegrate to a marked degree.

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Whether in reality they ever drift into that half-mythical maze of seaweed, ocean refuse, flotsam—that I do not know. But should they ever venture out of their northern track, where they dog and harry unwary vessels, and lazily float along in a current imperceptibly growing warmer, to lodge at last beyond hope of extrication in that great Sargasso pool of the tropical Atlantic—then would those hapless wayfarers from the floes of Greenland slowly waste away until they merged once more into the element from which they once were crystallized. Solid to fluid, ice to water.

May not institutions, as well as icebergs, thus dissolve, melt, resolve themselves? Especially if they are held, by a sort of inner necessity, in surroundings which steadily grow more unfavorable, and to which they seem unable to adapt? If they are to save them-

selves or to be saved, one or both of two things must occur: either they must break out of the hampering mass of lifeless tradition which clogs their every movement (as the Sargasso seaweed and wreckage brought to a standstill sailing vessels which ventured into it) and must move on with the current of the times until they reach a more favorable latitude, or, by some magic alchemy, they must change their innermost natures so that the unfavorable surroundings have no power over them, as we may imagine ice so to change itself that the scorching rays of the sun on the Line harm it no more than if it were a floating mass of rock crystal.

Such an institution, such a Sargasso iceberg, is the Lutheran church in Germany. Even in what has always been its stronghold, the countryside, changes which threaten its very life are taking place.

This thesis the writer proposes to illustrate in detail by describing the situation he found in the little German village of Seibersbach, Kreis Kreuznach, in the spring of 1927. At that time he, with other members of Professor Leopold von Wiese's sociology seminar, was studying rural sociology, and as an American guest was given the honor of staying with the pastor of the village, an uncommonly alert and intellectual type, priding himself on the *Dr. rer. pol.* which he had added to his theological degree late in life. Another pastor who had labored in the region for forty years was also a guest for a day or two, and as he had once visited the United States, a steady stream of conversation and anecdote regaled the little group. The frankness of both men in commenting on the situation of the Lutheran church was extremely revealing; in spite of their loyalty they openly expressed their fears for the future. The writer in listening to the reports of the other seminar students scattered among some twenty villages found that they in many instances had discovered somewhat similar situations, so that the observations may be considered fairly typical of the region. That they are also typical of Germany as a whole is rendered at least a tenable hypothesis by the evidence adduced in the book *Protestant Europe, Its Crisis and Outlook*, by Adolph Keller and George Stewart, although some of the peculiar features of the local situation cannot be made the basis of generalizations. There is, to

be sure, a speculative element in the thesis set forth in this paper, unavoidable by reason of the limited range of observation. But for the range covered, the writer has been confirmed in his hypothesis by a product of the seminar mentioned above, *Das Dorf als Soziales Gebilde*, which he reviews elsewhere in this issue. Citations from this special issue or *Ergänzungsheft* of the *Kölner Vierteljahrsheft für Soziologie* will serve to reassure the reader that arbitrary, unsupported "outsider" assertions are not being made.

Seibersbach lies comparatively close to the present French boundary, a little eddy just out of the main course of the mighty stream of events which have flowed up and down the valleys of the Moselle and Rhine, but near enough to have had its share of swirling vicissitude. A triangle connecting the nearby cities of Trier, Coblenz, and Mainz would inclose our village, and that speaks eloquently to those who know the histories of these not-so-long-ago armed camps, as we shall see later. The low range of hills which helps to shut out Seibersbach from both of the river valleys is called the Hunsrück, which the writer, with how much philological warrant he does not know, translated "the Hun's Back," and if savage intemperance of climate be sufficient ground for his rendering, the translation is justified.<sup>1</sup> High and hilly, raw and windy, with sparsely wooded blotches splashed here and there on the niggardly soil, it affords a distressing contrast to the pleasant, sunny vineyard terraces of the nearby rivers. Here indeed must man wrestle with nature, fiercely, unremittingly.

And not only with nature. The dark Celts, Treviri and others, who peopled the district and who were subjugated by the Romans<sup>2</sup> were again conquered by the Alemanni, who in their turn had to contend with the Franks.<sup>3</sup> Aix-la-Chapelle, the seat of Charle-

<sup>1</sup> Trier was laid in ruins by Attila in 451, so perhaps "Hun's Back" is not so far-fetched after all.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Gallic Wars* Caesar describes them as a warlike race, with the best cavalry in Gaul.

<sup>3</sup> "Die heutige Besiedlung der für uns in Betracht kommenden Dörfer ist in der Hauptsache auf Franken zurückzuführen. Im nördlichen Teil mehr ripuarische und Moselfranken, im südlichen Teil Rheinfranken und Alemannen. Von Mörschbach aus scheint sich durch unser Gebiet etwa dem Guldenbachtal entlang zur Nahe hin

magne's court, is not far away, and his sway must have extended itself with especial rigor over the heathen peoples at his very threshold, as they were soon "Christianized" in the same manner as were the Saxons—with the sword.

During the centuries when the Holy Roman Empire dragged its cumbrous length along, innumerable robber barons and petty potentates, under the aegis or influence of the ecclesiastical electors of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, lorded it over their serfs on the Hun's Back. "The peasant," said some court fool of the period, grimly enough, "is like a sack of meal; when apparently empty, he needs only to be beaten."<sup>4</sup>

The beatings were always for some purpose, however, and that purpose was usually the financing of some quarrel his liege lord was engaged in at the particular time. And how many "particulars" there were! Take nearby Coblenz, for example. The wars of the Bishop of Trier, of the counts of Arnstein and the counts of Nassau, of Archbishop Arnold, who quelled an insurrection in the town in 1254—and so on interminably. Or the example of Mainz, also near by: the strife of the archbishops Diether of Isenburg and Adolph of Nassau, and how many more.<sup>5</sup>

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die Sprachgrenze zu ziehen, so dass östlich dieser Linie Alemannisch häufiger wird. Unter den Ortsnamen der von uns besuchten Dörfer kommen die Orte mit der Endsilbeheim bei Winzenheim, Walddlaubersheim, Bretzenheim und Langenlonsheim vor; man schliesst bei ihr auf fränkisches Besiedlungssystem. Doch scheint dies nur mit Einschränkung zuzutreffen, da gerade in dieser Gegend auch Alemannische Merkmale der Bevölkerung berichtet werden" (L. von Wiese, Herausgeber, *Das Dorf als soziales Gebilde*, Ergänzungsheft I. zu den Kölner Vierteljahrsheften für Soziologie [München: Duncker und Humblot, 1928]).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the graphic description of the misery and oppression of the peasantry given in the Hans Ruprecht episode of Maxmilian Klinger's "Faust's Leben, Thaten, und Höllenfahrt" (1791), in *Deutsche National-Litteratur* (Berlin und Stuttgart: Joseph Kürschner), LXXIX, 201 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In the Thirty Years' War Mainz was occupied by the Swedes and the French. In 1792 it enthusiastically welcomed the principles of the French Revolution and opened its gates to the Republican troops under General Custine. It was recaptured the following year, but was ceded to France by the peace of Campo Formio in 1797. In 1814 it was restored to Germany and handed over to the grand duchy of Hesse, remaining, however, a fortress of the German Confederation, garrisoned in common by Prussian, Austrian, and Hessian troops. After 1871 it was a fortress of the German Empire, and after 1918 shared in the general fate of the Rhineland, being occupied—and still is (Schaab, *Geschichte der Stadt Mainz*, 1844; K. Klein, *Mainz und*

Then came the interminable wars which attended the slow break-up of the feudal system, the Thirty Years' War, the War of the Spanish Succession (when the district passed into French hands, to remain there until the final defeat of Napoleon), the Seven Years' War, and the other wars of Louis le Grand and his immediate successors, the French Revolution, the titanic struggles of Napoleonic times, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and the World War of 1914-18.<sup>6</sup> Wars, wars, wars, and in all of them the peasant of the Hun's Back passively endured the trampling to which he was subjected. An army may indeed march "on its stomach," but in the wars cited the armies also marched on the back of the Siebersbach peasant and his brothers in hundreds of other tiny villages, just as the hosts of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, and Rome ground their sandals into the flesh of Jewish villagers who chanced to live in the only thoroughfare between the contending countries. Palestine in ancient and modern times was no more a cockpit than the little triangle whose points are Mainz, Trier, and Coblenz.<sup>7</sup>

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*seine Umgebungen*, 1868; Bockenheimer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Mainz*, 1874, and *Mainz und Umgebungen*, 1880).

Before the Thirty Years' War Coblenz was a prosperous town, but that disaster occasioned a rapid decline. When in 1632 the elector Philip Christopher, of Sötern, surrendered Ehrenbreitstein to the French, the town received an imperial garrison, which was soon, however, expelled by the Swedes. They in their turn handed it over to the French, but the imperial forces succeeded in retaking it by storm. In 1688 it was besieged by the French Marshal Bonfiers, but was successfully defended by Count Lippe. In 1794 it was taken by the revolutionary army, and after the peace of Luneville it was made the chief town of the Rhine and Moselle department. In 1814 it was occupied by the Russians, and by the Congress of Vienna it was assigned to Prussia. From 1919 to 1923 Coblenz was occupied by American troops.

From 1794 to 1814 Trier was capital of the French department of the Sarre (German "Saar"). Since the latter date it has belonged to Prussia, but is now one of the areas whose national allegiance, whether French or German, is to be decided by plebiscite in 1935, and is under French control.

<sup>6</sup> The wars carried on by his Most Christian Majesty Louis XIV are still remembered in this district, especially in the vicinity of the Rhine, where the devastations of his generals were of the most appalling description; scarcely a village or town but has a tale to tell of the murder and rapine of this period.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1926), 5th ed. revised; maps, "Principal Seats of War" (Central Europe), p. 121, years 1618-60; p. 125, years 1672-99; p. 129, years 1700-1721; p. 132, years 1740-63; p. 153, years 1788-1815. These maps show a remarkable overlapping of war areas in the region described.

Lorraine a few score miles away, Luxemburg next door, Belgium just northeast, the valley of the Moselle an open door either to France or to Germany—what a maelstrom center! Seibersbach and its little neighbor villages, to be sure, were not the actual points of attack; but who suffered most in Sherman's march to the sea, the inhabitants of Atlanta, or the countryside where "the turkeys gobbled when they heard the joyful sound"?

What does all this mean? Well, it may partly explain the ingrained attitudes of the Seibersbach peasant; who is only a representative of his brothers all over war-scarred Europe—representative not in the sense of being wedded to the ancient ways, for all peasants are that, but representative of a peculiar passive resistance to all external control. Owing to the deep-rooted particularism of Germany, its complex history and peculiar position, the German peasant has perhaps been exposed to more strife than the peasant of any other country. And with so many different masters, so many voices shouting "Do this" and "Do that," his only salvation lay in doing, as nearly as possible, nothing at all. In a semi-friendly scuffle between schoolboys many a lad has discovered that the most effective resistance against the combined attacks of the others is complete relaxation; one simply becomes aggravatingly limp, so that one must be carried, rather than chased, off the playground. The scuffles of the peasant with his various overlords were of a rather more earnest, not to say serious, nature, but the technique was the same. When a company of soldiers comes from the castle to collect the taxes, well and good, the taxes will be paid; but not before. When the lord of the manor calls for his stint of gratuitous labor from his serfs and near-serfs, do what he compels you to do—and no more! This feudal requirement of *Frondienst* must have aroused a sullen bitterness all the blacker because powerless. One feels it when reading the lines of the Hunsrück dialect poet, Peter Johann Rottmann, a sort of local Burns:

Der Bauer hatt jo garkäh Reechd  
 Dehr ward jo neist ass laurer Knäächd . . .  
 Vor auch kunnt Dehr nur ebbes duhn  
 Beim wieschde Weerer, dann beim scheene  
 Do musst Dehr jo mit Fraa und Suhn  
 Im gnehrche Häär seim Acker frehne.

The peasant has no rights at all;  
 You use him like a common thrall . . .  
 Bad weather comes—he cannot toil  
 On his own plot; when sun appears,  
 Then must he till "good master's" soil  
 With wife and sons. So go the years. . . .<sup>8</sup>

This sort of semi-slave labor leaves a tradition behind it! Even to-day the road work, etc., done for the community as a whole, and to which every man contributes some time, is called *Fronddienst* and is carried out in no light-hearted fashion. Passive resistance—how deep rooted it is! . . . . When soldiers are foraging for rations, hide everything and quietly allow them to search until they are blue in the face, but give them nothing, short of threats of a firing squad or torture. It makes no difference if the soldiers happen to speak one's own tongue, or even serve the lord to whom one nominally owes allegiance; in Germany before 1870 the fact that a soldier spoke the same "language" as the peasant meant nothing, for the majority of wars were between petty German states, and as to the lord—well, one might have another lord tomorrow.

The point in question may be somewhat illuminated by the following anecdote. In the latter part of the nineteenth century a *Landrat* conceived the rather startling notion of installing a water and sewage system in the village of which he was still, in a certain sense, the feudal lord.<sup>9</sup> Having perhaps been infected by the liberal doctrines of the *Paulskirche*, he decided to allow the village to decide whether or not it should be installed, and accordingly called a town meeting so that the decision might be rendered in true democratic fashion. To his great surprise, however, the peasants and burghers refused, almost to a man, even so much as to attend a meeting; there had never been one before and they were suspicious of the innovation. By dint of much persuasion, however, the meeting was held, but the proposal to instal the improvements was unanimously rejected. Disgusted with the Ingratitude of Man, the *Landrat* removed himself to one of the stuffy little duodecimo courts near by and perhaps forgot his dreams of reform. Years

<sup>8</sup> "Gedichte in Hunsrückler Mundart," quoted in L. von Wiese, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung*.

later, when on a chance visit to the town, he was fiercely reproached by a villager as follows: "Here we are without a water or sewage system," he cried, "while all the other villages near by have them! You have been neglectful of the people whom the Lord gave into your care!" When the good *Landrat* mildly expostulated that he had tried to persuade them to take the very course of action which he was reproached for having neglected, the peasant snorted contemptuously. "*Überzeugen? Sie hätten uns einfach zwingen müssen!*" ("Persuade? You should simply have compelled us, forced us!")<sup>10</sup>

Another instance: When, some years ago, the government decided to fight the *Phylloxera* vine disease by destroying the infected vineyards, the peasants in some villages armed themselves and went out to fight the government agents. At least, so the story goes the rounds in those villages to this day; it is related with much pride. And even if the peasants, in telling what "they did," are merely enacting a subsequent wish-fulfilment (as seems probable), there is no doubt that a deep-seated stubborn bitterness asserted itself at that time.<sup>11</sup>

The peasant, in other words, has been so long used to resisting authority of whatever kind that he tacitly accepts the proposition that he must be forced to act for his own good, and is rather proud of himself as a sturdy, stubborn fellow.

Add to this attitude of resistance in secular matters the effect of the manifold religious controversies to which Germany has been a prey: the slow rear-guard battle fought by primitive magic and nature cults;<sup>12</sup> the invasion of the first Catholic missionaries; the various heretical sects of the Middle Ages; the Reformation, and

<sup>10</sup> L. von Wiese, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>12</sup> "In der vorigen Generation gab es noch manche Leute, die 'brauchen' konnten. Walter Diener [*Hunsrücker Volkskunde*, S. 92] glaubt sogar, dass es heute noch in jedem Dorfe auf dem Hunsrück Leute mit dieser Fähigkeit gebe. Weiter sagt er: 'Wie so manches, das in das Gebiet des Aberglaubens gehört, ist auch das Brauchen ein Rest germanischheidnischer Auffassung, dass alle Krankheiten und Gebrechen durch Geister oder andere böse Mächte hervorgerufen würden, die man durch bestimmte Zeichen, Formeln, und Sprüche beseitigen könne. Noch heute ist der Glaube an die Wirkung des Brauchens bei manchen Hunsrücker grösser als das Vertrauen auf den Arzt'" (*ibid.*, p. 55).

the excesses which followed in its wake; the Counter-Reformation; the Calvinistic influence; the Pietism which arose in answer to eighteenth-century Rationalism, the "religion for the common people" of the *Hofprediger*; the *Kulturkampf*; the semi-modern and modern eschatological and apocalyptic sects—all this confusion of tongues has made the peasant of whatever confession deeply suspicious of all teaching not in minutest accord with the "pure doctrine" delivered into his trust by his fathers. Who knows by what apparently harmless innovation the enemy may find a foothold?<sup>13</sup>

Religious customs persist almost unchanged from generation to generation, perhaps in partial consequence of the dissensions described. In Seibersbach and similar villages men occupy one side of the church, women the other, children sit rigidly upright in the front benches, and the younger men and adolescent boys occupy the gallery, if there happen to be one. In one village the story is told, as a shocking example of impiety, that once upon a time the exuberantly youthful occupants of the gallery banded themselves together in order to force a place for themselves among the ranks of the older men and women. But their organized attack failed of success, although they brought clubs and pitchforks to their task, and they were ignominiously thrust out from the company of God's faithful who preserved unchanged the rites of his holy temple.<sup>14</sup> Other practices, affording striking analogies to rites of pre-Christian times, are carried out to the letter in spite of, or perhaps because of the tacit opposition of the pastor, who is not admitted to certain parts of the ceremony. After the *Kirmes*, or parish fair, for

<sup>13</sup> How this characteristic survives even when transplanted is well illustrated by the following:

"Leadership . . . entails no more than a stewardship of *Das Wort, die reine Lehre*. In this *Predigtamt*, close adherence to the a priori of faith is expected; its stewardship must run true to type. Compromise is taboo, initiatives in new departures suspect in proportion as analogies present themselves with the doings of 'the others,' of whom the presumption is that they have not *die reine Lehre*, and have 'a different spirit than you.' This extends even to the ideal of a perfect sermon. . . . The perfect sermon, the *Schöne Predigt*, implies scholastic methodism and clarity of exposition rather than the methodism entailed in the telism of effect and success" (Heinrich H. Maurer, "Studies in the Sociology of Religion," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXI, No. 5, 45).

<sup>14</sup> L. von Wiese, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

instance, the young men and maidens of the village "bury the *Kirmes*" with much pomp and circumstance. The skeleton of a sheep from which most of the meat has been gnawed during the time of feasting and good cheer is swathed in gay cloths, with little streamers fluttering here and there, and is borne through the village on a bier, while with wailing and lamentation mixed with a good deal of overhilarious laughter the "mourners of the *Kirmes*" follow in its train. As soon as it is buried the church bells begin to toll, and all merriment ceases.<sup>15</sup> The time for frolic is over. Those familiar with *The Golden Bough* will at once recall numerous non-Christian instances parallel to this ceremony.

But along with this fulfilment of every detail of the traditional cult goes an attitude toward the pastor of the flock which is a curious mixture of formal veneration and factual resistance. So long as he attempts nothing new, is content to remain a bearer of the sanctified tradition, *and never tries to create new duties*, he will have regular and "faithful" parishioners. But should he display too much missionary fervor, or attempt innovations in ritual, he will be met with a sullen resistance all the more aggravating because of its utter passivity. One peasant tells with an air of triumph the tale of how the village rid itself of an objectionable pastor after a supine "struggle" of twelve years; the pastor had tried to "convert" the villagers, a procedure which was not down in the books.<sup>16</sup> They continued to fulfil every least duty, but never a word, gesture, or penny more. The distracted man wore himself out in a vain effort to "uplift" a community so completely and lethargically limp, and at the end of the period named begged to be transferred to "Patagonia, or the outskirts of Hell, but not to another such village." And yet during all this time he received every formal sign of obedience and respect; caps were touched, forelocks

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> ". . . Even the devil has a calling and knows his business under the static order of original sin. The minister may lay down the law, but he must do it without *Effekthascherei*. As Mörike, the parson-poet, put it: On Saturday night the peasants steal the minister's radishes, and on Sunday they come to church for their pepper and salt. They do not expect the minister to get results in a hurry; they will not 'get religion' in a day. They do not hope to go to heaven, nor fear going to hell, all of a sudden. Rome was not built in a day" (Heinrich H. Maurer, *op. cit.*, p. 46).

pulled, curtsies flounced whenever he came down the winding street; *Herr Pfarrer* received his meed of formal adulation as a superior being, but of conversions or even bare hints of spiritual fervor there were none.<sup>17</sup>

Most pastors, however, in the period when Protestantism was the state religion were not of the evangelizing type just described. Mostly from the upper middle class, subscribing unreservedly to the latent Machiavellianism of Lutheran doctrine, they conceived the duties of their office to consist in the inculcation of proper respect for those in authority, whether sacred or secular.<sup>18</sup> The various classes were to be held within due metes and bounds, as foreordained of God. They demanded and received the adulation which goes with any rigid system of superordination and subordination, and were quite content if all the external duties laid upon the peasant by the church were fulfilled, no matter what the inner life of said peasant may have been. The contacts between pastor and flock were those which may exist between members of two classes a considerable distance apart on the social scale; and in justice to those occasional variants who desired a closer fellowship with their parishioners, it must be said that the attitude of the peasant often rendered this impossible. A pastor is in the very nature of things a being of a different order, a person to whom one pays due homage, an authority to whom one bows in certain matters. Certainly anyone who tries to hobnob with those outside his class is no true pastor! He is violating the ritual of the cult, away with him! Let us have someone who walks in the ancient ways, who knows his place and ours!

So even the rare individual not content with the merely formal duties of his office was, and even now is, to all intents and purposes

<sup>17</sup> L. von Wiese, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>18</sup> " . . . The ascendancy of the beloved community is paid for with its submission to 'the world'; the Lutheran submits 'to those who have the power.' . . . The proposition that the state is at once a divine institution and yet not a Christian affair is easily accounted for if we remember its organic law in Lutherdom. . . . Its law is not based on the notion that nature has the goodness to obey its own law. The Lutheran *Obrigkeitsstaat* rests on the faith in the statecraft of an earlier age: that of the Cameralists and Machiavelli" (Heinrich H. Maurer, "The Political Attitudes of the Lutheran Parish," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII, No. 5, 573-74).

ound hand and foot. Not only in the ways described; if he interest himself in *Sozialpolitik* (social legislation and welfare work) he is in danger of confusing the clear-cut boundary between Lutheran and Catholic policies,<sup>19</sup> and incurring the charge of "popery"; the Catholic Center party has seized the leadership in such matters, and the German Protestant consequently scorns all those who even partially identify themselves with Catholic politics, although he is quite ready to reap whatever doubtful benefits may accrue. (To be sure, he has a consistent attitude of leaving Caesar's things to Caesar.) If the pastor attempt to modify the extremely bare Calvinistic ritual (or even the richer Lutheran) in the direction of more color and warmth, again is he likely to bring down upon his head the charge of "papist inclinations," and that is no mere bagatelle in a land where Reformation, Counter-Reformation, Thirty Years' War, and *Kulturkampf* are still vividly and immediately in the minds of the common folk, who, although past the fighting stage, never forget confessional differences. If he display too much zeal in "improving" the village by way of installing lighting systems, stone watering-troughs, better sewage disposal, etc., he is promptly squelched by general disapproval. Consequently the pastor preserves himself from the charge of mixing in the business of other persons (*sich in fremde Ämter mischen*), while "his own business" rapidly loses power to influence the community.

Flotsam, refuse, seaweed! An iceberg in the Sargasso Sea! The Lutheran church in Germany is held by a sort of inner necessity in surroundings which steadily grow more unfavorable, and to which it seems unable to adapt.

To be sure, changes are taking place, but, to use our figure, they seem to be changes which increase the temperature; the new currents which gently stir the lazy Sargasso pool infuse into it

<sup>19</sup> Again an example of survival after transplantation: "That a political parson with Germans in America is a contradiction in terms is a result of the self-limitation imposed on the ministerial office by Luther and by Walther, the founder of American-German fundamentalism. This precluded at the outset the Lutheran church of the Missouri Synod from engaging, like the Catholic church, in any organized colonization and community planning. It also excluded it from the whole American realm of *Sozialpolitik*" (Heinrich H. Maurer, "The Political Attitudes of the Lutheran Parish," *ibid.*).

waters from warmer latitudes and hasten the dissolution of the hapless wayfarer from the floes of Greenland.

Take the disestablishment.<sup>20</sup> Where once the majority of Lutheran churches received a substantial subsidy from the imperial government, it now must chiefly depend, in many if not all provinces, on voluntary contributions. The task of educating in "free-will offering" a community which formerly paid its church dues to a tax-collector clothed with all the force and majesty of the government is nothing less than stupendous and all but insuperable. Literally hundreds of mortgaged Lutheran churches have gone to the wall, unable to continue the unequal struggle, and more often than not have been purchased by the Catholics, who, during the inflation period especially, reaped a tremendous advantage from the fact that they could work with funds drawn from countries with undepreciated currency.<sup>21</sup> The disestablishment also made it possible for individuals to withdraw from church membership (chiefly in the cities) without incurring any political or legal disadvantage, and about a million and a half members were lost within three years.

Again, take the antagonism of labor. As Gooch says, there is no sign that the church can recover "its influence over the working classes, or, indeed," do more than maintain "its hold over the countryside and a section of the bourgeoisie."<sup>22</sup> Even its grip on the countryside is being weakened in other ways than those already indicated; for instance, there is an increasing penetration of factory influence even into quiet and secluded villages. Improved transportation facilities, increasing industrialization, the spread of electric power supply and consequent factory decentralization, the unrest of the years after the war, the eight-hour day, the feeling of importance which comes from belonging to a powerfully organized trades-union movement—all have played their part.<sup>23</sup> Village lads

<sup>20</sup> G. P. Gooch, *Germany* (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1925), p. 318.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Adolph Keller and George Stewart, *Protestant Europe: Its Crisis and Outlook* (1926), *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> G. P. Gooch, *loc. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Gooch, *op. cit.*, chap. iv; Dawson, *The Evolution of Germany*; Sombart, *Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 1913 ed.

tire of trudging behind the plow and go to the nearest foundry, machine shop, or mine to find work that although arduous still leaves them free in the evening. In sections like the Hun's Back, they are able to do this and still commute back and forth to their homes, or at least within a half-hour's walk of their homes. Their parents warn them that they will finally sink to the level of the "*gottlose städtische Proletariat*"—but they drift away.<sup>24</sup> They form the spearhead of labor's advance on the church in the countryside; their relationship to the church is purely formal, and soon breaks down under the organized assault of their city co-workers, who are thoroughly distrustful of a church which was once an important tool of the monarchy in suppressing labor movements of all sorts. Once the break with the church is made, it is utter and complete; no inner attitudes have been built up which would mitigate the sharpness of the transition, and an element is introduced into village life which needs only time and a clear field to complete its destructive work.<sup>25</sup>

Once more, consider the tendency, newly arisen among Lutherans, toward restriction of the birth-rate. In one village where forty years ago sixty children were in the Lutheran school, at present only eighteen are scattered along the benches, while in the Catholic schools one sees plentiful results of moral theology in a *zahlreiche Nachkommenschaft*.<sup>26</sup> Statistical and other evidence on this point is abundant.<sup>27</sup>

It was said, in effect, that if the Lutheran church in Germany

<sup>24</sup> "Bis in die Familienbeziehungen hinein dringen Änderungen vor. Es sollen die verschiedenen Prozesse nur erwähnt werden, die sich daraus ergeben, dass der Sohn, die Tochter zur Fabrik, zur Stadt geht, in andere soziale Beziehungen tritt. Es sind meist für das Gebilde Familie zerstörende Prozesse, indem die Kinder sich aus den alten Bindungen lösen, 'selbstständiger' werden, die Autorität der Eltern nicht mehr anerkennen wollen" (L. von Wiese, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

<sup>25</sup> This destructive influence, so far as the churchly connections are concerned, may exert itself by merely slackening the ties of neighborliness which do so much to hold the peasant to the church. Further, since the younger generation usually inclines toward the opinions of the most "progressive" workers, a rift within the family group often arises—a rift which then mirrors itself in the life of the parish. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 34-35, 75.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>27</sup> Adolph Keller and George Stewart, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

is to save itself it must break out of the hampering mass of tradition which fetters its every movement and adapt itself to the spirit of the times; but this appears well-nigh impossible. The seaweed is too thick, the flotsam too clogging. The spirit of the times may change, cold currents may set in and lower the temperature, but this also seems hardly probable. If, by some magic alchemy, the Lutheran church could so change its innermost nature that, like a floating mass of rock crystal, it could defy the scorching rays which beat down upon it, as the Catholic church apparently is able to do, there might be a larger measure of hope, but a miracle. . . .

But some such unlooked-for change must come, or else, like a Sargasso iceberg, solid to fluid, ice to water. . . .

## MEDICINE'S GREATEST PROBLEM: THE NEED OF STATE MEDICINE

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GILBERT W. HAIGH, M.D.  
Worcester, Massachusetts

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### ABSTRACT

Medicine is baffled by manifold economic problems arising out of the chaotic condition of medical practice. Modern medicine, utilizing the growing sciences and requiring many experts, demands co-operation, but lacks the requisite organization for insuring co-operation on the part of both its agents and its beneficiaries. Since preventive medicine has attained more importance than curative, and there is no constant or sharp division between the two, and since health in general is more precious than education, it is time to establish a complete free voluntary state health and accident system to serve the public, corresponding to the medical corps of the army or of the navy. Such would reduce the cost of service by substituting for multifarious independent agencies a single unified and correlated organization, banish the financial considerations and distractions of the individual fee by assuring a decent living to its personnel, raise the general standard of practice, encourage the education of the people upon pertinent and timely medical matters, exterminate the unqualified and illegal healers, prevent the harm resulting from the haste or the fatigue of the too busy popular practitioner eager or compelled to make hay while the sun shines, and, finally, assure each patient an expeditious diagnosis and guide him promptly to the source of optimum treatment.

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For some time the profession of medicine in this country has failed satisfactorily to serve its fellow-men. This failure is manifested by such baffling problems as the expensiveness of medical education, the unsatisfactory rural medical service, the gradual extinction of the general practitioner, the only guiding and correlating agent in medical practice, the high cost of diagnosis and treatment for the middle class, the increase in numbers and influence of the cultists, and the need for more school and other public health physicians and nurses. The failure of medicine adequately to serve mankind, furthermore, is graphically shown by the recent report of statistics revealing the strikingly small proportion of several thousand people of different classes who, when ill, seek advice from the regular profession of medicine, namely, a mere 6 per cent. Though it is several years since an eminent teacher and practitioner of medicine in a lay periodical demonstrated that the middle class was not receiving commensurate benefit from scientific medicine, nothing has been

done by the profession but to establish a few pay consultation clinics in the larger medical centers. For few, if any, of the numerous economic medical problems have any practical solutions been discovered, because they are merely corollaries of the fundamental problem, which is the need of a complete organization for the unification and correlation of the growing and multiplying specialties of preventive and curative medicine.

Now these specialties are simply the inevitable outgrowths of scientific medicine, which from necessity, on account of its increasing scope and profundity, employs the economic principle of the division of labor. This obviously presupposes co-operation. Co-operation requires organization, which becomes increasingly more complex and extensive the more numerous the divisions of labor. In medicine, organization for rendering efficient service has not kept pace with the progress of the medical sciences. Industrial and public service corporations today endeavor to furnish complete service in their respective fields. Their expansion is checked by antitrust legislation only when competition is flagrantly suppressed. Today there is less restraint upon big business than formerly because of its efficiency and economy. Henry Ford predicts bigger businesses. Service is the slogan not only of the manufacturer but also of the merchant and banker. In order to improve its service the telephone company strives to instil into its employees ethical practices which read like those of a professional code of ethics. Since the custodianship of the health of man is far more important than the manufacture and distribution of commodities or of the public utilities, these elementary economic principles should be recognized as applicable to modern medicine in its present chaotic state.

While the necessity for the reform of medical practice remains unheeded, what is the inevitable tendency of medical practice? It is the expansion and multiplication of the various public health departments. For in the whole realm of medicine there are in theory two complementary divisions: preventive medicine and curative medicine. The former waxes as the latter wanes; in fact, at the very expense of the latter. Mathematically, the former approaches infinity, while the latter approaches zero. Already preventive med-

icine has acquired such momentum in its encroachment upon curative medicine that in practice no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn, on the one hand, between personal and public hygiene, and, on the other, between hygiene and medicine. Then why has not health in general become a public problem? It is acknowledged nowadays, when the layman recognizes the importance of hygiene and evinces unprecedented interest in the discoveries of medicine, to be more essential than education, which, with the progress of civilization, has become an undisputed public matter. Under our present competitive system of private practice the mortality of diphtheria was not materially reduced for at least ten years, partly on account of the failure of the individual physician to recognize the disease promptly and partly on account of the parent of the patient avoiding the expense of hiring a physician to attend him when not ill enough to be confined to bed. Recently such a patient, whose parents did not consider him to be sick enough during the preceding seven or eight days to require a doctor, walked into my office so septic that he was dead within twelve hours. The failure of medicine in its present disorganized condition satisfactorily to serve bears testimony that the time has come when it must be regarded as a public question in need of complete organization.

Under state medicine most, if not all, of the baffling economic problems of medicine would vanish. The graduate of the medical school would immediately become a member of the organization, serving several years as an interne with pay. This would reduce the expensiveness of his education and afford him the advantages of earlier marriage, and should stimulate his interest in his duties. Specialists only after sufficient general experience would be thoroughly trained, so as to insure a high standard. Our hospitals could be organized in a rational way, with the out-patient departments, where disease can be detected in its incipency, properly co-ordinated with the hospitals proper and designed to provide home treatment through their staff members.

The present need for the independent expansion of such different public health agencies as tuberculosis clinics, school clinics, and charities, which are ever widening their scope, would be eliminated by the centralization of the health of the communities. These va-

rious agencies would have access to the general health records in which they might be interested. They would not have to seek their cases, but would have them referred to them. They would co-operate instead of working independently. They would be so interrelated as to increase efficiency. The employees of many philanthropic societies would not, as at present, be permitted to render medical service in violation, not only of medical ethics, but also of medical practice acts. Many of the nurses the profession has trained are now illegally engaged in the practice of medicine because they are not lawfully responsible even indirectly to any qualified person or agent. The abuse of medical charities would be stopped. Many a self-respecting American widow, with a meager income, has been charged a fee of several hundred dollars to compensate the surgeon for the nine or more such operations he has performed upon alien charity patients, many of whom intentionally conceal their financial assets beneath their working clothes and their feigned ignorance of the English language. Though, in general, the honest has to pay for the dishonest, when the proportion is so unreasonable that he pays ten times the amount of an equitable fee because nine patients pay nothing, he is carrying an unfair burden of which state medicine alone can relieve him.

The elimination of the private fee, moreover, would relieve the profession of an annoying, prejudicing, and distracting necessity of the present system of practice. Not infrequently has the difference in the fee obtainable influenced the expert either in his testimony before a court or in his decision to perform an unwarranted operation, to which the patient has acquiesced too readily because of his impatience or his desire to undergo an operation regarded as fashionable. General adoption of the financial methods advocated by some of the most successful physicians and surgeons would make of our profession a mere business. And yet, under the present changing conditions of private practice it would seem soon to be necessary. Under fully organized medicine other problems arising from the inadequate and antiquated system of individualistic practice of medicine would also disappear.

But, under such an organization, how can the present standard and the future progress of medicine be assured? For are they not

dependent upon the initiative of the individual? The assumed destruction of initiative by fully organized medicine is accepted by the older and more conservative doctors as an irrefutable reason for rendering state medicine not only untenable, but even unthinkable. My answer is, first, that initiative is like a two-edged sword. Among professional men, especially, it must be controlled by a sense of honor and justice; it may make of one a quack, of another a scientist, according to his moral qualities. At any rate the times and customs have so changed that many of the most reputable members are now engaged in either private or public contract practice. In the past most contract practice has been cheap and degrading. Those engaged in it have often been tempted to neglect it for their private practices. Today much is full time and profitable, and even inspiring. For some time, in fact, has not all real advancement in medicine come from our research laboratories, manned by a salaried personnel?

Furthermore, since 1906, the American Medical Association has so esteemed the ability of the commissioned medical officers of the army, navy, and public health service as automatically to admit them to fellowship. Their standard is thereby acknowledged to be on an average higher than that of civilian practitioners, who cannot qualify for fellowship unconditionally. Since only representative members of the profession enter these services, it must be admitted that the organizations themselves maintain and foster a standard higher than that of competitive medicine. In general, in an advanced period of civilization, the more useful member of society is not he who exercises his aggressiveness and independence, but he who fits into an organization which insures co-operation by means of its systems for guidance and control and stimulates personal effort by means of discipline and reward by promotion. The spirit of co-operation and service of our large corporations reaches even to the lowest employee. How much more efficient should be a complete organization of professional men! Why, then, should state medicine continue any longer to be rejected as untenable and utopian?

The second objection to it, its alleged prohibitive expense, does not any more justly warrant its summary condemnation. Imagine

the present total expenditure upon the health of our Commonwealth by recalling the various independent public and private health agencies in operation in any average community; the local board of health and the health department of the schools; representatives of the various divisions of the public health department of the commonwealth, embracing contagious, mental, nervous, and industrial diseases and child and maternal hygiene, besides some of the federal bureaus duplicating the state work; state accident boards for workmen's compensation; private and municipal clinics and hospitals, besides industrial clinics and hospitals; police surgeons manning municipal ambulances; health centers of different kinds; Red Cross workers; insurance and fraternal examinations; commercial laboratories, gymnasiums, and institutes for health examinations; in addition, regular and irregular practitioners among the medical and nursing profession, quacks, and abortionists; and finally, pharmacists and distributors of patent medicines and herbs. It must be prodigious. Does not this very multiplicity of independent health agencies denote waste and inefficiency? Would not the total cost of these actually be reduced by the complete organization of medicine? The inefficiency and expensiveness of the service rendered even by reputable physicians and surgeons is testified to by substantially the same story of not a few hospital patients: to wit, that they have in vain sought relief from different physicians during the past year or two, during which they have been partly or wholly incapacitated from work, and have spent all their savings, never having received an examination as thorough or as fruitful as a fourth-year medical student could make, or the benefit of a single consultation. Surely a patient unable to work is entitled to intensive study of his condition. State organization only, by guaranteeing co-operation both upon the part of the physicians and upon the part of patients, would eliminate much of this loss of health, time, money, and life. Moreover, as insurance companies, employers of labor, school authorities, public health personnel, and social service workers could obtain all needed medical information from official sources, it would be unnecessary to make the repeated superficial and hasty examinations for which fees or salaries are now paid. Accident boards and judicial courts, in general, could be

saved much expense at present indispensable for ascertaining the medical facts of a case. Compared with these expenditures of unorganized medicine the cost of organized medicine would prove to be insignificant.

From state medicine, furthermore, would accrue two especially great advantages: the systematic propagation of authentic and opportune medical information and the combating of the unqualified practitioners, all those not possessing sufficient knowledge and skill to treat the sick and injured intelligently, honestly, and legally. Now, doctors are teachers, in spite of the modern abuse of the word, which seems to be applied to the sheer exploiters of the folly of the sick. The public today craves medical knowledge. As individuals or even as groups, doctors of medicine cannot ethically advertise. As a government body they could advertise discreetly in the form of bulletins or leaflets whenever the occasion should arise. For instance, when a contagious disease appeared, all exposed could be warned of the symptoms to heed by printed circulars or by newspaper notices. Certain individuals presenting themselves for periodic medical examinations could be informed properly of the seriousness of the spontaneous occurrence of symptoms suggestive of cancer, diabetes, or the heart and kidney diseases. Those examined for employment could be taught the early manifestations of the diseases to which their particular occupations predisposed. How much more valuable such instruction would be than that gleaned from a newspaper or lay periodical upon some irrelevant subject! In this rôle of teacher, the medical profession would gradually regain its prestige and influence, so that the title of doctor would again command honor and respect.

The second advantage arising out of state medicine would be the eventual eradication of most of the medical cultists and charlatans, who, though morally, intellectually, and educationally unfit to heal or to aid mankind, were never more abundant and predatory than at present. Neither as members of medical societies has the profession been able to attack the principles and practices of the cultists without being charged with persecution and oppression of weaker rivals, nor as individuals have they succeeded in saving their patients from the artfulness of such ignorant or misguided

healers; so that they have lacked both active and passive means of suppressing them. It is, nevertheless, an obvious duty of medicine to conserve the financial resources of patients in order to relieve them of as much worry as possible. A sick man should be protected from the quack. By guiding the patient along the proper channels of diagnosis and to the source of the optimum treatment, state medicine would strike at the heart of quackery.

To illustrate the failure of the present competitive practice of medicine I will cite two cases. Recently I was consulted by a patient who had been incapacitated for work for six months with what he called lung trouble, dating from an attack of influenza three years before. For several months he had just wandered from one reputable physician to another without relief. Being unintelligent, he gave none of them an opportunity to arrive at a correct diagnosis for two reasons: his case required more intensive or extended study than he permitted anyone to make; and he sought independent opinions of each succeeding physician without a conference of any of them. Finally, he resorted to an irregular practitioner who treated him for bronchitis with an Abrams apparatus, previously proved by impartial and disinterested scientists to be a preposterous humbug. After having paid four hundred dollars without any improvement, having no faith in the regular profession, he misspent several hundred dollars more for treatment with another electrical apparatus. Now a simple examination disclosed evidence of heart failure. The cause was found to be a severe attack of rheumatic fever twenty years before, when his heart was known to have been damaged. Appropriate treatment restored him to such health that he was able to resume his occupation as bench worker within a few weeks. This man was allowed to spend all his savings largely because of the lack of co-operation of reputable physicians.

Then again, the experience of an intelligent school teacher is illustrative. She was advised by one of the leading surgeons in a large city to have her appendix removed. Before submitting to such an operation she determined to consult a prominent surgeon of a larger city. The latter, even though he admitted that the former was of excellent repute, decided that an operation was not indicat-

ed. When in the course of several months her symptoms recurred, having lost confidence in the regular profession, she sought advice from a member of a medical cult founded entirely upon a single fantastic theory. In a short time her symptoms became so exacerbated that she was fortunate in surviving an emergency operation for a ruptured appendix. Here again a patient upon whose case the surgeons should have conferred lost faith in the regular profession and strayed away to a theorist. Such misfortunes can be prevented only by completely organized medicine.

In this plea for fully organized medical practice an effort is made to prove that modern medicine, which on account of its comprehensiveness must depend upon the economic principle of the division of labor, demands co-operation from both doctors and patients; that as the average layman today is cognizant of the fact that health is more important than education, and as the inevitable tendency is the growth of the numerous inco-ordinate public and semipublic health agencies, which have disrupted private practice, the time has come when we should recognize the need of a radical change from our antiquated system of individualistic medicine. Furthermore, it has been shown that fully organized medicine would dispel most, if not all, of the numerous baffling economic problems of competitive medical practice. Finally, state medicine has been demonstrated to possess two additional advantages, namely, the education of the people, both individually and collectively, upon pertinent medical subjects at appropriate times, and the eradication of the cultists and illegal practitioners. If, therefore, public medicine not only should be needed, but even may be inevitably evolving from our public health systems, both laymen and physicians must rouse and bestir themselves earnestly and deliberately to attack this greatest problem of modern medicine—the creation of a complete system of state medicine.

## INTERMARRIAGE AMONG JEWS IN SWITZERLAND 1888-1920

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URIAH Z. ENGELMAN  
Newark, New Jersey

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### ABSTRACT

The Jews of Switzerland both men and women manifest a growing tendency to marry outside of the fold. They intermarry with Protestants and Catholics. Considered by decades, or taken for the entire period 1888-1920, the number of Jewish mixed marriages is relatively increasing faster than the number of homogeneous marriages. In 1910 the greater share of the intermarriages was supplied by the alien Jewish element of Switzerland, while in 1920 the Jewish citizens of Switzerland made up the greater part of the mixed group.

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In the early formative period of the Jewish nation leaders of Israel in clarion tones condemned intermarriage as a vicious, alien influence undermining the racial consciousness of the Jew. In hoary antiquity Moses warned Israel against entering into marital relations with the natives of the land: "Neither shalt thou make marriages with them, thy daughters shalt thou not give unto his sons, and his daughters shalt thou not take unto thy son. For he would turn away thy son from following me, so that they may serve other gods."<sup>1</sup> After the return from Babylon, during the restoration of the temple, Nehemiah denounced intermarriage as high treason and decreed to dissolve all mixed unions. Centuries later, while the Jews were in dispersion, the cause of Nehemiah was taken up by Moses Coucy, who, in his book published in 1280, exhorted his brethren to annul all marriages contracted with either Mahommedans or Christians.

In our days both the Orthodox and the Reformed Jewish church are counted among the chief defenders of the Jewish homogeneous marriage. As of old, so now, the motive behind all interdictions against intermarriage is the fear lest the foreign element introduced through it into the organism of the Jewish nation cause its disintegration.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 7:3, 4.

Undoubtedly there are other factors which might cause the dissolving of the Jewish nation as an ethnic group, but whatever and of whatever intensity the other causes might be ultimately, if only they are persistently worming their way into the body of the Jewish nation they should lead to intermarriage. Hence intermarriage is rightly regarded by students of Jewish social life as an index of the state of racial cohesiveness of the Jew.<sup>2</sup>

A complete study of the problem of intermarriage among the Jews should take the world for its scope. There are no present data for such a study. But even if there were, an analysis of intermarriage data by countries should precede it. This article was attempted in the spirit of a minor contribution to the larger study that is yet to come.

For the last half-century intermarriage among adherents of all creeds in Switzerland has been continuously increasing. In 1870, the earliest census for which this information is available, the total number of all mixed marriages, Jewish and non-Jewish, was 12,514, or 32 per 1,000 married couples, while in 1920 the number of mixed marriages rose up to 71,127, or 111 per 1,000 weddings.<sup>3</sup>

During all this period the Jewish inhabitants of Switzerland claimed no immunity to the influences that prevailed in the land. They, too, as years passed by, showed a greater tendency toward interdenominational unions. In 1888 (the first year for which data on intermarriage among Jews were published) 57 weddings per 1,000 Jewish marriages fell into the category of mixed; in 1900 the number rose to 74; in 1910, 97 Jews and Jewesses per 1,000 weddings contracted marriages outside of their fold, while in 1920 the ratio of mixed marriages ran up to 132 per 1,000 Jewish couples. See Table I.

The number of mixed marriages shows relatively a more rapid increase from census to census than the homogeneous ones. In 1900, the second census from which data on Jewish intermarriage were gathered, it registered an increase of 95.8 per cent, while those of the homogeneous class increased only 48.4 per cent. During the intercensal interval that followed, from 1900 to 1910, Jewish mixed

<sup>2</sup> Julius Drachler, *Intermarriage in New York City*.

<sup>3</sup> *Recensement Fédéral de la population Suisse*, 1920.

weddings more than doubled; those, however, of the unmixed class were augmented only by 58.6 per cent. Also for 1920, an increase of 81.9 per cent is recorded for the mixed group of weddings against

TABLE I

TABLE SHOWING ABSOLUTE NUMBER OF HOMOGENEOUS AND MIXED MARRIAGES,  
RELATIVE INCREASE OF BOTH, AND THE RATIO OF MIXED PER  
1,000 HOMOGENEOUS WEDDINGS\*

Year	Total Number of Jewish Homogeneous Marriages	Percentage of Increase from Decade to Decade	Total Number of Mixed Jewish Marriages	Percentage of Increase from Decade to Decade	Ratio of Jewish Mixed Marriages per 1,000 Homogeneous Jewish Marriages
1920.....	3,679	21.2	533	81.9	132
1910.....	3,035	58.6	293	104.8	97
1900.....	1,914	48.4	143	95.8	74
1888.....	1,290	.....	73	.....	57

\* *Recensement fédéral de la population* (1910), II, 416.

an increase of 21.2 per cent of the unmixed group. Taking the period 1888-1920 as a whole, for which census figures are available, we find that the number of Jewish interdenominational mar-

TABLE II

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MIXED MARRIAGES ACCORDING  
TO WHETHER WIFE OR HUSBAND IS  
OF JEWISH FAITH

Year	Wife Non-Jewess; Husband Jew	Husband Non-Jew; Wife Jewess
1920.....	271	262
1910.....	156	137
1900.....	81	62
1888.....	35	38

riages has increased 666.7 per cent, while the homogeneous weddings have increased during the same time only 285 per cent. See Table II.

Both sexes reveal a growing predilection to contract marriages outside of their own group. The women, however, are the more conservative element. Except for the year 1888, in which they slightly outnumber the men, they constitute throughout the smaller part in the group of mixed marriages. For the entire period of

1888-1920 the men supplied 52.1 per cent of the total mixed group, while Jewish women contributed only 47.9 per cent. See Table III.

TABLE III  
THE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH MIXED MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO  
THE RELIGION OF HUSBAND AND WIFE\*

Year	Husband Protestant; Wife Jewess	Percentage of Increase from Decade to Decade	Husband Catholic; Wife Jewess	Percentage of Increase from Decade to Decade	Husband Jew; Wife Protestant	Percentage of Increase from Decade to Decade	Husband Jew; Wife Catholic	Percentage of Increase from Decade to Decade	Husband Jew; Wife of No Religion or Unknown	Percentage of Increase from Decade to Decade	Husband of No Religion or Unknown; Wife Jewess	Percentage of Increase from Decade to Decade
1920.....	175	130.2	50	56.2	150	56.2	111	109.4	10	42.8	37	27.5
1910.....	79	117.1	32	60.	96	100.	53	70.9	7	250.	29	314.5
1900.....	35	94.	20	66.7	48	152.6	31	138.5	2	33.3	7	12.5
1888.....	18	.....	12	.....	19	.....	13	.....	3	.....	8	.....

\* *Résultats statistiques du recensement fédéral de la population du 1<sup>er</sup> décembre, 1910, II, 422-23.* Also census reports for 1920.

Table III reveals first an upward and uninterrupted trend in all of its arrays, which certainly points toward a strong and progressive tendency toward intermarriage, and secondly, that the Jewish inhabitants of Switzerland tend more to intermarry with Protestants than with Catholics. The latter becomes more evi-

TABLE IV

Year	Marriages Con- tracted with Protestants	Marriages Con- tracted with Catholics
1920.....	225	161
1910.....	172	85
1900.....	83	51
1888.....	37	25

dent when columns 1 and 5 and 3 and 7 are merged together, as in Table IV.

Slightly less than half, 49.6 per cent, of all the mixed weddings for which the religious profession of the couples was known was contracted with Protestants, while with Catholics, only 30.9 per cent. The reason for this marked preference of the Jew to intermarry with Protestants can well be disclosed, (1) in the relative numbers of the Protestant and the Catholic population, and (2) in

the geographical distribution of the Jews, Catholics, and Protestants of Switzerland. In 1910 Protestants made up 61.4, and in 1920, 60.8 per cent, of the total population, while Catholics amounted only to 37.8 and to 38 per cent respectively.

The other reason is, however, the more important one. The Protestants and Jews of Switzerland congregate in cities, while the Catholics inhabit the agricultural cantons where the number of Jews is small. Naturally the cities would supply the greater part of Jewish and Protestant marriages. According to the census figures of 1910, each 1,000 homogeneous marriages in the urban districts was made up of 18 Jewish, 635 Protestant, 328 Catholic, and 19 couples of other creeds. In the rural districts the share of the Jew was only 1 per 1,000, the Protestants supplied 580, the Catholics 416, and the other religions 3.

In 1910 the alien Jews of Switzerland supplied the greater part, 56.9 per cent, of the total number of mixed marriages, and the citizen Jewish element contributed 43.1 per cent of all mixed weddings. During the decade 1910-20 the rôles have been reversed. The alien share decreased; it fell off from 56.9 to 36.2, while that of the Swiss (citizen) Jews rose from 43.1 to 63.8 per cent. The total number of mixed marriages during the same period was augmented 85.3 per cent. See Tables V, VI, and VII.

Both Jews and Jewesses of foreign nationality show relatively a great decrease in the number of mixed marriages they have contracted during the intercensal interval of 1910-20 with either Protestants or Catholics. Also the number of homogeneous marriages the alien Jews of Switzerland have entered into during this period was relatively much smaller than that of the preceding decade. In 1910, 1,806 Jewish alien marriages were registered out of a total of 3,035 Jewish homogeneous weddings; in 1920 the number of foreign Jewish marriages fell off to 1,800, while the total number of marriages had increased to 3,679. Reduced to relatives, it means that in 1910 the alien Jews of Switzerland claimed 59.5 per cent, and in 1920 only 48.9 per cent, of the total number of marriages.

The relative decrease in the number of mixed and homogeneous marriages of alien Jews may partly be ascribed to the decrease in

the foreign Jewish population of Switzerland which took place during the intercensal interval 1910-20.

TABLE V  
DISTRIBUTION OF MIXED MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO WHETHER THE WEDDED PARTIES WERE ALIEN OR CITIZEN JEWS OF SWITZERLAND

Year	Total Number of Mixed Marriages	Alien Mixed Marriages	Citizen Mixed Marriages	Percentage of Alien Marriages	Percentage of Citizen Mixed Marriages
1920.....	533	193	340	36.2	63.8
1910.....	293	167	126	56.9	43.1

TABLE VI  
DISTRIBUTION OF ALIEN MIXED MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO RELIGIONS OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

YEAR	HUSBAND PROTESTANT; WIFE JEWESS			HUSBAND CATHOLIC; WIFE JEWESS			HUSBAND JEW; WIFE PROTESTANT		
	Total	Alien Marriages	Percentage of Alien Marriages	Total	Alien Marriages	Percentage of Alien Marriages	Total	Alien Marriages	Percentage of Alien Marriages
1920....	175	23	13.1	50	24	48.	150	68	45.3
1910....	76	23	30.3	32	25	78.1	96	56	58.3

TABLE VII\*

YEAR	HUSBAND JEW; WIFE CATHOLIC			HUSBAND JEW; WIFE OF NO RELIGION OR UNKNOWN			HUSBAND OF NO RELIGION OR UNKNOWN; WIFE JEWESS		
	Total	Alien Marriages	Percentage of Alien Marriages	Total	Alien Marriages	Percentage of Alien Marriages	Total	Alien Marriages	Percentage of Alien Marriages
1920....	111	57	51.3	10	6	60.	37	15	40.5
1910....	53	39	73.5	7	7	100.	29	17	58.6

\* *Résultats statistiques du recensement fédéral de la population du 1<sup>er</sup> décembre, 1910, II, 417. Recensement fédéral de la population, 1920.*

In 1920, as one may easily figure out from Table VIII, the Jews recorded an increase of 2,517 souls, or 13.6 per cent, over last census. The increase was, however, entirely made up of Swiss citizen Jews, as the foreign Jewish population was numerically and relatively reduced during this time. It might be interesting to note that the number of foreign adherents of other religious groups of

Switzerland had also considerably decreased during this period, as is seen from Table IX.

The census of 1920 shows a drop in the foreign membership of all creeds, while that of 1910 recorded a considerable increase in their members. The Jews have participated in both movements.

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF FOREIGN AND CITIZEN JEWS OF SWITZERLAND IN 1910 AND IN 1920\*

YEAR	CITIZENS			FOREIGNERS		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1920.....	9,428	4,862	4,566	11,551	5,705	5,846
1910.....	6,275	3,256	3,019	12,187	6,107	6,080

\* *Résultats statistiques du recensement fédéral de la population du 1<sup>er</sup> décembre, 1910, II, 417. Recensement fédéral de la population, 1920.*

TABLE IX

	FOR EACH 1,000 ADHERENTS OF EACH RELIGION THERE WERE FOREIGN:*		
	1920	1910	1900
Jews.....	551	660	595
Protestants.....	51	68	57
Catholic.....	166	241	192
Other religion or religion unknown....	290	416	359
Total.....	104	147	116

\* *Recensement fédéral de la population, premier fascicule, résultats généraux (1920).*

In 1910 the number of foreign Jews increased 65 per 1,000, while in 1920 the Jewish immigrants decreased 109 per 1,000 of the Jewish foreign population.

#### RÉSUMÉ

1. The rate of intermarriage among the Jews of Switzerland is a progressive one. Between the years 1888 and 1900 it increased 17 per 1,000; between 1900 and 1910, 23 per 1,000; and between 1910 and 1920, it took an additional 35 points, making a rate of 132 per 1,000 homogeneous Jewish marriages.

2. Mixed Jewish marriages have increased in Switzerland during the period under consideration—1888-1920—three times as rapidly as those of the unmixed class.

3. The rate of intermarriage among the Jews of Switzerland is growing faster than the rate of intermarriage among the general population.

In 1910 the general rate of intermarriage was 105, that among the Jews was 97; in 1920 the general rate advanced only 6 points, the Jewish rate of intermarriage, however, leaped up to 132 per 1,000 homogeneous weddings.

4. The tendency toward intermarriage among the Jews of Switzerland seems to be a general one; it is confined neither to a certain stratum of Jews nor to one sex. It is equally relatively strong in the urban districts and in the rural communities. The fact that both alien and citizen Jews, Protestants, and Catholics, proportionately to their numbers, help in upbuilding the Jewish rate of intermarriage points to the generality and the strength of the tendency.

## TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The American Sociological Society will hold its Twenty-third Annual Meeting in Chicago, Illinois, December 26-29, with headquarters at the Congress Hotel. Meeting in Chicago during the same time are the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Farm Economic Association, and the National Community Center Association. Programs of these organizations may be secured by writing their secretaries:

Frederick S. Deibler, American Economic Association, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

J. R. Hayden, American Political Science Association, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Willford I. King, American Statistical Association, Commerce Building, 236 Wooster Street, New York, New York.

John B. Andrews, American Association of Labor Legislation, 131 East Twenty-third Street, New York, New York.

Leroy E. Bowman, National Community Center Association, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York, New York.

### CENTRAL TOPIC, "THE RURAL COMMUNITY"

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26

3:00-5:00 P.M. Registration of members and guests of the Society, and reservation of luncheon and dinner tickets. *Gold Room Foyer.*

Section on Sociology and Social Work. M. J. Karpf, Training School for Jewish Social Work, New York, in charge.

"Some Contributions of General Sociology to Social Work," Earle Eubank, University of Cincinnati.

Conference Group on Methods of Community Appraisal. In charge of J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin.

Discussion led by Nat T. Frame, Joseph K. Hart, P. S. Platt, Frank Walker, E. de S. Brunner, B. L. Hummel.

5:00-6:00 P.M. Section on the Community, in joint session with the National Community Center Association. *Francis I Room.*

"Forum Discussion as a Factor in Developing Community Mindedness," Fred Moore, Executive Director, Chicago Forum Council, presiding.

"Divisive Factors in Community Centers," Marie G. Merrill, Supervisor, Community Centers, Board of Education, Chicago.

6:00-8:00 P.M. Dinner Meeting of the Section on the Community, in Joint session with the National Community Center Association.

"A Word of Welcome," William J. Bogan, Superintendent of Schools, Chicago.

"Prohibition and Gangsters, a Chicago Community Study," John Landesco, American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology.

"The Sociology of Citizenship," Seba Eldridge, University of Kansas.

8:00-10:00 P.M. Division of Social Psychology. Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California, in charge.

"Changes in Rural Distance," introductory statement by the chairman. *Gold Room.*

"Farmers' Movements as Psycho-Social Phenomena," Carl C. Taylor, North Carolina State College.

"Studies in Rural Leadership," Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University.

"Family Life and Rural Organization," J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin.

"Newspaper Circulation as an Index of Urbanization," Robert E. Park, University of Chicago.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27

9:00 A.M. Business Meeting of the Society. *The Gold Room.*

10:00-12:00 A.M. Meetings of the Sections of the Society.

Section on Educational Sociology, in joint session with the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. In charge of Daniel H. Kulp II, Columbia University. "Sociology and Rural Education." *Gray Room.*

"The Rural Community as a Unit for Rural Administration," Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University.

Discussion by A. W. Hayes, Marshall College.

"Adaptation of Educational Administration to Rural Communities," George A. Works, University of Chicago.

Section on Rural Sociology. J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin. Chairman of Committee on Research, presiding. *Gold Room.*

"Scope, Method, and Future Needs in the Following Fields of Research, with Their Implications for Extension Work in Rural Sociology."

"Projects Relating to Social Organization," E. L. Morgan, University of Missouri. Case presentation of studies in this field.

"Comparison of Some Factors in Rural-Urban Culture and Attitudes," Pitirim Sorokin, University of Minnesota.

"Population Projects," C. Luther Fry, Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York City. Case presentation of studies of population projects.

"Rural Population and the Census," Leon Truesdell, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

Section on Sociology and Social Work. M. J. Karpf, Training School for Jewish Social Work, in charge.

"A Sociological Analysis of the Contents of 2,000 Social Case Records, with Special Reference to the Treatment of Family Discord," E. R. Mowrer, Northwestern University.

Section on the Community, in joint session with the National Community Center Association. LeRoy E. Bowman, Columbia University, presiding.

"Appraisal of the Community Movement." *Ballroom East.*

"Why I Dropped Out of the Community Movement," Joseph K. Hart, University of Wisconsin.

"The Relation of the Community Movement to Social Service," Walter W. Pettit, New York School of Social Work.

"The Function and Value of Community Committees," Anna M. Cameron, Secretary, Nebraska Conference of Social Work.

"An Appraisal of the Community Movement," Jesse F. Steiner, Tulane University.

Discussion: Arthur Evans Wood, University of Michigan.

Section on the Family. Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina, in charge. *Florentine Room East*.

"Improved Housing as a Means of Improved Family Life," James Ford, Executive Director, *Better Homes in America*.

"The Isolated Family," Lee M. Brooks, University of North Carolina.

"A Eugenic Experiment in a Better Family Program," Florence Brown Sherbon, University of Kansas.

Section on the Sociology of Religion. F. Ernest Johnson, Federal Council of Churches, in charge. "Current Research Projects." *Club Room 1120, 2d floor*.

"Review of Research Projects Conducted during 1928," Galen M. Fisher, Institute of Social and Religious Research.

"Brief Reports on Particular Projects," by persons conducting them.

Discussion led by Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago.

#### 12:30-3:00 P.M. Luncheon Meetings.

Section on Educational Sociology, in joint session with the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. "Rural Sociology in Educational Problems." *French Room*.

"Problems of Rural Education Demanding Sociological Research," Daniel H. Kulp II, Columbia University. President's Annual Address.

"Some Investigations into Rural Life with Curriculum Implications," Edmund DeS. Brunner, Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York City.

Section on Rural Sociology, in joint luncheon with the American Farm Economic Association. "Mexican Immigration." *Gold Room West*.

"Antecedents of Mexican Immigration into the United States," Manuel Gamio, Mexico.

"Mexican Immigration from the Economic Point of View."

"Mexican Immigration from the Sociological Point of View," E. L. Bogardus, University of Southern California.

Discussion led by Max Handman, University of Texas, and Alva Taylor, Vanderbilt University.

Section on Sociology and Social Work. *English Room*.

"A Study of Social Case Work Interviews," Joanna C. Colcord, University of Minnesota.

Section on the Sociology of Religion. "Religion and Social Control." *Club Room 1164, 2d floor*.

"Evolution of the Technique of Social Control of Protestantism with the Influence of Changes in its Environment," Heinrich H. Maurer, Lewis Institute, Chicago.

Discussion led by Arthur L. Swift, Union Theological Seminary, and Justin W. Nixon, Brick Presbyterian Church, Rochester, New York.

3:00-5:00 P.M. **Division on Statistics**, in joint session with the American Statistical Association. *Gold Room*.

5:30-8:00 P.M. **Joint Dinner Meeting** of the Section on Rural Sociology with the National Community Center Association. B. L. Hummel, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, presiding.

"Progress of the Mississippi Plan of Community Organization in a Typical Rural Community," J. M. Dean, Mississippi State College of Agriculture.

"Community Development in Ohio—A Specific Illustration," R. B. Tom, Ohio State University.

"The Use of the Score Card in a West Virginia Community," A. H. Rapping, West Virginia College of Agriculture.

Discussion led by George W. Farrell, United States Department of Agriculture.

8:00-10:00 P.M. **Joint session for Presidential Addresses**. *The Gold Room*. American Sociological Society, American Association for Labor Legislation and National Community Center Association.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28

9:00 A.M. **Business Meeting** for reports of committees. *The Gold Room*.

10:00-12:00 A.M. Meetings of the sections of the Society.

**Section on Educational Sociology**, in joint session with the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. *Gray Room*.

**Section on Rural Sociology**, Eben Mumford, Michigan State College, Chairman of Steering Committee. *Gold Room*.

"The Effect of the Cultural Factor of Education on Consumption Tendencies in Two Rural Communities," Lowry Nelson, Brigham Young University.

"The Literary Technique Applied to Rural Social Research," C. H. Cooley, University of Michigan.

"Methods of Studying Personality Development in Rural and Urban Groups," H. B. Hawthorn, Municipal University of Akron.

Discussion led by C. J. Galpin, United States Department of Agriculture. **Section on Sociology and Social Work**. *English Room*.

"A Study in the Prediction of Success and Failure of Men on Parole," E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago.

**Section on the Community**, in joint session with the National Community Center Association. Robert E. Park, University of Chicago, presiding. "Race Relations and Community."

"A Study of the Dufferin District: An Area in Transition," Percy A. Robert, University Settlement, Montreal.

"The Russian Molokan Community," Pauline V. Young, University of Southern California.

"The Negro Community," E. Franklin Frazier, Director Research and Records Department, Chicago Urban League.

"A Study of Social Conditions Affecting Lynching," Norman M. Kastler. "Segregation as a Factor in Negro Community Organization," D. W. Willard, Clark University.

**Section on the Family. *Florentine Room East.***

"Domestic Discord: Its Analysis and Treatment," Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University.

"The Use of Courses in the Sociology of the Family for Teacher Training," J. L. Hypes, Connecticut Agricultural College.

"The Co-ordination of Woman's Interests as a Concrete Problem for the Family," Ethel Puffell Howes, Director of the Institute for the Co-ordination of Women's Interests, Smith College.

**Section on the Sociology of Religion. *Club Room 1120, 2d floor.***

"Some Phases of Religion that are Susceptible of Sociological Study," Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago.

Discussion led by Charles A. Ellwood, University of Missouri, and Herbert N. Shenton, Syracuse University.

**12:30-3:00. Luncheon Meetings.**

**Section on the Community**, in joint session with the National Community Center Association. Arthur Evans Wood, University of Michigan, presiding. "Some Ethnic Factors."

"Local Autonomy in Russian Village Life under the Soviets," Karl Borders, Chicago Commons.

"Community Areas as Units for the Study of Ethnic Adjustments," Bessie Bloom Wessel, Connecticut College.

"The Jewish Community in American Cities," Alexander Dushkin, Bureau of Jewish Education, Chicago.

**Section on Educational Sociology**, in joint session with the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology.

Report of the Yearbook Committee on Objectives in Education.

Presentation of Report by Chairman, Professor David Snedden, Teachers College, Columbia University. *Parlor A.*

**Section on Rural Sociology.** B. F. Coen, Colorado Agricultural College, in charge. "The Teaching of Rural Sociology." *Gold Room.*

"Content of Courses in Rural Sociology," Fred R. Yoder, State College of Washington.

"Laboratory Use of Surveys, Census Data, and Other Sources," J. O. Rankin, University of Nebraska.

Discussion led by A. W. Hayes, Marshall College, and J. L. Hypes, Connecticut Agricultural College.

**Section on the Family.** Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina, in charge. *Florentine Room West.*

"Parenthood Training in a City College," A. Caswell Ellis, Director, Cleveland College of Western Reserve University.

"The Education of Women, a Sociological Problem," Annie Louise Macleod, Syracuse University.

**Section on the Sociology of Religion. *Club Room 1164, 2d floor.***

"Rural-Urban Conflict."

Report of a Study Made in the Chicago Dairy District, Arthur E. Holt, Chicago Theological Seminary.

Discussion led by A. Z. Mann, Northwestern University, and Father Edwin V. O'Hara, Eugene, Oregon.

3:00-5:00 P.M. Division on Social Research. Ten-Minute Reports on Research in Progress. Hornell Hart, Bryn Mawr College, in charge.

"The Case Method as Recently Applied in Social Research." *Gold Room*.

"Case Methods in Rural Research," E. L. Kirkpatrick, University of Wisconsin.

"A Study in the Process of Assimilation," H. G. Duncan, University of North Carolina.

"The Social Adjustment of 219 Unselected University Students," Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan.

"Sociological Study of Neglected Children," William H. Faust, Oklahoma East Central State Teachers College.

"Trouble Patterns," Stuart A. Queen, University of Kansas.

"Case Analysis of Scientific Methods Employed in Contributions to Social Science," Stuart A. Rice, University of Pennsylvania.

6:30 P.M. Annual Dinner of the Society. *Gold Room*.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

9:00 A.M. Annual Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society. *The Gold Room*.

10:00-12:00 A.M. Division on Human Ecology and Population. L. L. Bernard, University of North Carolina, in charge. *The Gold Room*.

"Introductory Statement," L. L. Bernard.

"Type of Agriculture as a Conditioning Factor in Community Organization," Charles E. Lively, Ohio State University.

"Cotton Culture and Social Life and Institutions in the South," Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina. Discussion by C. C. Taylor, North Carolina State College.

"Ecological Succession in the Puget Sound Region," R. D. McKenzie, University of Washington.

"The Ecology of the San Juan Islands," Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington.

"Age and Sex Distribution as Factors in Rural Behavior," Bruce L. Melvin, Cornell University.

12:30-3:00 P.M. Luncheon Meetings.

Section on the Teaching of Sociology. E. H. Sutherland, University of Minnesota, in charge. *Club Room 1164, 2d floor*.

"Seminar in Sociology," C. C. North, Ohio State University.

Division on Social Research. *Florentine Room*.

"The Scientific Study of Social Change."

"Invention in the History of the Ship: A Study of Technic Evolution," S. C. Gil Fillan, Rosenwald Industrial Museum.

"A Study of 137 Typical Inventors," Lowell J. Carr, University of Michigan.

"The Influence of Cultural Change upon the American Newspaper," Malcolm M. Willey, University of Minnesota.

*Headquarters.*—The headquarters for the annual meeting will be the Congress Hotel, Michigan Boulevard at Congress Street. Rates for rooms are as follows: Single rooms without bath, \$3.00, \$3.50 up; with bath, \$4.00, \$4.50, \$5.00, \$5.50; double rooms, without bath, \$4.00 and up; with bath, \$6.00, \$7.00, \$8.00 and up; suite of two connecting double rooms with twin beds and with bath, \$8.00 a suite and up for two persons; \$12.00 a suite and up for three or four persons. Reservations may be made by addressing the Manager, Congress Hotel.

*Reduced Railroad Rates.*—Arrangements have been made with the New England, Central, Southeastern, Western, Southwestern, Trans-Continental, and Trunk Line Passenger Associations to grant reduced rates to all members of the American Sociological Society and the allied Associations, as well as to members of their families, provided 250 are in attendance at the annual meeting and present certificates. Members wishing to take advantage of the reduced rates must comply with the following directions:

1. *Obtain a certificate when buying your going ticket.*—Do not make the mistake of asking for a "receipt." Tickets at the regular one-way tariff fare for the going journey may be obtained on the following dates only: December 22-28, inclusive. Present yourself at the railroad station for ticket and certificate at least thirty minutes before the departure of your train. Certificates are not kept at all stations. If not obtainable at your home station, the agent will inform you at what station they can be obtained. You can in such case purchase a local ticket to the station which has certificates in stock, where you can purchase a through ticket and at the same time ask for and obtain a certificate to the place of meeting.

2. *Leave your certificate at registration desk (at the Stevens Hotel) immediately upon your arrival at the meeting.* The reduced fare for the return journey will not apply unless your certificate is validated by the railroad agent and signed by the indorsing officer, F. S. Deibler, secretary of the American Economic Association.

3. *Call for your validated certificate before purchasing your return ticket.*—If the 250 certificates are presented to the special agent, and your certificate is duly validated, you will be entitled, up to and including January 2, 1929, to a return ticket via the same route over which you made the going journey, at one-half of the regular one-way tariff fare from the place of meeting to the point at which your certificate was issued. Return tickets issued at the reduced fare will not be good on any limited train on which such reduced fare transportation is not honored. Members are responsible for ascertaining whether or not the particular road they intend to use is included in this agreement. Some passenger associations grant the special rate with the exception of certain roads. *No refund of fare will be made on account of failure to obtain proper certificate when purchasing ticket, nor on account of failure to present validated certificate when purchasing return ticket.*

## NEWS AND NOTES

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Notes of interest to the readers of the *Journal* should be in the hands of the editor of "News and Notes" not later than the tenth of the month preceding publication.

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*Membership of the Society.*—The names and addresses of members received into the Society since the list published in the July issue of the *Journal* are as follows:

Airheart, Walter Lee, State College Station, Fargo, N.D.  
Alexander, Chester S., 4 E. 111th St., Chicago  
Algyer, L. C., Wellington, Washington  
Brunk, Leah, 1115 Charlotte St., Kansas City, Mo.  
Cape, Wilson, 307 N. Orchard St., Madison, Wis.  
Coventry, Edwin James, 3615 26th St., Everett, Wash.  
Cralle, Walter O., State Teachers College, Springfield, Mo.  
Davis, Ralph Nelson, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.  
Doyle, Bertram W., Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.  
Erlandson, Carl W., 1575 Selby Ave., St. Paul, Minn.  
Hoffman, Isaac, 705 Ashland Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Huntsinger, Chester C., Dwight, Kan.  
Hutchinson, Karl, 5757 University Ave., Chicago  
Jones, Dorothy Esther, Sanford Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Lattof, Nicholas M., Y.M.C.A., Jerusalem, Palestine  
Shannon, Irwin V., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.  
Shelly, Thomas J., 1 Leighton Ave., Yonkers, N.Y.  
Slawson, John, Jewish Welfare Federation, 51 W. Warren Ave., Detroit, Mich.  
Stepanian, A. Stephan, 15 Blake Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago  
Tanquist, Reuben Algot, 693 Asbury Ave., St. Paul, Minn.  
Thomson, Henry E., 1521 Frink Boulevard, Seattle, Wash.  
Toms, Charles Merle, 1101 Mississippi Street, Lawrence, Kan.  
Torrence, A. Andrew, 2817 Indiana Ave., Chicago  
Winslow, Marion, Oakland, Ore.

*Hanover Conference.*—The Social Science Research Council held its fourth annual conference at Hanover during the last two weeks of August, 1928.

The conference was somewhat smaller than usual, owing to concentration on the work of the committees. The Committee on Problems and Policy met in the mornings and the Council in the afternoon, while the evenings were devoted to reports of committee chairmen.

Professor Weaver reported on a recent survey of population conducted by Dr. R. M. Woodburn. Dr. Henry C. Taylor presented a report on economic and sociological research in agriculture in the United States. Professor Shotwell spoke on international relations, and Professor A. A. Berle on recent trends in corporate development. Professor Olmstead discussed the problem of cultural areas. Mr. W. W. Alexander reported on racial relations, while Mr. Henry S. Dennison discussed research opportunities in industrial relations. Of a more general nature were the address of Chairman Mitchell on the opportunity and problems of the Social Science Research Council, the presentation of the work of the National Research Council by Dr. A. G. Barrows, and the discussion of scientific method led by Dr. E. E. Day. Professor W. F. Ogburn spoke on the co-operation of research among the social sciences.

The Committee on Scientific Methods held a meeting lasting a week, preparatory to the conclusion of a case-book study of scientific method, which will be published during the winter. The Committee on Social Science Abstracts also met at Hanover, and reported that the *Journal of Social Science Abstracts* would be issued in March or April of 1929. Their editorial office is now organized, with Dr. F. S. Chapin as editor, and with a staff of associate and assistant editors. The headquarters are at Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University. Other committees meeting at Hanover were the Advisory Committee on Corporate Relations, the Advisory Committee on Population, and the Advisory Committee on Interracial Relations. The other advisory committees met prior to the conference, only the chairmen attending the conference.

Other developments of the work of the S.S.R.C. was the appointment of Dr. John V. Van Sickle, formerly professor of economics at the University of Michigan, as an executive secretary of the Council on fellowships. Of interest to sociologists especially was the appointment of several special committees, particularly the committees on Familial Relations, on the Measurement of Social Attitudes, on Racial Tests, and on Criminal Research.

Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, of Columbia University, and Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, of Harvard University, continue as president and vice-president, respectively. Professors Robert T. Crane, of the University of Michigan, and Robert S. Woodworth, of Columbia, continue

to serve as secretary and treasurer, respectively. Dr. Harold Moulton resigned as chairman of the Problems and Policy Committee, and Professor William F. Ogburn was chosen as his successor. Professor James T. Shotwell was succeeded by Professor Joseph Chamberlain as chairman of the Advisory Committee on International Relations. Other chairmen of committees were reappointed.

*Conference of Methods of Research.*—Under the auspices of the Research Committee of the Religious Education Association a conference on research was held at the Chicago Theological Seminary, September 14-16. The conference was devoted to the presentation and discussion of research projects and methods that have a bearing upon the study of problems in the field of religious education. Among the subjects presented were "The Study of Deception," by Hugh Hartshorne, Teachers College, Columbia University; "Growth Curves in the Learning Process," by S. A. Curtis, University of Michigan; "Testing Civic Knowledge in Relation to Classroom Behavior," by W. C. Reavis, School of Education, University of Chicago; "The Materials and Methods of the Child Guidance Institute," by Lawson G. Lowrey, New York; "Life-Histories as a Method of Research," by John J. B. Morgan, Northwestern University, Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago, and Kimball Young, University of Wisconsin; "A Study of the Effect of a New York Boys Club upon Juvenile Delinquency," by Frederic M. Thrasher, New York University; "A Study of the Brooklyn Y.M.C.A. Program," by A. L. Swift, Union Theological Seminary; "Case Studies of Dying Churches," S. C. Kincheloe, Chicago Theological Seminary; and "The Use of Different Techniques in the Same Study," by Goodwin B. Watson, Teachers College, Columbia University. Arthur E. Holt, Chicago Theological Seminary, is the chairman of the Research Committee.

*Committee on Uniform Crime Records.*—Realizing the present inadequacy of records in the United States for giving comparable figures on the character, amount, and rate of increase of crime, the International Association of Chiefs of Police appointed a committee, under the chairmanship of Commissioner W. P. Rutledge, of the Detroit Police Department, to undertake the task of working out a plan for obtaining a uniform system of crime-recording. An advisory committee was also appointed, consisting of Lent D. Upson, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, chairman; Robert E. Gault, American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology; Leonard V. Harrison, New York; William Healy, Judge Baker Foundation; J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Department of Jus-

tice; George W. Kirchwey, New York School for Social Work; and W. M. Steuart, Federal Census Bureau. Bruce Smith, of New York, is the director.

The objectives toward which the committee is directing its efforts are (1) to secure the use of certain uniform definitions of major offenses by the more important police departments in the United States; (2) to bring about a uniform practice with respect to the recording of offenses known to the police; (3) to establish a central reporting agency where such records may be reported annually. The plan is being considered of creating a reporting area on crime statistics somewhat similar to that employed by health authorities. It is believed that such a plan for uniform crime reporting with a crime registration area will in time give us facts and a control over the crime problem like that which now obtains in the health field.

*Rosenwald Industrial Museum.*—Mr. S. Colum GilFillan, sometime instructor of social sciences in Grinnell and Sewanee colleges, has been appointed curator of transportation and communication in this recently founded institution, which, under the direction of Waldemar Koempfert, will make a special effort to show the social influences of inventions. Mr. GilFillan's dissertation, "Invention Is the History of the Ship," is being published in part in *The Marine News*, and later will be published entire in book form.

*Clark University.*—Dr. D. W. Willard, of the department of sociology, went to Geneva in the summer to study the League of Nations, as a scholar of the International Institute of Columbia Teachers' College.

*Denison University.*—Professor F. G. Detweiler, head of the department of sociology, has been made dean of men. Dr. H. H. Titus, of William Jewell College, has accepted appointment as professor in the departments of sociology and philosophy.

*Florida State College for Women.*—The work in the department of sociology under the direction of Professor Raymond Bellamy has now expanded to include practical and applied phases of the subject as well as general sociology and anthropology. Dr. Coyle E. Moore has been added to the staff as associate professor and will give the type of work which will prepare students for social welfare work. Miss Marjorie Walker, a fellow in the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of Minnesota, has been appointed an instructor in sociology.

*Kansas State Teachers College (Pittsburg).*—Professor W. Clinton Heffner has accepted a position as professor of economics.

*University of Minnesota.*—During the absence of Professor F. Stuart Chapin for the present year as editor of *Social Science Abstracts*, Dr. Robert W. Murchie, professor of sociology and economics in the University of Manitoba, will serve as associate professor in the department of sociology. Dr. Murchie has been granted leave of absence for the year. New instructors in the department for next year include Irene Barnes, Northwestern University; Paul Lantis, University of Michigan; Elio D. Monachesi, University of Missouri; and E. A. Taylor, Washington State College. Elizabeth G. Gardiner, who was associated with Lena Waters at the dispensary of the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed lecturer and supervisor of medical social work. Alice Leahy, formerly chief of social service, Minneapolis Child Guidance Clinic, who is a graduate of the New York School of Social Work and who has a master's degree from Columbia University, will offer courses in mental case work. The growth of the department in the past six years is in part indicated by the fact that the members of the staff have increased during that time from sixteen to thirty-two.

The Century Company have recently published a volume entitled *Cultural Change* by Professor Chapin.

*Mount Holyoke College.*—Professor Alzada Comstock has been granted a semester's leave for the first half of 1928-29 for a study of land reform laws, which she will begin in Estonia.

*University of Nebraska.*—The Century Company announces the publication of *Social Progress: A Theoretical Survey and Analysis* by Professor J. O. Hertzler.

Mr. W. G. Binnewies, associate professor of sociology in the Colorado State Teachers College, Greeley, has been appointed part-time instructor in sociology. Miss Agnes E. Herrick (M.S., Western Reserve) has been promoted from assistant instructor to instructor in sociology. She will be in charge of the training courses for the students majoring in social work. Professor J. O. Hertzler has been appointed chairman of the department to succeed Professor Hattie Plum Williams.

*New York University.*—Associate Professor C. G. Dittmer has been promoted to full professorship and been made chairman of the department in Washington Square College. Professor Wyatt Marrs, formerly of the University of Oklahoma, has accepted an assistant professorship in Washington Square College. Miss Lucy Chamberlin, formerly of the New York School of Social Work, is going to be a lecturer on sociology, with the special purpose of organizing work in social service training.

Miss Margaret Heinsberger will give courses in sociology in Washington Square College.

*Ohio State University.*—Dr. Perry Denune has been elected permanent secretary of the Ohio State Conference of Social Work.

*Seth Low Junior College.*—Seth Low Junior College opened this year as a branch of Columbia University located in Brooklyn, with about six hundred enrolment. Nels Anderson, well known for his research work in the field of urban sociology; Wyatt Marrs, formerly of the University of Oklahoma; and Harry Shulman, who has been conducting the field work for the New York Crime Commission during the past three years in its survey of causes of crime, are giving courses in sociology. Mr. Anderson is giving a seminar course in urban sociology.

*Stanford University.*—Mr. Richard T. Lapiere, after a year in the London School of Economics, has returned to Stanford University to give courses in sociology. Professor Charles N. Reynolds, head of the department of economics, University of Hawaii, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology for the year 1928-29.

*Texas State College for Women.*—Mildred Parsons, a fellow in the Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota accepted appointment as an instructor in sociology.

*State College of Washington.*—A separate department of sociology has been organized at the State College of Washington. Professor Fred R. Yoder, who has been associate professor of sociology, has been promoted to professor of sociology and head of the new department of sociology.

Mr. Carl E. Dent, who took his M.A. degree in sociology at the University of Kansas last June, has been employed as instructor in sociology. Professor D. P. Varnum, who has been employed as assistant professor of philosophy, will teach "Social Ethics" and one section of "Introductory Sociology." Mr. Alex Smick, a graduate of the State College last year, will be an assistant in rural sociology and will carry on a research project in selected areas in Washington on "What Becomes of the Farm Youth."

The Agricultural Experiment Station published, in June, a bulletin prepared by Professor Yoder and Mr. E. A. Taylor on *The Rural Sociology Organization in Clark County, Washington*.

Mr. E. A. Taylor, instructor in sociology at the State College for the last three years, has gone to the University of Minnesota to do advanced

work in sociology. He will also do some teaching as an assistant in the department.

*Wilson College (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania).*—Dr. Henrietta Cooper Jennings has been appointed professor of economics and sociology at Wilson College.

*University of Wisconsin.*—Dr. Ralph Linton, who has for some years been connected with the Anthropological Division of the Field Museum at Chicago, has joined the staff of the department of sociology with the rank of associate professor of anthropology. During the first semester he will offer courses in "Social Anthropology," "The American Race" and "Cultural Anthropology."

Miss Helen I. Clarke has been promoted to assistant professor of sociology. Miss Clarke has charge of the social work training courses at Madison.

Professor John L. Gillin returned in June from a trip around the world. He made extensive studies of penal institutions both in the Orient and Europe and is now preparing a report for the Social Science Research Council on the results of his investigations. *Social Problems*, an elementary text in sociology, written by Professors Gillin, Colbert, and Dittmer has been issued by the Century press.

Professor E. A. Ross has just issued his twenty-second book through the Century press under the title *World Drift*, which contains a series of papers bearing upon current social problems. Professor Ross will be on leave of absence during the current year. He will leave New York early in November as director of education of the Floating University.

Professor Kimball Young taught during the summer session at Syracuse University. He gave a course in "Social Psychology" in the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs there.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Divisions et proportions des divisions de la sociologie.* By MARCEL MAUSS. In *L'Année Sociologique*, Nouvelle Série, Tome II (1924-25), Fascicule 1. Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan. Pp. 78.

*Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences* (report of a survey conducted for the American Council of Learned Societies). By FREDERICK AUSTIN OGG, PH.D. New York and London: Century Co., 1928. Pp. viii+454.

In the new series of *L'Année Sociologique*, M. Mauss (succeeding Durkheim as editor) very properly begins by apologizing for his retention of the old divisions; he admits their inadequacy, and in essence can offer but one reason for retaining them: they were used by his predecessor. He seems all too conscious of being Durkheim's faithful disciple, and all too eager to assure his readers that he is merely carrying on the sacred ritual, especially where he introduces his new "concrete divisions"—social morphology and social physiology.

But he first propitiates the *manes* by listing the traditional divisions, although the oblation is rendered less efficacious by the accompanying suggestions toward modification of these divisions:

1. General sociology: This should be retained at the head of the list, but only in the sense of general social theory, history of ideas, preliminary method. It could more properly and with less ambiguity be called "preliminaries to sociology proper."

2. Social morphology: This comprises vital statistics, demography, human geography, and all those aspects of society which can be counted and measured without any great refinement of technique—the material basis of society, spatial distribution of its members, temporal sequences, and so on. Mauss nowhere uses the term "ecology," but implicit in his discussion is a great deal that is definitely ecological.

Then come the special sociologies:

3. Sociology of religion: At present too much concerned with primitive religions; this is perhaps due to the tendency initiated by Durkheim's book on Australian forms of the religious life. Closely connected with the sociology of religion is the sociology of morals and ethics; they really are inseparable by any device of method.

4. Sociology of economics: Quite after the pattern laid down by Durkheim in his *De la division du travail social*.

5. Sociological aspects of aesthetics: the fine arts, according to Espinas, are a phenomenon characteristic of social life, and Wundt gave them a great deal of emphasis in his *Völkerpsychologie*. Mauss points out that comparatively little space has been devoted to such social phenomena in past issues, and seems to regard this as a gap in research which should be filled as soon as possible.

6. Sociological aspects of technology: by this is denoted some elements, at least, of what Americans have been calling the material aspects of culture, but perhaps the distinction of terminology indicates a growing comprehension of cultural lag and the cultural process. Mauss regards the study of technology and the influence of material culture upon man as of the highest importance, although he does not seem familiar with recent American research in this field; he mentions Powell, founder of ethnographic technology, Otis T. Mason, and "others." But in any event, it is evident that the next few years will see the pages of *L'Année* filled with articles on the interconnections of sociology and technology, and this in turn with the natural history of science, and this in turn with epistemology.

7. General sociology, as previously represented in the old series, had as part of its content ethnology, the history of culture, the history of areas of "civilization," etc. This division exhibits the closest linkages with history, with culture-history; but because it deals with the typical, and not with the unique, it may be called sociological and general, poorly defined.

8. Social systems: there is something specific in every society, no matter how frequently "laws" are evidenced in its make-up. The study of social systems, says Mauss, should strive toward a *synthesis* of the *material* aspects of each *separate* culture-complex; it should reveal the *unique* synthesis reflected in the interrelations which make up its functional unity. This division, too, is somewhat obscure.

9. But all these divisions neglect two things: The first is what may be called collective ethology, the study of the ethos of every group known to sociologists—a sort of characterology of groups. It seems probable that Sombart's *The Quintessence of Capitalism* would be placed in this division by M. Mauss. Such studies are incomplete, however, unless they take into account a second element, the study of the collective consciousness (*sic*) of each group. This might be called the general theory of social relationships; it can arise only when we know that which is

unique and that which is general in each society, and when each one is considered in the light of every other.

10. Last of all comes the epistemological division, already indicated in its technological aspects. This, as Mauss conceives it, and as Durkheim conceived it, is really the study of the social bases of knowledge. This will some day, says Mauss, be the cap sheaf of pure sociology. Here end the *abstract* divisions of our discipline—end in a division which comprises them all, which makes sociology *the* science of society instead of a social science. So M. Mauss.

All is not yet. The concrete divisions of sociology newly proposed by our writer are still to come; these divisions must be considered in every monographic investigation of concrete social life, and hence are fundamental, for the special sociologies previously indicated can build only upon these results obtained by methods which take into account *all* the factors in a given culture-complex, and a comprehensive science of society which in turn builds upon the special sociologies is no stronger than the weakest of its supporting pillars.

The underlying principles of the concrete divisions are really quite simple, for in fact there are only two things to be considered in a given society: (*a*) the group having location and position which gives the basis for social structures which grow out of this soil, and (*b*) the collective representations and the collective behavior of this group. That is, we have first the *material* phenomena, capable of statistical enumeration, etc., and second, those *social* phenomena which are the effect of their common life. These two factors correspond to (1) the *social morphology* mentioned before, the study of material, objective structures, and (2) *social physiology*, the study of these structures in movement, i.e., the study of their functions and of the functioning of these functions (*et le fonctionnement de ces fonctions*). Factor 2 reduces to the physiology of social practices (*physiologie des pratiques*) and to the physiology of collective representations (*physiologie des représentations*). Mauss says that if one understands by collective psychology the study of individuals who live together, who participate in common action, and who form, when taken as a collectivity, a common milieu, and if one does not neglect the fact that these individuals, in their social aspects, can be dealt with statistically and historically, one might substitute collective psychology or even social psychology for the term "social physiology." He prefers to retain the latter term along with social morphology, however, provided they are not given biological interpretation.

The great advantage of this set of divisions is that fundamental

problems are put into a form free from any metaphysical connotation and free from entangling alliances with other sciences. And further, problems are put into such form that *statistical methods* can be applied toward their solution; this is perhaps the greatest advantage of laying these new divisions at the base of the older special sociologies and of general sociology, according to M. Mauss.

This general methodological program is followed by a section on the possible applications of sociology to administration and government. While not a friend of the melioristic tendency in American sociology (which has linked it so closely with social work and with remedial measures generally), M. Mauss was greatly impressed, during his recent visit to the United States, by the place which various social research agencies had won for themselves in American affairs. He advocates the same procedure for France; the research bureaus are not to agitate directly for social legislation, but are to act as fact-finding bodies alone, following the example of similar groups in the United States. After the depression which comes over one upon reading Siegfried's *America Comes of Age* it gives a cheering fillip to jaded spirits to see how optimistic another Frenchman can be concerning our scientific development.

We can be humble, however, without assaulting the optimism of M. Mauss, and surely a reading of the report to the American Council of Learned Societies prepared by Professor Ogg gives ground for this humility. A few of the leading universities make liberal provision for research in the humanistic and social sciences, but when we turn to the long list of colleges, denominational high schools, etc., which make little or no provision—tut tut, M. Mauss, tut tut. We still have much, much, to do, and not the least of our manifold tasks is that of persuading presidents that glorified Chautauqua speakers are not the most valuable assets a university can have. And further, it should not be possible to list as the first three needs of creative scholarship (1) increased respect for pure learning, (2) establishment of a proper relation between research and teaching, (3) better organization of graduate work. But, as Hollywood has it, "cometh the dawn"?

HOWARD BECKER

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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*The Science of Public Welfare.* By ROBERT W. KELSO. American Social Science Series. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928. Pp. 428.

*An Introduction to Social Work.* By JOHN O'GRADY. Century Catholic College Texts. New York: Century Co., 1928. Pp. 398. \$2.50.

*Social Problems: An Introductory Text in Sociology.* By JOHN L. GILLIN, C. G. DITTMER and R. J. COLBERT. Century Social Science Series. New York: Century Co., 1928. Pp. 534. \$3.75.

*Justice First.* By JOHN A. LAPP. New York: Century Co., 1928. Pp. 185. \$2.25.

These four books all belong in the general field popularly characterized as "social problems." They present, however, a number of significant contrasts.

Gillin, Dittmer, and Colbert have undertaken an analysis of certain social maladjustments; Kelso and O'Grady describe some of the available resources for dealing with these difficulties; while Lapp is chiefly concerned with prevention. Professors Gillin, Dittmer, and Colbert describe their book as "an introductory text in sociology," based on a study of "social problems," because "the first anxious attention we bestow upon society comes from our waking up to the fact that there are 'social problems.'" Mr. Kelso offers a history of efforts made under public auspices to deal with some of these maladjustments. He declares as his purpose "to place before the teacher a convenient treatise in the teaching of social practice . . . and to afford the general reader a convenient guide to the rationale of modern public welfare and social work." Father O'Grady presents a description and interpretation of present-day social work quite frankly from the standpoint of the Catholic church. His book is intended as a text for college students, through which they may gain "a fairly complete review of the field." Dr. Lapp has assembled "the substance of a group of addresses given while the author was acting as president of the National Conference of Social Work."

Dr. Lapp is frankly addressing the citizenry, appealing for intelligent consideration of facts about social problems, for recognition of established social agencies, and especially for a willingness to go beyond merely remedial action. His plea is for prevention in place of palliation, for justice in place of charity. Among the suggestive chapter headings are these: "What Does Society Owe to the Child?" "Old Age Security," "Rehabilitation of the Handicapped," "Justice for the Immigrant," "Thrift and Social Insurance." This little book makes no pretense of being a compendium of information or a detailed scientific analysis. Its

author frankly stands forth as the champion of an important program of social reform.

Professors Gillin, Dittmer, and Colbert have divided their book into four parts: "The Nature of the Social Problem" is how "we may use and enjoy the largest measure of civilization possible, and promote further progress"; "Problems of Population" has to do with "the proper balance between men and the available means of subsistence," and with "the quality of that man-power." Population pressures have caused slums, class conflict, crime, and the World War. "The human race is breeding too rapidly from the scrubs in its stock and too slowly in its upper efficiency ranks." "Problems of the Home and Economic Life" includes "the woman problem," divorce, child labor, etc.; "Problems of Socialization" starts with "how to mold the growing child into patterns of conduct approved by the group." From this standpoint are considered disease, poverty, crime, war, etc. "Solutions of the social problem" includes eugenics, education, politics, research, and publicity.

The reviewer's criticisms of this as a proposed "introductory text in sociology" are, first, that it is not distinctively sociological in viewpoint or emphasis; second, it is overloaded with such subjective terms as "aim of society," "normal," "proper balance," and "progress"; third, it is after all directed toward social reform rather than a scientific analysis of the processes of human interaction.

Father O'Grady's book is actually what it purports to be, "an introduction to social work." The reviewer knows of no more interesting or impartial description of contemporary social work for college students and others who have practically no knowledge of this field. Of course, along with the description there goes an interpretation that is very frankly Catholic. Social work is explained, defended, and promoted in terms of the teachings of the church. The Christian virtue of charity, free will, expiation, stewardship, and respect for human rights play significant rôles in this interpretation. For non-Catholics this book is important because it gives a very clear statement of the church's position with reference to social work. It shows that the actual practice of workers in Catholic agencies is not greatly different from that of workers in non-sectarian and public agencies. For Catholics this book is important because it gives perspective, placing the activities of the church in their relation to those of other organizations.

Mr. Kelso's book is distinctly different from the others listed here. It is essentially a description of the social work activities of our various governmental units and a historical account of how they came to be. As such

this is excellent. By reading this book, together with Miss Breckinridge's collection of documents (*Public Welfare Administration*) and Odum and Willard's organization charts (*Systems of Public Welfare*), the student should get a very clear picture of what our city, county, state, and national governments are doing for people who lack money, jobs, health, or friends. More specifically, he will find here an account of the influence of the church, the Industrial Revolution, and legal developments on the growth of public poor relief, pensions, correctional systems, care of the mentally abnormal, child care, and public health.

But having paid Mr. Kelso these well-deserved compliments we cannot resist the urge to offer some critical comments. First, the book seems to us unfortunately named. Social work may be an art or profession; it certainly is not a "science"; and "public welfare" seems curiously distorted when it refers primarily to jails, almshouses, hospitals, and widows' pensions. But here the author is following popular usage. We are hearing much these days of "scientific social work," and in Massachusetts they call those who feed hungry men and send old ladies to the almshouse "overseers of the public welfare." Our second criticism is that the fundamental philosophy underlying this book is a combination of utilitarian ethics, rationalistic psychology, and eugenics. "This idea of individual happiness is basic." But because some people "choose" to find their happiness in ways that make trouble for others it is necessary for the state to step in and deal with these criminals and "voluntary paupers." However, by so doing it interrupts the processes of natural selection; hence the weak survive, "the inferior stock becomes more prolific," and overpopulation impends.

To sum up, none of these books is a sociological treatise in any exact sense of the term. However, two of them are useful additions to the literature of social technology: Father O'Grady's because of its clear perspective, and Mr. Kelso's because of its scholarly analysis.

STUART A. QUEEN

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

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*Cultural Evolution: A Study of Social Origins and Development.*

By CHARLES ELLWOOD. New York: Century Co., 1927. Pp. 267. \$2.50.

In this book of 260 pages, the first 100 pages are devoted to the theory of culture in general, and 150 pages are given to accounts of the development of tools, food, agriculture, war, clothing, housing, etc. These

150 pages consist of thirteen chapters, thus making short chapters of eleven or twelve pages to each of these topics. The presentation in these chapters is thus in the form of a very brief broad general outline of each topic. In setting forth this material there is a certain amount of interpretation, a good deal of which deals with possible cause-and-effect relations and makes the process seem rather logical. For instance, in the chapter on the family, "the sparsity of population, the scarcity of food, the smallness of human groups, hardly ever exceeding more than a dozen families in number, the helplessness of women and children, altogether conspired to make impracticable any other form of sex relation than that of a simple pairing monogamy" (p. 194). And again, "War naturally brought the capture of women. These captured women were saved for sex purposes. In some cases they were held as trophies and as wives or concubines by powerful single warriors. In some other cases, however, they seem to have been used as common women by all the men of the group. We have here the beginnings of three important institutions, namely, slavery, polygyny, and prostitution" (p. 197). Again, "Polyandry as an experiment in the organization of the family was limited to a few peoples in very unfavorable environments, in which the hard conditions of life made it difficult for one man to support one woman and her offspring" (p. 199). The author indeed is quite frank about his generalizations, stating in the preface: "But in the belief that even faulty generalizations are better for the development of the social sciences than no generalizations, it is offered to the public." He quotes as a footnote to this passage: "At least one leading American anthropologist has publicly expressed himself in favor of bolder generalizations: 'For some time to come,' says Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser, 'American contributions to ethnology may fall below their accustomed standards of meticulous care and logical finality. But the loss will be a gain if they reveal a proportionate rise in creative ideas and illuminating syntheses.'"

The foregoing quotation from the introduction is a very good key-note to the chapters on the theory of culture. In addition to a general exposition of the concepts involved in culture and cultural evolution there are two or three points that may be singled out for special comment.

Professor Ellwood conceives of the evolution of culture as consisting of certain stages, namely, barbarism, savagery, and civilization. The idea of stages in cultural evolution is familiar to the reader in the work of Morgan, Bücher, MacCurdy, and Gras, whom he mentions; but no reference is made to the presentation of stages by Müller-Lyer and Hobbouse. The successive-stages theory of social evolution has been sub-

jected to rather severe criticism at the hands of anthropologists, and it was not always clear to the reviewer just what, in the light of these criticisms, the author meant by stages of culture. For instance, he speaks of these stages as being necessary, as in the following passage: "We see, therefore, that there are steps or stages in cultural development which are unavoidable, for the simple reason that cultural development is a learning process." But with the collapse of the theory of the correlation of inherited mental ability of peoples and cultural achievement and with the recognition of the great rôle of diffusion we know that a people may skip a stage, and hence the stage is avoidable. Some elements of culture do seem necessary, as for instance a light gas engine is necessary for the development of the airplane. But is agriculture necessary in this sense for the invention of writing? Certainly agriculture preceded writing (these discoveries are the dividing lines between his three stages); but was the preceding of agriculture in this sense unavoidable? I question whether there is much more in the idea of stages, as now worked out, than a record of historical happenings.

Professor Ellwood seems to imply more than this in his diagram of the development of culture, a parabola of the type  $x^2=4py$ , a diagram which he says "must not be taken too literally . . . is only to represent an idea." Yet he must consider the representation of this idea important, as this parabolic curve is repeated twelve times throughout the book. This parabola is like the outline of the small end of a hen's egg drawn as lying on a flat surface. Thus culture moves up slowly from "animality" through savagery to the discovery of agriculture (somewhat near the point of the egg), then up faster through the shorter time of barbarism to the tip end of the egg, which is the point of the invention of writing. After the invention of writing the path of culture turns in the other direction (why is not apparent), but continues to move upward more slowly through the period of civilization up to the present time. And in the future it rises very slowly indeed, its movement upward becoming almost nil.

Thus Professor Ellwood's idea of the growth of culture as represented by this graph is that culture moved upward much faster in the late period of barbarism than at the present time! Also, it will move upward much more slowly in the future, and in the distant future its rise upward will be practically negligible. This idea of the slowing down of the rate of improvement in the future is somewhat in contrast to the general tone of optimism and of belief in progress that pervades the book, where most of the objectionable phases of cultural change are spoken of as the errors

in the trial-and-error process. Professor Ellwood warns the reader not to take his graph too literally; yet he has drawn a perfect parabola, a rational curve representing a law. One must assume therefore that he sets considerable store on the predictive value of his curve for the future. I doubt, however, if the facts of culture in the past necessarily lead one to predict a slower rate of improvement in the future, waiving, as does the author, the consideration as to what is improvement.

Professor Ellwood is the author of several books on the relation of psychology to society. It is of some interest therefore to inquire what he makes of psychology and culture. He compares the curve of cultural development of any particular line to the curve of the individual learning new patterns of behavior (p. 52). (One wonders, however, whether the learning curve is ever a parabola of the type here used.) He also explains culture as a psychosocial process, which it truly is. He develops this idea for several pages on the basis of review and criticism of other theories. This theory is, however, very general, and tells in general terms why human beings have culture and animals do not (p. 70). But it seems to the reviewer rather too general to give much specific aid in explaining for instance why one people has a particular type of culture rather than another, why cultural phenomena of one century are different from those of another. Perhaps he will write again on this subject and take up for fuller considerations these and other such questions, as the extent that specific cultures are dictated by original nature, the relation of culture to inherited instinctive tendencies, and to what extent a culture is to be accounted for by previous cultural history and to what extent by psychological factors, whether psychology or history explains more satisfactorily diffusion and independent origin of inventions.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Applied Economics: The Application of Economic Principles to the Problems of Economic Life.* By RAYMOND T. BYE and WILLIAM W. HEWETT. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. Pp. vi+655.

In 1924 Professor Bye published a text entitled *Principles of Economics*. The book was a conventional and undistinguished but reasonably adequate restatement of the so-called classic doctrine. The present volume, prepared in co-operation with Professor Hewett, is an application of the principles to the problems of economic life. The book is a miscel-

lany. The various chapters deal with rather a wide range of topics, selected, apparently, on the basis of current interest.

It would not be in place here to discuss in detail the facts presented and the conclusions drawn. The treatment runs on a common-sense level, and each chapter would require separate treatment. There is an absence of common ground that would make general comment profitable or possible. A significant criticism of the book must deal with its nature rather than with its content. Its fundamental and fatal fallacy lies in the failure to observe a simple distinction between scientific problems and problems of the social order.

The first step in the methodological procedure of any science is the abstraction of its proper object matter from the complex reality of which it is a part. The processes and relationships conceptually abstracted from the concrete reality are examined and manipulated in isolation—apart from the other natural processes by which they are conditioned, and apart from the concrete reality through which they get expression—and their behavior described and reconstructed. The ultimate desideratum is a scientific law; that is, an abstract, idealized, generalized statement of relationship that does not correspond exactly to any body of fact in the objective universe. Such a scientific law has of course no immediate application to the complex reality of daily life: it is valid in the realm of abstraction only. Its generality and validity and value lie just in this lack of correspondence.

Economics is presumably a theoretical science that undertakes an analysis of the economic processes. But the economic processes do not exist independent of and apart from the other processes of reality. The initial step therefore is the isolation of its proper object matter. Then follows an examination of the abstracted relationships and the formulation of generalizations in terms of the abstraction. So far as economic theory aspires to rank as science it is concerned with exactly this task of formulating a body of abstract and valid generalization.

Any problem of concrete social reality is a complex of relationships that does not fall within the orbit of interest of any one scientific discipline. The relationships are unified on the basis of the immediate situation in which it is necessary to act. No one single science furnishes the information necessary to the solution of any significant, practical, social problem. Consequently there is no possibility of an applied social science of any description. Every practical problem involves many processes. Immigration, to take a random illustration, is a practical problem. It is a part of the concrete social reality. Any competent consideration of immigration involves questions of race, of mentality, of personality, of social

heritage, of economic, political, and social status, and other facts and conditions. Consideration of policy or practice in regard to it must utilize the findings of half a dozen or more scientific disciplines. But immigration as such is not a scientific problem at all. The same thing is true in regard to any practical problem.

There is no "applied economics" for the reason that there is no group of practical problems for which economic science furnishes all the principles and information necessary for a solution. The economic elements are of major importance in certain problems and they are an important phase of many problems. The economic elements may, of course, be abstracted and considered apart. But when this is done it is not the practical problem that is under consideration. The conclusions arrived at may have significance for economic theory, but it is a serious error to assume that they furnish a solution for the complex practical problem. Public finance is perhaps the nearest approach to an applied economics. But taxation, consciously or naïvely, is a method of redistributing income, and it involves the functions and processes of government. That is to say, it is a social problem any adequate treatment of which will bring to bear the pertinent findings, not alone of economics, but also of psychology, ethics, political science, and other related disciplines.

Science is not immediately concerned with the gross and confusing problems of daily experience. It is an effort to reveal underlying principles. This requires an analytic separation of related processes from the web of human relations. A social problem always raises the question of how to do something. Such a problem requires for its solution the utilization of the findings of the various sciences that undertake the analysis of this segment of reality. The organization and integration of the various scientific techniques and principles that aid in the solution of a certain type of practical problem is a technology. The solution of problems of the social order depends upon the perfecting of adequate technologies. The only way in which an "applied economics" can be defended is by taking the position that theoretical economics is the only and all-inclusive social science.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

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*Das Dorf als soziales Gebilde. Heft I. Der Beiträge zur Beziehungslehre.* Herausgegeben von LEOPOLD VON WIESE. München und Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker und Humblot, 1928. Pp. viii+89. RM. 6.

If more of these supplementary issues to the Cologne sociological journal follow the one now under review, and if more fruitful classification of relationships and their interaction develops through similar studies, it seems likely that von Wiese's methodology, laid down in his work on general sociology (*Soziologie als Beziehungslehre*), will be proved productive and of explanatory value (in the "How?" sense), which is the cardinal test any method or system must meet, no matter how logically self-consistent and otherwise plausible it may be.

Elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal* appears an article, "Sargasso Iceberg," which makes use of much of the material found in this symposium, a symposium which is a product of a seminar in rural sociology at the University of Cologne. In the spring of 1927, during the Easter holidays, von Wiese's seminar, of which the writer was a member, journeyed to a group of little villages in the vicinity of Kreuznach, near the Saar province, there to study intensively the relationships obtaining in village life. There were about thirty students, scattered among eighteen or twenty villages. The study had been carefully prepared for by instruction in the seminar sessions of the preceding month or six weeks, and each student knew what was expected of him. Each had a question-schedule, which was intended more as a guide than for actual use in interviews, etc. After three or four days of study, the whole group came together for an exchange of experiences and for mapping out the remainder of the time available. The meeting was a sort of glorified seminar session, with several pastors, some children of peasant families, and others present. The gathering proved intensely stimulating and instructive, and we all went back to our villages resolved to make the most of the time remaining. When we returned to Cologne, several seminar periods were spent in going over the material, and then a group of students were delegated by Professor von Wiese to work up the common fund of material under the following headings, although he took upon himself the task of writing the introductory chapter: i, "The Problem of a Sociology of the Village"; ii, "Extra-Sociological Bases"; iii, "Person and Individuality"; iv, "The Neighbor-Relationship"; v, "Categorical and Personal Distance"; vi, "Attitudes and Modes of Behavior"; vii, "Family Relationships; Sexual Relationships"; viii, "The Village as a Life-Community"; ix, "Toward a Bibliography of the Village as a Social Plurality-Pattern."

Chapters i, iv, v, and vii are perhaps the best, if any must be singled out. The bibliography is good, especially in organization, and in general it may be said that the method used "panned out." Wherever there seems some doubt as to the relevance of the material or the treatment, the re-

viewer has reserved judgment in view of the fact that it is a student symposium and that the part of von Wiese's sociology to which this study directly applies is not yet published. It will appear in April or May as the *Gebildelehre*, complement to the *Beziehungslehre* (see Small's favorable review of the latter in the *Journal*, XXXI, 87-89).

All in all, one must say that the followers of Simmel have here given some instances of "getting down to cases" which should prove suggestive and illuminating.

HOWARD BECKER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Problems of the Family.* By WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL. New York: Century Co., 1928. Pp. x+474. \$3.50.

This recent addition to Ross's series is partly a summary of the author's earlier work and partly an expansion of the last two or three chapters of that volume. It is frankly a textbook and not an original contribution to new knowledge. Only about one-fifth of the book is given to the evolutionary or historic aspects of the family. The author's intention was evidently to emphasize contemporary domestic problems. Nevertheless the space devoted to the primitive family appears too slight to carry out the author's expressly stated purpose to gain, through the study of the family institution in its historical evolution, help for understanding and appreciating the enormous importance of the family in ancient and modern civilization.

Space allotted to current problems of the family reveals the author's turn of mind. For example, the topic "women" occupies the largest amount of space in the index and is obviously uppermost in the author's mind at all times. She is sympathetic to careers for trained women; she criticizes attacks on women's colleges as sink holes for marriage; she is soundly conservative on divorce and the permanence of monogamy. Problems like prostitution, illegitimacy, and marital relations are discussed in the plainest language. There is an excellent section on working mothers and public aid to mothers, and a fair-minded discussion of birth control in all its aspects. The section on unemployment for the family is sketchy. Here and there exaggeration occurs: for example, a characterization of the factory system as at first, a "gigantic monster devouring men, women, and children." Feministic bias appears occasionally, as, for example, the dogmatic statement that more divorces for adultery are granted to husbands than to wives "because women are slower than men

to reveal the unfaithfulness of their mates." References to important contributions to family literature like those of Margold, Wilfred Lay, and Mowrer are conspicuously absent.

The author's method is largely exposition through analysis and statistics, with a proper balancing of pros and cons on most of the problems. Much greater vividness would have been attained by the addition of a few well-selected cases of family behavior, such, for example, as Miss Van Waters or Mrs. Wembridge could have contributed.

The author reveals her essential liberalism in accepting the prospective permanence of family life while at the same time sketching out the reforms in law, economics, and education which would make for more successful family life. The closing sentences of the volume give the keynote to the whole: "This family of the future may combine the unity and permanence of the old-time family with sympathetic comradeship and deep emotional satisfactions that give joy to life and in which too often the family relations of the past were lacking. Not authority, but comprehending love, will prove the cement of the family that is to be."

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*Contemporary Economic Thought.* By PAUL T. HOMAN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1928. Pp. x+468.

While so-called gateway or orientation courses in the social sciences are of undoubted value at the beginning of a college student's course, integration courses toward the end are of at least equal value. Without bearing any such implication either in its title or in the arrangement of its material, Professor Homan's book serves such an integrating purpose. It is a series of personal studies embodying the points of view, methods, and conclusions of five major economists selected with the idea of presenting as many sides as possible of diversities in current economic theory. Apparently the five men selected, namely, J. B. Clark, Veblen, Alfred Marshall, J. A. Hobson, and Wesley Mitchell, were chosen because they illustrated a wider diversity of thought than any other economists in the English or American group. Of necessity, then, the author's approach had to be eclectic and in the nature of an enveloping strategy. Every reader will be inclined to resent the omission of outstanding economists like Pigou, Pareto, Schmoller, Sombart, Schumpeter, and Gide, but the author frankly admits that he was arbitrary in picking his five men to suit his particular purposes. The sociologist will be interested in the book chiefly be-

cause of the manifest growing solidarity between economics, psychology, and sociology. The institutional approach and the resulting integration of the social sciences is clear in nearly every one of the five cases studied by Professor Homan. It appears in J. B. Clark's use of Spencer's organic theory, in Veblen's instinct psychology and his institutionalism; Marshall also appears as an organicist; Mitchell reveals the fine hand of McDougall, Thorndike, Graham Wallas, and the behaviorists; Hobson, the economic theorist of the middle class, takes his point of departure from the field of practical sociology or social reform. Mitchell's loose definition of economics as "a science of human behavior engaged in examining the structure and functioning of the institutions through which economic activity takes place" sounds strangely sociological in both content and terminology. Perhaps it is the perception of these cross-winds of psychology and sociology that brings Professor Homan to consider what he calls "the present *impasse*" in economics. In any event, apparently the same movement is going on within economics with which we are familiar in sociology, namely, the getting away from the search for sweeping generalizations and the turning of our energies toward "finding by what chain of circumstances our present institutions came into being, how they at present work in detail, whither they are carrying us, and by what means and to what ends we can direct their future development." All in all, this work is to be commended as an excellent cross-section of current economic science and as a bit of sound, scholarly exposition.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*Source Book for Social Psychology.* By KIMBALL YOUNG. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. Pp. 844. \$4.25.

This source book on social psychology is composed of 228 selections arranged in six parts with a total of twenty-five chapters. Each chapter has a short introduction by the author, a selected bibliography, and assignments for classroom work. The whole occupies 844 pages, including an index. The utility of its get-up is therefore of the approved manner.

As to the nature of the contents, it may be said that the scope is extensive: social behavior, original nature, the learning process, personality studies, group psychology, social attitudes, leadership, prestige, crowds and collective action, public opinion, etc. In fact the selections are from almost every field that could lay claim to being called social psychology. I should have included more material from abnormal psy-

chology (there are some selections from this field, bearing largely on personality), but this is my particular bias. It is quite open to question how much abnormal behavior may be a part of the study of social psychology. My guess is that more and more of such material will be used in social psychology.

Some readers will think Professor Young's selections are of such a range as to make his book a source book for sociology rather than for social psychology. Indeed, I have several times heard such comment. This is an interesting question. Certainly to many sociology is group behavior, and hence a psychology. But it seems to the reviewer that sociology is much broader and deals with culture which may include little or no psychology. Professor Young's view is that "the social process deals with three variables—social groups, culture patterns, and individual organisms: Social psychology treats largely the first of these; sociology, the second; and physiology and psychology, the third."

Others who think the scope of the book is too broad are probably adherents of some particular view or school with a passion for consistency and unity. Professor Young seems to ride no particular hobby. What is social psychology? It is largely unmade as yet, and it cannot be said what its future will be. Perhaps as good an answer as any is that social psychology is what the social psychologists are doing (and not any particular one).

This collection of readings does have more of a sociological air than a psychological, which seems to me as it should be. For the social-psychological behavior of individuals must be described largely in cultural rather than in psychological terms, if done well. On the other hand, very few of the readings have a scientific air. Records of experiment or of accurate measurement are rare in the collection. This is most certainly due to the status of the science, and let us hope to its youth. On the other hand the readings are generally very interesting.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*History of the First International.* By G. M. STEKLOFF. Translated from the Russian by EDEN and CEDAR PAUL. New York: International Publishers, 1928. Pp. xi+463. \$3.50.

The present work is the most comprehensive, though not the most voluminous, history of the First International yet published. The previous writers on the subject, Postgate, Dutt, Guillaume, and Jaekkh, are

all incomplete or unsatisfactory in some other respect, and Stekloff's book may be regarded as the definitive history of the most extensive program of social regeneration ever contemplated by any institution except the Christian church.

It must be remembered that there never existed any organization calling itself the First International. The title, naturally, was coined by a subsequent generation. However, it is a name almost universally used in referring to the body which called itself the International Workingmen's Association.

The book is in two parts. Part I is devoted to the forerunners of the International, being detailed about Chartism and subsequent movements up to the founding of the I. W. A. in London in 1864. It carries the history through the various international congresses down to and including the Hague Congress; that is, to the end of the year 1872. The most important matter in this section is the ideological struggle between Marx and Bakunin for leadership in the movement.

Part II deals with the history of the period subsequent to the split at the Hague. It follows the Marxist International down to its disbanding in Philadelphia in 1876. It then takes up the Bakuninist or Anarchist International, which, after the demise of the Marxist International, called itself the International Workingmen's Association down to its own death in 1881.

Numerous and complete reference notes are printed at the end of the volume. There is a good bibliography, which, however, lacks certain items available in the American Bureau of Industrial Relations at Madison, Wisconsin, and in the Crerar Library in Chicago. To these Stekloff has not had access. The Index, so necessary in a work of this sort, seems to be complete as to page references but important headings are not always sufficiently subdivided. An Appendix gives the Address, Preamble, and Provisional Rules of the International Workingmen's Association and the names of the Central Provisional Council.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

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*The Inquiring Mind.* By ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928. Pp. x+276. \$2.50.

In this volume the author of *Freedom of Speech* has brought together a somewhat motley collection of popular essays and book reviews dealing chiefly with liberty of discussion, sedition laws, and various phases of the

relation of the individual and of dissenting minorities to state authority. Many of the articles were originally published in the *American Mercury*, the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, the *Harvard Law Review*, the *New York World*, and the *New York Evening Post*. The topics range from "Freedom of Speech and States' Rights" to "The British Empire." Despite the variety of themes, a groundwork is laid in the opening essay, "The Inquiring Mind," which provides a measure of unity for the rest of the book. Only through an abundance of inquiring minds among the masses of the people, the author maintains, can the baffling problems of American democracy be solved. The question "How can we generate inquiring minds?" is not asked. Professor Chafee, true to his legalistic training and interest, is absorbed with the juridical framework and constitutional limits within which the "inquiring mind" is to have scope to function, not with the problem of how social intelligence may be created and lethargic publics stimulated into resourceful action.

Freedom of speech, it is often said, is the one thing on which all fair men can agree. Professor Chafee is its able champion, and his views as here expressed will meet the approval of all liberals. But it is a mistake to suppose, as liberals sometimes do, that resting and preserving legal bulwarks to safeguard liberty of discussion will automatically bring about, in good season, an order in which "inquiring minds" will prevail. Such bulwarks serve to minimize the friction and violence accompanying social movement; they do not forthwith elevate them to a rational plane.

The *Milwaukee Leader* case, the California I.W.W. injunction, the Gitlow case, the railway shop strike injunction of 1922, and others treated have significance not only in their relation to civil liberties but also as manifestations of social movements, conflicts, the processes of public opinion. Had the author chosen to view them in the latter, as well as in the former, context, this book would hold more interest for students of society.

CARROLL D. CLARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*America and the New Poland.* By H. H. FISHER, with the collaboration of SIDNEY BROOKS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. xxviii+403. \$3.50.

This book will interest many sociologists.

For one thing, here is a fairly detailed description of how nationalism and the nationalistic sentiment has developed in Poland. In the first part

the author tells the story of the development of Polish nationalism, of the early nationhood of Poland, of its later partition and its disintegration as a political entity; and then of the emergence of nationalistic sentiment, first among the nobility and latterly among the folk, of the fight for national autonomy, the struggle during the World War, and of the final emergence of Poland as a political state and self-conscious nation.

One gets insight into the characteristic of a nationality group suffering from an "oppression psychosis"—its sensitivity, its ethnocentrism, its high estimate of its own values such as language, religion, literature, and history, its hypersensitive attitude toward its critics, and its serious and solemn view of its rôle and destiny, coupled with the tendencies toward factional strife, internal dissensions, and conflicts.

A further basis for sociological interest in the volume is that it describes concretely a social order in chaos, confusion, and disorganization.

During the war Poland was disorganized. The social order was disturbed by the misery of the masses, the conflict of classes, and the war between the Poles and the minority groups, chief of which were the Jews. These conflicts were intensified and complicated by the almost complete disorganization of industry and commerce.

The second part of the volume is an interesting description of the emergence of Poland as a relatively stable society. The story of how Poland was given first aid financially and economically and of the revictualization of the country, the feeding of the children, and the fight against disease are told in detail.

The book is well written and readable. It has a carefully selected bibliography and an index.

W. O. BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

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*Constructive Citizenship.* By L. P. JACKS. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1928. Pp. viii+300. \$2.00.

The genial editor of the *Hibbert Journal* not only is wise but has the added virtue of being able to express his wisdom felicitously. This present volume contains the course of Stevenson Lectures on Citizenship delivered at the University of Glasgow a year ago. Every young sociologist ought to read it as an antidote, on the one hand, to "the silly cult of happiness," and on the other to the jaundiced social pathology of Veblen, Bertrand Russell, and other despairing critics of modern industrial civili-

zation. While Jacks is not blind to certain losses through modern industrialism (such as lost personal skill), yet he finds those losses more than compensated for by certain virtues of industrialism such as co-operation, good will, "unforced willingness," and fiduciary institutions. In rejecting a program originating in despair he supports a program of constructive meliorism, basing it upon the enormous fund of vitality in the social organism and expressing it "in terms of giving impulse to goods rather than in terms of putting 'stops' to evils." That is, his program calls for the improvement of industrial civilization and character instead of destroying them. The conditions for a high civilization include the greatest skill of the greatest number, the manifestation of social valor, co-operation, and long-range thinking. Such a civilization is possible "only on the condition that the whole body of the citizens, and not a section of them only, are willing to share in the labor of maintaining it, in the high tensions created by the forces that would pull it down. If we look upon our citizenship as merely entitling us to a share of the good things that happen to be going, we are taking sides with the forces that retard the progress of the human race. Progress means that you are extending the sense of responsibility to those who lacked it before, and are deepening it in those who have it already."

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*American Inquisitors.* A Commentary on Dayton and Chicago.

By WALTER LIPPMANN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928.

Pp. viii+120. \$1.25.

Walter Lippmann has in these lectures forsaken the standpoint of the analyst of public opinion and furnished us with a document to be perused by the student of this phenomenon. He has undertaken to evaluate the keenest rationalizations which may be invented to justify the cases of those who want to prevent public money from being spent for anything but patriotic and religious fundamentalism. Socrates, Jefferson, Bryan, and a school-teacher talk it over, and the upshot is that Mr. Lippmann (in person, having doffed the Socratic disguise) says, "Whoever the sovereign, the program of liberty is to deprive him of arbitrary and absolute power. In our age the power of majorities tends to become arbitrary and absolute. And therefore it may well be that to limit the power of majorities, to dispute their moral authority, to deflect their impact, to dissolve their force, is now the most important task of those who care for

liberty." He wants the school-teachers to understand the nature of the transitional stage through which we are passing.

Thus does Mr. Lippmann editorialize. The world may be the richer in maxims of political ethics if Lippmann continues in this vein; it surely will be poorer in understanding of the obscure processes which are working upon the body politic, and which in times past he has helped to illuminate.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Sovereignty. A Study of a Contemporary Political Notion.* By PAUL W. WARD. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1928. Pp. vi+201.

This monograph is an excellent example of how the spirit of John Dewey has permeated the minds of the oncoming generation of political theorists. Dr. Ward handles sovereignty as a concept which has played important rôles in successive phases of western European culture. After a succinct and scholarly résumé of the pertinent material comes not a rigorous defense of some more or less novel re-definition of the concept—as one would have anticipated from the last and all previous generations—but a statement that the word ought to be dropped. It is so encumbered with propagandist connotations, so full of absolutistic innuendo, that it ought to be scrapped in the interest of experimental thinking about the results of organizing authority in different ways in various situations.

If there is any objection to be raised against Dr. Ward's little book, it is that its historical summary hasn't much news for the technical scholar, and that its concluding appeal has been made in general terms by many others since Dewey himself began making the point. What's wanted now is a contribution to the creative problem of transforming Dewey's instrumentalist position into something more than a convenient method of burning over the ground and ridding it of old underbrush.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*A Financial History of the American Automobile Industry.* By LAWRENCE H. SELTZER, PH.D. (Associate Professor of Economics and Sociology, College of the City of Detroit). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928. Pp. xxii+297. \$3.00.

This book, like the two that have recently been offered by Seligman and Epstein, analyzes a phase of automobile economy.

According to our author, economic theory, in its enthusiasm for theoretical uniformity and consistency, has often escaped from the more empirical channels cut by some of the classical economists (see p. 237) in the use of such concepts as "capital," "risk," and "profits." It is therefore pertinent to test these concepts by empirical studies of the actual processes that can be observed in contemporary industry. The specific question which he has put is therefore: "Given the existing organization of industry, and given a new important product, how have the producers of this product come to command the resources for its extensive production?"

After establishing a setting by sketching the history of the automobile industry with some of its social and economic implications, the author proceeds to detail the financial history of eight of the more prominent companies, with especial detail in the case of the Ford and General Motors Corporation. He finds that, although the automobile was a new product, it was new only in the sense that it assembled in a new combination techniques which already existed in other industries, notably, the manufacture of carriages, sewing machines, and guns. These and other facts cited tend to challenge some of the easy generalizations which have been current concerning the general principles of the mobility of capital.

Without engaging in a criticism of the economic principles involved, it is only necessary to say that to the sociologist as such this book is of analogical rather than immediate interest and value. It is above all an illustration of the trend toward the study of concrete processes and situations.

JOHN H. MUELLER

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

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*Race and Civilization.* By FRIEDRICH HERTZ. London: Kegan Paul, 1928. Pp. xii+328. 18s. net.

This is a book which admirably illustrates the lack of working contacts and of co-ordination between American and European scholars. It treats of the same subject as Professor Hankins' *The Racial Basis of Civilization*. Not only does it treat the same subject and cite many of the same authorities, but it reaches exactly similar conclusions. Moreover, the German edition of the book was published in the same year as Dr. Hankins' book. Yet Dr. Hertz knew nothing of Dr. Hankins' work, and Dr. Hankins apparently knew nothing of Dr. Hertz's. The English edi-

tion was published early in 1928 by Kegan Paul in London and by the Macmillan Company in New York. The translation is excellent and easily readable. The whole social problem of racial inequalities and contacts is treated illuminatingly with the same detachment and scientific spirit which pervades Professor Hankins' work. While the two books in a way supplement each other, yet one cannot but regret that there is such entire lack of co-ordination and contact between men working along similar lines in different countries. I might add that Dr. Hertz is a councilor in the foreign office of the Austrian government. I found him with his table piled high with American periodicals and books. Yet he had not heard of Dr. Hankins' work. He was quite familiar, however, with the works of our Nordic enthusiasts, such as Lothrop Stoddard and the rest. The English translation is included in the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

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*The Grain Trade during the World War.* By FRANK M. SURFACE.  
New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. xxviii+679. \$6.00.

While it may be claimed that the grain trade during the war was in an abnormal state, one gleans from the factual account in the book under consideration that it offers a sort of laboratory experiment for studies of much more imaginative nature into the organization of the world for trade. Every laboratory experiment presents an abnormal state, or at least an extraordinary state. The war-time grain market was peculiar in that demand was assured for all grain produced, in the United States and Canada, at least. On the basis of this unlimited demand, supported by practically unlimited credit behind the buyers, a monopolistic control was instituted by the government. This control took the form of establishing certainty at every possible link in the distribution chain. Given an established price for No. 1 Northern Spring Wheat at Chicago, the grain market of the world was stabilized around that one index. In the period of uncertainty preceding the establishment of this control, according to the account, every link in the elaborate chain demanded a higher profit to protect itself against the exigencies of the morrow. With certainty given, this margin was reduced to a minimum at every point. It is further of interest that while there may have been the threat of police control back of it all, the actual device used for control was simply that of price.

The author, himself economist to the United States Grain Corporation, has presented in various appendixes the documents and other official data of the administration. The book is primarily a narrative.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

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*The People of the Twilight.* By DIAMOND JENNESS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. x+247. \$3.00.

*The People of the Twilight* is the story of an anthropologist's life among the Eskimos of the Arctic coast, a story clear in its simplicity and one passing before the reader's eye with the speed and vividness of a motion picture. Dr. Jenness, who gives us his personal narrative, is an outstanding ethnologist, one who has experienced the problems and adventure of engaging in scientific research among primitive peoples in the Melanesian islands of the South Pacific, as well as on our northern littoral.

The book has the happy quality of expressing a man's emotional reactions to the Arctic environment in such a way that the question of sincerity never rises to the reader's mind, a consideration too often demanded by Arctic literature when men, suffering from fierce emotional drives, determine to build for the reader the picture of a segregated fragment of the universe which has the effect of being either supremely treacherous for the wandering Nordic, or too friendly. Dr. Jenness lived for several years among the Eskimos of the vicinity of Coronation Gulf, being adopted as a son into a native family with whom he lived for an entire year. His travels and hardships with these people, the development of a mutual understanding culminating in his farewell to his friends for whose future safety he fears because of the dangers of an encroaching civilization, gives us one of the most sympathetic stories which have come out of the North. The drawings by Claude Johnson lend a further attraction to this volume.

C. B. OSGOOD

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*The Social Theories of L. T. Hobhouse.* By HUGH CARTER, PH.D. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1927. Pp. ix+137. Price, \$1.50.

This is the story of how a vigorous, rationalist, philosophic mind, dissatisfied with the current misinterpretations of evolutionary theories, turned to a factual examination of the evolutionary process itself and its bearing on human progress and political liberalism. Dr. Carter follows

somewhat the chronological method and begins his analysis with Hobhouse's studies of mind in evolution and then proceeds along to his more recent work on morals in evolution. He points out that the main reason why Hobhouse is not better known in the United States is that his work is usually identified with the field of philosophy, and concludes that his greatest contribution is in the field of social ethics. On the whole, this study is slight in content and outlook compared, for example, with Spykman's volume on Simmel. It reveals an honest, faithful reading and analysis of Hobhouse's writings, but with no trace of the style, for example, made popular by Maurois, Strachey, and others, or the literary quality of such a recent work as Dr. Phelan's *Social Philosophy of William Morris*. The author shows some critical judgment, for example, on the abuse of the comparative method, on Hobhouse's overemphasis of man's rationality, his acceptance of the McDougall instinct psychology, and his dichotomizing human motives. The bibliography is adequate, particularly in its inclusion of weighted reviews of the writings of Hobhouse. But in such a work as this the omission of an index is a capital offense.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*Economic History of Europe in Modern Times.* By MELVIN H. KNIGHT, HARRY ELMER BARNES, and FELIX FLUGEL. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1928. Pp. xii+257-808. \$3.75.

The account here given of the various commercial and industrial revolutions differs from the ordinary accounts in a number of respects. One of the most important is the organization of the material about the conception that these so-called revolutions consist in a single series of changes in relation to a world-market. Apart from the staple value of a well-written account of the chief economic developments of modern times, it is worth our while to read an account from this particular point of view. The emphasis is on the relationships of trading communities to one another. The industrial revolution in a given country is not considered as something in itself, but as part of a process which proceeds in each country in different ways and at different times, to be sure, but not in isolation.

Considerable mention is made of the rôle of the joint-stock company in modern commerce and industry. The joint-stock company movement coincides with a change from trade in the form of occasional adventure voyages undertaken by a small group to a regular succession of voyages

backed by a large number of people. The individual voyage and the individual lender became lost in the stream of commerce and a flow of depersonalized credit.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

McGILL UNIVERSITY

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*The Tendency of History.* By HENRY ADAMS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. iv+175. \$1.50.

This volume is a reprint of part of the *Degeneration of the Democratic Dogma*, published in 1919. Without any introduction or explanation, three chapters have been taken verbatim from the original book and printed separately. It is hard to see why this has been done. The parent volume was not large and the present truncated portion is difficult to understand when separated from the rest. The three chapters in the present book present the dilemma that bothered Adams in constructing a philosophy of history. Natural science, says Adams, teaches that the universe is running down—is tending toward a condition of coldness and death. Social science, on the contrary, teaches, or assumes, an endless development, progress, or evolution toward a better condition. Adams wishes to smash this last idea and so reconcile the teaching of social science with that of natural science.

The dilemma is not quite so evident today. It would seem that evidence exists, or at least is suspected to exist, of a process opposite to that toward maximum entropy. In other words, the physical world is suspected of regenerating itself—at least in some degree—at the same time that it is degenerating. There may be two processes at work instead of only one as Adams believed.

However, the real criticism of Adams runs to the effect that his dilemma, even though it exists, is millions of years in the future. Whether, after millions of years, this world is to be a frozen desert or a terrestrial paradise, is a matter too remote and speculative for either physical or social scientists to bother about.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE

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*Essai d'introduction critique à l'étude de l'économie primitive. Les théories de K. Buecher et l'ethnologie moderne.* By O. LEROY. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925. Pp. xii+136. Fr. 20.

The statement of primitive economics made by Karl Bücher has been the accepted formulation now for a generation, despite its obvious short-

comings. Again and again scholars have subjected it to careful examination and have pronounced it inaccurate and untrustworthy. But it has been difficult to diminish its esteem. Perhaps this is because it is a general survey of the sort that fits in with the old-fashioned, but still current, doctrines of social evolution.

Leroy has once more undertaken the task of demolishing the whole picture, the entire evolutionary scheme, built up by Bücher from a large assortment of facts, misshaped by the preconceptions of the time.

The art of understanding Bücher it appears, is to invert him. Leroy takes up in some detail Bücher's treatment of various aspects of primitive economic life—property, egoism, the division of labor, trade, the domestication of animals, and social structure—in its relation to economic endeavor. He shows how Bücher misunderstood the nature of the problems and the facts of the case, and was so hampered by his preconceptions that even when he was right (and on some points he was) he reached his conclusions erroneously.

The book is little more than a detailed criticism of Bücher. The more difficult task of restating the problems of reconstruction, he does not attempt.

MAURICE GREER SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

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*Sozialpsychologie im Auslande.* By L. H. AD. GECK. Berlin: Ferd. Dummlers, 1928. Pp. viii+120. M. 4.50.

To read all the literature in a growing discipline like social psychology is difficult, particularly when so much is written in foreign languages and is not easily accessible. To meet this situation Dr. Geck has endeavored to present, for the benefit of his German colleagues, the state of social psychology in countries other than Germany. Predominant attention is given to the United States, England, France, and Italy. The procedure is very simple: to present brief selections from the writings of leading social psychologists, with a very scanty interpolation by Dr. Geck. Nothing is done in the way of evaluation or critical comparison. The treatment of the authors is by no means properly weighted; for instance, a very inadequate discussion is given to Cooley, Thomas, and Mead in the American section. Not all important writers are included. One misses Hobhouse in the English group; in the French group, Davy, Blondel, Halbwachs, Mauss, Ouy; in the American group, Balz, Weiss, Washburn. Despite these shortcomings the book presents an accurate, if

not detailed, picture of social psychology in non-German lands, and should prove to be quite valuable as a reference work.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Health and Wealth. A Survey of the Economics of World Health.*

By LOUIS I. DUBLIN, PH.D. (Statistician, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company). New York: Harper & Bros., 1928. Pp. xvi+361.

This volume is a series of fifteen essays dealing with the various aspects of public health. Dr. Dublin himself gives an accurate characterization of these essays: "They trace the recent trends in the principal diseases and conditions and outline the possibility of prolonging human life. In addition they consider a number of important demographic problems such as the vitality of our race stocks, the development of the family, the rate of natural increase, and other aspects of the population question. Through them all runs the thread of the economic value of human life" (p. vi).

The following topics receive treatment in the book: the economics of world health, the cost of medical service, the cost of neglecting the health of children, problems of heart disease and tuberculosis, the chance of death from cancer, old age, the American family, the true rate of natural increase, birth control and the population problem, the education of women for homemaking and careers, the population problem among Negroes, the health of workers, prohibition and public health, and the possibility of prolonging human life.

Each of the problems discussed is buttressed with a mass of verified statistical data, interpreted with lucidity and insight. Students of the Negro will find the essay on "Life, Death, and the Negro" of special interest.

W. O. BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Campus: A Study of Contemporary Undergraduate Life in the American University.* By ROBERT COOLEY ANGELL. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1928. Pp. xiii+239. \$2.50.

American sociology has had its principal sources in our universities, but curiously few serious sociological studies of American university life have appeared. Few sociologists have applied their science to the interpretation of the social milieu closest to hand. Professor Angell ventures

where others have not dared, and produces a sociological interpretation of university life based upon his own experience as undergraduate and teacher.

His aim is to present a "sympathetic" but "truly scientific investigation" of a limited phase of American university life. Student life in the colleges and graduate schools is eliminated from the field of the study. In fact, the book is a study of the undergraduate life at the University of Michigan. It contains fine insights, but seems to suffer from two fallacies, the fallacy of the familiar and the fallacy of the personal, which appear to limit the rigorous application of sociological technique to the investigation of the more important and the less obvious phases of student life.

The book is a useful contribution to a field in which much sociological work remains to be done.

MARTIN HAYES BICKHAM

WILMETTE, ILLINOIS

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*Industry and Politics.* By RIGHT HON. SIR ALFRED MOND, BART., LL.D., M.P. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1927. Pp. 337.

This volume of speeches and opinions represents to a certain extent the industrial and political biography of a "convinced and sincere individualist." It includes a series of discussions in the field of trade, currency, industry, unemployment, and the land question. Since Sir Alfred Mond left the Liberal party because of Lloyd George's "Socialistic program," one is not surprised to find a strong statement of what he considers Socialism really to be and why it must fail. Incidentally, he brands Guild Socialism as far worse than orthodox State Socialism. All types of Socialism must fail, he thinks, because you can nationalize capital but not ability; you can have no freedom of the press; you must invoke conscription of labor as well as limitation of population. These are old familiar arguments, of course, but the régime of bolshevism has given them a new mintage. The American reader will be particularly interested in the chapters on unemployment, copartnership, arbitration, and the application of science to industry.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*Employee Stock Purchase in the United States.* New York: National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., 1928. Pp. xi+245.

In the main this work presents a history and a survey of its field. The author expresses what appear to the reviewer as the soundest and

most careful opinions yet made in a work on employee stock ownership, namely, that no amount of individual stock ownership would bring about any significant change in the relation of capital and labor. The collective action of labor concerns itself, not with management, but with wages and hours. The individual employee may partake of the capitalistic spirit by reason of clipping an occasional coupon; but experience does not show that he therefore ceases to be a wage-earner in fact and spirit. Just what the much-touted diffusion of ownership of the securities of corporations signifies is not altogether clear. It seems usually to result from a definite campaign initiated by the corporation management itself. As to control, the author suggests that increase in the number of small stockholders may even serve to concentrate control in the hands of the few remaining large stockholders. At any rate the whole matter is an interesting credit phenomenon, and is probably most significant in that connection.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

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*Culture and Social Progress.* By JOSEPH KIRK FOLSOM. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. Pp. xii+558.

This is a textbook designed for use in elementary college courses in sociology. Like many of its competitors, there is to be found in its chapters considerable attention to questions of an ethical and practical character. This is perhaps what is expected of the first course in sociology in many institutions, and certainly helps to make a course interesting to beginners. It may be argued, however, that it is a mistake to introduce students to sociology by presenting it as an ethical science. Similarly, one might raise the perennial question whether "progress" is a sociological problem. Certainly progress is a much-discussed theme, and it is equally certain that the way to make the discussion of progress as scientific as may be is to study progress as cultural change.

The most valuable feature of this book is the remarkably clear elementary statement of a psychological theory of the mechanism of culture transmission which the writer has formulated for his opening chapters. The volume is provided with various teaching helps in the form of questions for discussion and reports, a bibliography, and special suggestions for supplementary readings which may be assigned with only a limited shelf of books available for the purpose.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

*Birth-Control and Eugenics in the Light of Fundamental Ethical Principles.* By CHARLES P. BRUEHL. New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc. Pp. iv+249. \$2.25.

This book purports to deal with birth control and eugenics in the light of fundamental ethical principles. These ethical principles are the traditional biases of the Catholic clergy. The treatment is an unenlightened and somewhat intemperate condemnation of certain scientific conclusions, personal practices, and public policies not in harmony with the Catholic doctrine. Granting the point of view, the task is poorly executed. The presentation gives no reason to believe that the author is able to distinguish between eugenics and social hygiene, or that he understands the relation of either to either the practice or the propaganda of birth control. The book is without literary merit; it is blatant, repetitious, diffuse, and unorganized. The only value or interest it has is as a document in the study of isolation in the modern world. It shows the incredibly extreme position into which the human mind can maneuver itself when it is prepossessed with, and operates on, the basis of magical premises.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

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*Creation by Evolution.* A Consensus of Present-Day Knowledge as Set Forth by Leading Authorities in Non-Technical Language That All May Understand. Edited by FRANCES MASON. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. 392. \$5.00.

This volume is a collection of essays presenting in a simple and non-technical way some of the evidence in support of the evolutionary hypothesis. It is not intended for a scholarly audience. The essays contain nothing that has not been said previously and been said better by the same men. The volume is notable chiefly because of the group of eminent English and American scholars who were induced to contribute to it. There are essays by David Starr Jordan, Herbert Spencer Jennings, G. Elliot Smith, C. Lloyd Morgan, and other equally well-known men. The essays, without being inaccurate, are brief, inadequate, and written down to the level of a relatively illiterate audience. The editorial work is not competently done: there is a considerable amount of unnecessary repetition. The book-making is fair; the index is adequate.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

*Forest Folklore, Mythology, and Romance.* By ALEXANDER PORTEOUS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. 319.

The author presents here a mass of folklore and folk stories dealing with forests and taken from a number of varied sources. He has a feeling for the poetry, the mystery, the romantic aspects of his subject, but little for the social significance. One impression that one gets from the book is that in any indigenous culture, bound closely to the soil, every object, every stone, every hillock and tree is so intimately known that it tends to acquire a personality of its own. Folk tales about natural objects seem to disappear, not only with the growth of science, but also with the growth of mobility.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

CHICAGO

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*Stammering: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation.* By ISADOR H. CORIAT, M.D. New York and Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1928. Pp. viii+68.

In this monograph the claim is made that "stammering is not a speech defect, but a psychoneurosis." The stammerer is one who is orally erotic. "He chews the words and luxuriates in their sounds, and this prolonged oral possession tends to annihilate the word through compulsive repetition in the sucking and biting of syllables" (p. 10). The pleasure experienced is like that experienced in suckling; stammering is then a regression to the earliest level of childhood—"the persistence of the infantile libido in the form of oral eroticism." Treatment consists in establishing a proper relation between the oral libido development and the ego development.

*The American and German University. One Hundred Years of History.* By CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING, President Emeritus of Western Reserve University and Adelbert College. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. vi+238. \$2.25.

The student of our academic heritage cannot well ignore this volume. Here we have told in a fascinating manner the story of the American student in the German university. In the last one hundred years there have been ten thousand of these students. Dr. Thwing describes these students, their interests, ambitions, and work. The German university as an institution and the personalities and methods of the great teachers are interestingly described. American students, entering, as most of them did, the teaching profession have diffused a knowledge of German methods of work and teaching, and academic ideals, in the United States, and profoundly influenced the character of American education.

*The Religious Development of Adolescents.* By OSKAR KUPKY. Translated by WILLIAM CLARK TROW. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. x+138.

This volume is of interest to sociologists chiefly as an exhibit of a method of investigation—the method of using the spontaneous writings of individuals

as a source of information concerning their ideas and sentiments. The author has made use of diaries, autobiographies, and literary efforts of other kinds written by adolescents in a study of their religious experiences and the resulting transformation of ideas. Dr. Kupky takes for granted the essential validity of religious belief as defined by moderate theologians, and seeks to demonstrate on the basis of his materials that, for "the religious youth," at any rate, religious development "ends in the conviction that inner tranquillity comes solely by yielding to God." The process of religious development in the individual is, however, as our author shows, conditioned by the social and cultural environment.

*England and America. Rivals in the American Revolution.* By CLAUDE H. VAN TYNE, Head of the Department of History, University of Michigan. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. xii+192.

Here is history written with insight, a sense of humor, and literary charm. Professor Van Tyne sketches in these lectures delivered to English audiences the bases of the revolutionary struggle and the rôle that the various groups among the combatants played in this struggle.

Incidentally, certain oft-punctured folk myths such as the unanimity of the Colonists' support of the revolution, the self-sacrifice of the colonial soldiery and merchants, and the dramatic nature of the revolutionary struggle are again exploded. But of course no one believes that this book or others like it will destroy the folk faith in the folk myths—particularly not in these latter days when the religion of nationalism is in flower.

*La Philosophie Morale de Josiah Royce. Essai sur l'idéalisme sociale aux Etats-Unis d'Amerique.* By MOSES JUDAH ARONSON. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1927. Pp. xvi+185. Paper, Fr. 25.

Doctor Aronson appears to have been successful in bringing together in concise form several such contributions to general sociology found here and there in the philosophical writings of Royce. Such, for example, is his description of the community as the product of a historical process (pp. 134-38). Of similar value is Royce's description of a "community" as a group of those who have a common purpose, that is, who are devoted to a common cause.

Any sociologist who is not overfamiliar with the voluminous writings of Royce may spend a profitable hour or two reading the eighty pages comprised in Part II of this little essay.

*Economic Institutions.* By WILLARD L. THORP. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. 306. \$1.50.

An exposition of modern American economic activity, written in English simple enough for a Hearst paper, yet with the caution of a scholar. A very good popular account.

# RECENT LITERATURE

## ABSTRACTS

The abstracts and bibliography in this issue were prepared under the direction of a member of the editorial staff by C. D. Clark, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., B. W. Doyle, T. C. McCormick, and E. V. Stonequist, of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago. Each abstract is numbered at end according to the classification in the January and July issues of the *Journal*.

### I. PERSONALITY: THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE PERSON

**Are There Any Native Emotions?**—Experimental work has never established the hypothesis that our emotional reactions are discriminable as distinct visceral reaction patterns corresponding to traditional names. On the contrary, we may entertain the possibility that there are no native patterns of visceral reactions, but that the patterning is acquired. On this conception, man is not born with definite patternings of his visceral responses worthy of being called distinct emotions. The most that he has in this direction are certain tissues, organs, and organ-systems capable of interacting in complicated ways. "Emotional" and "emotions" will still have validity and use in psychological description as generic terms, but "emotions" as visceral pattern reactions may survive only as socially determined constructs.—J. T. Dashiell, *Psychological Review*, XXXV (July, 1928), 319-27. (I, 2, 4.) T. C. McC.

**The Genealogy of a Drive for Illegitimate Heterosexual Relations.**—In this case of a young male adult the origin of the drive for illegitimate sex relations proved to be the desire to return to the emotional state of dependence on his mother which he had enjoyed previous to weaning. The act of nursing was an early symbol of this state of dependence. Later in the life of the person there was a repression of this symbol and a substitution of a drive toward illegitimate sex acts. In all other similar cases analyzed since the one in question, the same general pattern was disclosed. Sex as disclosed in these cases appears to be merely a cover for infantile drives which have become unacceptable to the growing child because they are infantile. These true infantile drives have no connection during early infancy with real sexuality except that they concern parts of the body which later develop sex functions.—F. W. Dersheimer, *The Psychoanalytic Review*, XV (April, 1928), 152-61. (I, 2, 4; IX, 5.) L. S. C.

**A Biochemical Approach to the Study of Personality.**—The chemical determinations in this study were made at the University of Chicago in 1925-26, and at the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, in 1926-27. The subjects were 39 undergraduate and 18 graduate men at the University of Chicago, and 303 children who passed through the behavior clinic of the Institute. Personality ratings included good-naturedness, perseverance, leadership, aggressiveness, and excitability. Correlation coefficients between .20 and .30 were found between chemical determinations and personality traits as follows: (1) acid excretions and lack of excitability; (2) submissiveness and larger amounts of acid excreted, with alkali reserve of the blood; (3) excitability and lack of creatinine. The results justify further experimentation.—Gilbert J. Rich, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII (July-September, 1928), 158-75. (I, 2, 4.) T. C. McC.

**The Erethitic and Kolytic and Their Relation to the Processes of Excitation and Inhibition.**—The processes of excitation and inhibition produce excitatory or *erethitic*, inhibitory or *kolytic*, psychological types, based on the predominance of

one or the other of these functions. (There is also a mixed type, representing a balance of the functions.) These two types have been observed both among human beings and among dogs (Pavlov). The functions of excitation and inhibition are no doubt closely related to chemical, glandular, and metabolic activities of an obscure constitutional nature, but are increased by use and habit formation. The pathological extremes of these two types are the mania and the melancholia. The general trend of the erethitics is toward expression, and they are accessible and sociable. The kolytics are restrained and reserved. The types of Jordan, Jung, and Kretschmer may be explained by erethitic and kolytic tendencies.—J. Ramsay Hunt, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII (July–September, 1928), 176–81. (I, 2, 4.)  
T. C. McC.

**The Incest Taboos.**—No taboo, however ridiculous, lacks its generous supply of wholly unempirical justifications. Analysis shows that in the case of the incest taboo the explanation cannot lie in any intellectual process. Again, an anti-incest instinct as cause of an incest taboo is its own refutation. The housemate situation cannot account for this taboo, for many tribal customs contradict it. Moreover, Freud finds no natural instinct against incestuous behavior, but the opposite condition; and he is supported by the reflex-conditioning theory of modern psychology. We must finally ask, What is there in human behavior and in the family situation to make the adults object to incest? Apes have no natural aversion against incest, but each mate jealously resists it. The apes show us our own emotional behavior without the superimposed conventions. Once we look upon our customs as the product of common human behavior elements we are on the road to understanding them.—George B. Vetter, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII (July–September, 1928), 232–40. (I, 2.)  
T. C. McC.

**Some Compensatory Mechanisms of the Negro.**—Over 5,000 children, white and Negro, checked from a list of play activities those in which they had engaged the preceding week. Data were secured in three Kansas cities, on three different dates, and care was taken to get a fair sample. It was found that young Negro boys participated in boxing much more than did white boys. This is explained on social grounds. Boxing is one of the few fields in which the Negro can compete with the white on approximately equal terms. The frequent success of Negroes in amateur and professional boxing is not due to inherent physical superiority. It is easier to explain in terms of compensatory drive. Denied other fields of achievement and glory, boxing symbolizes mastery and recognition to the Negro.—Harvey C. Lehman and Paul A. Witty, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII (April–June, 1928), 28–37. (I, 2, 4; VI, 4.)  
T. C. McC.

**Play Interests as Evidence of Sex Differences in Aesthetic Appreciation.**—Over 5,000 children in four Kansas towns were asked to check from a list of 200 play activities those in which they had voluntarily engaged during the preceding week. This was done on three different dates. Only two activities of an aesthetic nature were more commonly participated in by boys than by girls, whereas twenty such activities were more frequently engaged in by the girls. Burk's and Miner's studies support these findings. Aesthetic appreciation is displayed by girls more frequently than by boys in (1) collection interests, (2) work interests, and (3) play interests. Santayana, Langfeld, and Buermeyer agree that appreciation of art is to a large extent the outcome of sublimated desire. Girls engage in fewer activities than do boys, and in more activities within or near the home. Girls are more supervised and protected than are boys. These forces operate to effect a greater need for sublimation of desire in girls. Hence the greater general aesthetic appreciation on the part of girls. It may be that women react less violently than men to thwarting. Cannon found that male cats are more restive when fastened than are females. The present writers have shown that girls are able to endure monotonous situations in their play behavior which would prove unendurable to boys. Thorndike concludes that only 38 per cent of men reach or exceed the median woman in patience. But in some instances thwarting of males inevitably occurs. When it does and the circumstances are favorable, the result may be genuine artistic creation. This may be one factor

explaining the rarity of aesthetic achievement of a high order among women.—H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty, *American Journal of Psychology*, XL (July, 1928), 449-57. (I, 2, 3, 4; IX, 4.) T. C. McC.

**The Relation of Physical Constitution to General Intelligence, Social Intelligence, and Emotional Instability.**—Studies show that the pyknic or macrosplanchnic type tends toward circular or manic-depressive insanity and that the asthenic or microsplanchnic tends toward dementia praecox or schizophrenia. Also it seems probable that the pyknic is more unreserved emotionally than the asthenic. The present experiment investigates the relation of physique (i.e., morphologic index and Ht/Wt ratio) to (1) general intelligence, (2) emotional instability, and (3) social intelligence. (a) Anthropometric measurements were taken from the photographs of 221 Columbia College Freshmen and used to calculate a morphologic index based upon that of Naccarati. These indices, together with the Ht/Wt ratios of the same group, were then correlated with the Thorndike Intelligence Examination scores made by 206, with the Social Intelligence Test scores made by 123, and with the Woodworth Personal Data Sheet scores made by 151 members of the group. (b) Small and unreliable correlations ranging from .05 and .10 (for Ht/Wt) and from -.05 and .07 (for M.I.) were obtained between Ht/Wt, M.I., and the other three variables. (c) The correlation between Ht/Wt and Social Intelligence Test might be curvilinear if calculated from a larger and less highly selected group.—H. E. Garrett and W. M. Kellogg, *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, XI (April, 1928), 113-29. (I, 2, 4; IX, 1, 2.) T. C. McC.

**The Relation of the Intelligence of Preschool Children to the Occupation of Their Fathers.**—In a study of children of preschool age recently made at the University of Minnesota Institute of Child Welfare, a group of 380 children, equally divided as to sex, and all between 18 and 54 months old, were given the Kuhlman Revision of the Binet tests twice, at an interval of six weeks. Both examinations show a steady decrease in the average I.Q. of the children as we go down the scale of paternal occupations. These findings were compared with the results reported in three other investigations: the Barr Scale values using the frequencies reported for the city of Minneapolis in the 1920 census, the distribution of Alpha scores for the white draft, and Haggerty and Nash's study of elementary school children in New York state, excluding the farming group. The five curves show a general similarity which is surprising. It is not easy to understand how home conditions could serve as a handicap to the two-year-old who is judged upon the basis of his response to such simple commands as "Throw the ball to me"; his ability to name simple objects, or to draw a rough circle with considerable help. The fact that children of different social classes show as great differences in their performance of these extremely simple tasks as they afterward manifest in regard to the relatively complex problems of later life affords strong evidence that the underlying factors are non-cumulative in their relative effect upon mental development, and lends support to the theory that under ordinary conditions of modern life, variations in mental growth are more directly dependent upon innate factors than upon differences in post-natal opportunity or stimulation.—Florence L. Goodenough, *American Journal of Psychology*, XL (April, 1928), 284-94. (I, 2, 3, 4; IX, 2.) T. C. McC.

**Intelligence as the Capacity for Variability or Versatility of Response.**—Our purpose is to consider a definition that may put intelligence in its place in systematic psychology. It is proposed to define intelligence as capacity for variability or versatility of response. Intelligence means more mistakes as well as more successful responses. This definition is comprehensive of the factors involved in intelligence without including those which do not belong to it. It avoids the assumptions of teleology. It saves us from the doubtful statement that the more intelligent individual is better adapted than the less intelligent. The definition is independent of practical norms and results of the intelligence tests now in use. It is harmonious with the facts of biology or neurology. It is applicable in different systems of psychology. Variability or versatility is much more fundamental for our conception of intelli-

gence than has generally been recognized. From the reflex to the intelligent, from the most fixed we pass to the most variable or versatile.—A. S. Edwards, *Psychological Review*, XXXV (May, 1928), 198-210. (I, 2.) T. C. McC.

The Illusion of Race.—The appearance of an English translation of Friedrich Hertz's *Race and Civilization* (Kegan Paul) is a welcome testimony to its influence in educating opinion on a long misguided problem. It supplies a guide through the whole mass of modern scientific and pseudo-scientific literature bearing on the race problem. Superficial and unscientific generalizations on race characters have been so fully in possession of the field that even good ethnologists have heedlessly manufactured and exploited them, standard historians having led the way. Yet the dogma of unchangeable mental differences in races was rejected alike by Herder, Alexander von Humboldt, Darwin, Huxley, Buckle, Spencer, De Quatrefages, Waitz, Ratzel, Virchow, and Réclus. It is the *littérateurs* and flag-historians, from Gobineau to Lamprecht, who have built up the pseudo-scientific creed. Under scrutiny, the thesis that "purity of race" is the secret of national success, and that the decay of nations has been the fruit of race mixtures, breaks down. In place of homogeneous Aryans, Semites, Teutons, and Celts, there emerge endlessly varying amalgamations of stocks. Differences between jarring nationalities are not properly ascribed to racial character, but rather to differences of political habit, cultural association, language, literature, and historic memory.—J. M. Robertson, *Contemporary Review*, CXXXIV (July, 1928), 28-33. (I, 2; IV, 2.) C. D. C.

Schoolroom Hazards to the Mental Health of Children.—The emphasis on speed in our commercial and industrial life has its effects on our educational process. Today the overemphasis on speed in learning and recital is making for poorer scholarship and slower learning. Speed tests and stop watches should be abolished from the classroom and used only in the experimental laboratories and clinics. An atmosphere of calm and a comfortable situation should obtain in which the pupil will be allowed to find his own speed. Smaller class groups, less factual information to be memorized, greater amount of individual instruction, and more study of individual pupils are recommendations to be heeded by educational experts.—G. C. Meyers, *Mental Hygiene*, XII (January, 1928), 18-24. (I, 3.) L. S. C.

A Study of Play in Relation to Intelligence.—The Lehman Play Quiz was administered to more than 6,000 children in Grades III-XI of the public schools of Kansas City, Missouri. Intelligence test scores were obtained from the files of the city schools. To study the relationship between I.Q. and type of activity interest, two groups, each containing 71 boys, and two groups, each containing 66 girls, were selected. There were sufficient numbers in the control groups to yield fairly representative results. The three groups included respectively (1) children having I.Q.'s of 93 or less, (2) children having I.Q.'s of 94-106 inclusive, and (3) children having I.Q.'s of 107 or above. The following discoveries were made: (1) the bright pupils participate in slightly fewer activities of a motor type than do the less bright pupils; (2) the bright pupils participate in more activities which require reading; (3) the bright pupils are less interested in religious activities; (4) the bright pupils have a livelier sense of humor; and (5) the bright pupils are less social in their play. These findings may perhaps be explained as due to compensatory behavior on the part of the less bright pupils.—H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XII (August, 1928), 369-97. (I, 3; VI, 4; IX, 2.) T. C. McC.

Fallacies about the Only Child.—Until recently it was commonly believed that the only child is selfish, spoiled, and so lacking in sociability that he makes adjustments to other children with great difficulty. The earliest study of the only child, published in 1898 by Bohannon, a student of G. Stanley Hall, showed these children to be seriously deficient physically, mentally, nervously, academically, and socially. The results of this study have been widely quoted and are characteristic of the present popular point of view regarding only children. A recent investigation of a group of only children in comparison with a group of other children failed to bear out the usual opinion. Even in generosity and sociability, traits in which only children are supposed to be especially inferior, the overlapping of the two groups was 90 per cent

or more. The greatest difference between the two groups was in self-confidence, 3 per cent of the only children being rated as decidedly more self-confident than other children, and another 24 per cent as somewhat more. An a priori judgment along the lines of popular prejudice may be a source of grave injustice to only children.—Norman Fenton, *New Republic*, LIV (May, 1928), 342-43. (I, 3, 4.) C. D. C.

**A Theory of the Origin of All Conflict and the Mechanism of Psychoanalysis.**—Sex may be thought of as a cover for a drive for power. Organic weakness need not be present in the adult patient. The inferiority feelings out of which develop the drives for power may have originated in childhood when the individual was weak in comparison with other people, especially his parents. He develops phantasies of overcoming the stronger people, and later translates these dreams into innumerable acts which to him symbolize his conquest of them. Negativism is an example. The real drive is not sex. It is the desire for power. In the struggle of the child to secure power over his parents, who react emotionally to retain power over him, he develops a group of dreams, phantasies, and acts which symbolize power for him. These are heavily charged with emotion. This is one side of the conflict. The other is the natural desire in all to grow and be creative without any particular regard for power over others. Ability to develop creative activity and play life's game in one's own way would dispel feelings of inferiority and resolve conflicts. This happens when the patient discovers that the analyst does not react emotionally to him and does not try to maintain power over him. Parents can prevent serious conflicts by not assuming rôles of power and dominance over their children.—F. W. Dershimer, *Psychoanalytic Review*, XV (April, 1928), 162-64. (I, 4; IX, 5.) L. S. C.

**Three Distinctions in the Study of Leaders.**—Leaders were separated from "headmen" by these definitions: A leader has a program and induces others to follow; a headman through ability or prestige attains a position of headship. One hundred and thirty-two people served as subjects, half as leaders and half as followers. There were 20 officers, 20 non-commissioned officers, and 20 privates from the United States Army post at Fort Sheridan, Illinois; 20 criminal leaders and 20 criminal followers from the state penitentiary at Joliet, Illinois; and 16 student leaders and 16 student followers from the University of Chicago. All leaders were chosen because of their outstanding leadership qualities; the followers were chosen because of their outstanding traits of submission. Twenty-eight psychological tests were given these subjects in a standard fashion. These tests differentiate between leaders and followers in the same situation, and show that leaders in the four different situations do not possess a single trait in common. This amounts to a demonstration that leadership is a function of a definite situation and that we cannot talk about leadership traits in general.—W. H. Cowley, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII (July-September, 1928), 144-57. (I, 4, 2; IX, 2.) T. C. McC.

**A Test for Ascendancy-Submission.**—Each person may be said to have both an ascendant and a submissive integration, usually of unequal force. Statistically, these two traits may be measured in reference to a single linear scale. The method of the present test is to present verbally certain situations of life, and to require the subject to select that type of behavior which most nearly characterizes his own usual adjustment to them. The form for men was given to a group of 400 college students, and the form for women to 200 college students. For each student five ratings were obtained, one by self and four by associates. The criterion was taken to be the average of the five ratings. The reliabilities seem to indicate that the test measures with fair consistency some constant factor in personality. The study does not support the sharp division made by many writers between "leaders" and "followers." It also seems that neither Spencer nor Bagehot is correct in considering "supremacy" and "subordination" as social forces.—Gordon W. Allport, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII (July-September, 1928), 118-36. (I, 4, 2; IX, 2.) T. C. McC.

**A Psychology of Asceticism.**—An ascetic may be such because of his ideology, or in response to social suggestion. A person may also become an ascetic through (1) a feeling of inadequacy to the demands of life, (2) a world-phobia, manifested

by a tendency toward flight from the world-life, and (3) an immersion of the self in a fantastic world. The obsessive moralizing of the ascetic has for its purpose the thwarting of inner tendencies that are regarded as sinful; it is perhaps the outcome of his lack of confidence in his ability to exercise self-control. Note how he avenges himself on those who effected a superior adaptation to the world: these are denied admittance to his heaven. The ascetic is engaged in continual warfare against his sexual impulses. The conflict is irritating and exhausting. Mental peace then becomes a great desideratum. It is sought to gain this peace by purging the environment of all sexual stimuli. The tortuous character of the thinking and the manifest predilection for the expenditure of energy on frivolous theological questions and quibbles are both suggestive of the obsessive thinking of the compulsion neurosis.—Arnold H. Kamiat, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII (July–September, 1928), 223–31. (I, 4; VIII, 4.)  
T. C. McC.

**Critical Analysis and the Worship Attitude.**—Does the critical attitude, fostered by scientific training, render impossible participation in church worship? An analysis of the concepts of worship and of criticism, made on the basis of the contributions of various prominent students, shows that the two attitudes have much in common. Thus, the attitude of worship involves certain elements of detachment and reasoning. Students of aesthetics stress the significance of critical understanding for appreciation of art. The intelligent worshiper must be able to accept the general position for which the creed stands. This presupposes an analytical examination and a critical comparison in the process of worshipful participation. On the other hand, some elements of the attitude of worshipful participation appear in all scientific, critical discussion. There is always an uncriticized area of agreement; ideas are influenced by the milieu; research is full of "happy inspirations"; and even the severely exact terminology of science retains "a subtle emotional coloring, and the most abstract signs have some degree of personal reference." In short, both attitudes should be harmonized in worship, so that one will reinforce and enrich the other.—Edwin E. Aubrey, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII (July–September, 1928), 204–22. (I, 4.)  
T. C. McC.

**The Cause and Prevention of Neuroses.**—A normal person has three great motives. The first is to mix with the others. The second is to have a useful occupation. The third is to unite with someone of the opposite sex. Only lack of self-confidence and courage leads to failure in attaining these objectives. Whether the general attitude throughout life is confident or inferior depends on the equipment and occurrences in childhood. Three situations cause an inferior attitude to develop. Where a child faces unusual difficulties, such as organic deficiencies, he acquires a sense of inferiority. Where a child is "spoiled," he does not develop independence. The hated child feels that he must justify himself by shining in the highest sphere, and to do this he restricts his environment. Abnormal attitudes like these can be prevented. Avoid spoiling the child, and safeguard any physical defects. The first aim should be to build self-confidence. A psychopathic adult must have frank handling. Seek to strengthen his courage. If he is shown that his symptoms spring solely from such social causes as the foregoing, his personality will be changed.—Alfred Adler, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIII (April–June, 1928), 4–11. (I, 4, 3; VIII, 4.)  
T. C. McC.

**Thought, Feeling, Will in the Individual and in Social Function.**—The prevailing conception of mind holds that in any mental state we find the following elements: (1) awareness of a change in our sensations, thoughts, or circumstances; (2) feeling of pleasure or pain regarding the change, and (3) action or conation. This is a survival of the faculty theory, and seems unsatisfactory in various ways. Every integral progress of consciousness consists of at least two phases, the reception of a stimulus (impression), and of reaction thereto (self-expression). Will or self-determination is a third phase which is intermediate between the receptive and reactive phases in processes involving conflict. The receptive phase comprises experience (consciousness of maladjustment to the situation) and attendant affect. The reactive phase consists of appetite (or conation) and endeavor to affect the necessary adjustment. Interest includes both affect and appetite. Conflict is never be-

tween reason and feeling, but between interest and interest. The view that the special sphere of thought, art of feeling, practical life of volition is wrong. Art no less than science appeals to reason, for its whole power truth, while science makes an emotional appeal equal to, though different of art.—P. J. Hughesdon, *Sociological Review*, XX (July, 1928), 213-22.

**Intuition.**—Whenever we find ourselves in possession of some striking edge without knowing how we have come by it we are tempted to call it intuition or an inspiration, or even a revelation. A careful examination of such phenomena reveals (1) that they take place only after a period of work; (2) that they do not come to the mind with all the details worked out; (3) that they are not discoveries just as remarkable are made more frequently by continuing (5) that solutions in the form of inspiration come to problems which have finally dismissed, but which have remained "in the back of the mind"; and such solutions do not transcend the capacity of the persons who make the misrepresentation of thought to picture it as proceeding in a straightforward interrupted movement. Conscious processes are full of stops, of breaks, and forward leaps. There is no valid reason for separating "inspiration" from thinking.—James Henry Leuba, *Forum*, LXXIX (May, 1928), 694-704.

**The Development of Diverse Patterns of Behavior among Children of the Same Family.**—At birth a child does not have a world in which to live. It is the first world in which the child will normally live, and it has to be through experience. A child is born with a large amount of undefined activity; as this undefined activity is defined, certain objects in the social heritage take on meaning and become a part of the social world of the individual, and attitudes are integrated into the personality for the development of human nature. Members of the family are defined as objects in terms of the response he thinks he can get from them. He discovers his rôle, defined through the attitudes of others. The mutual attitudes define the rôle of each member, and each member gets recognition on the basis of the rôle he plays. Changes in behavior patterns occur when rôles are redefined.—Lawrence G. Brown, *Family*, IX (April, 1928), 35-39. (I, 4.)

### III. PEOPLES AND CULTURAL GROUPS

**Agricultural Magic.**—The history of agriculture, like that of most other sciences, has been a series of experiments and discoveries, with belief upon apparent results. In the absence of mechanical aids to experiment means of recording facts, efforts to improve conditions were crude and intertwined with magical rites. Mystical ceremonies were performed to secure good crops, avert hail, and regulate production. Among the earliest beliefs was the corn spirit, a mystical being considered to reside in the last sheaf of grain. Most numerous agricultural festivals were celebrated at planting and harvest, such as Plow Monday in England, Shrove Tuesday in various parts of Europe, fire-festivals to avert witchcraft, blight, mildew, and pests in the British Isles, Scandinavia, and Germany. Any selection of examples of magic shows a trend in the mental processes through which humanity has passed on its civilization. The various groups gained their beliefs from false inferences and accidental happenings. Even today many false practices in agriculture are being replaced by scientific knowledge.—Grace M. Zeigler, *Scientific Monthly* (July, 1928), 69-76. (III, 1.)

**L'évolution des mœurs (The Evolution of Customs).**—This book by Richard criticizes the Durkheim conception of morality for its vagueness and for the method employed and the results obtained. According to Richard there should be no speculation in the study of social ethics. The latter should be based on disciplines as the history of customs and archeology for knowledge about behavior and the external constitution of society, and upon the history of science, religions, and linguistics for the study of states of consciousness. It is an attempt to reconstruct the evolution of customs from some supposed primitive

but go patiently back from the present to the past by a regressive method. By thus making a series of amputations and retrenchments something equivalent to experimentation would be secured, so far as this is possible. He then applies this method to a study of domestic customs and interfamilial relations and finds that the refinement of custom is exactly correlative with transformations in the relations of hospitality between domestic groups. At the same time religion ceases to be a demonology associated with magical beliefs. The history of customs throws light upon individual morality also. The sentiment of human dignity has its historical antecedent in the sentiment of honor. Moral and social evolution as a whole is characterized by a double process of increasing integration and of functional differentiation. Morals are not only duties, but also licenses or indulgences granted by the common conscience: as a result we have diversity. Morality demands that conscience tend to harmonize with itself and with other consciences, but this tendency is never completely realized. The history of philosophy and of religions shows this tendency at work. But if the evolution of ethics is linked with that of religion it is not necessary to conclude that the sentiment of duty derives from belief in the sacred or taboo. At this point Richard energetically points out the uncertainties of Durkheimian totemism. The science of morals frees us from a kind of historical fatalism and substitutes for sociological monism a pluralism giving meaning to effort and co-operation.—Review by Émile Duprat, *Revue Philosophique*, LIII (January–February, 1928), 156–57. (III, 1, 6.) E. V. S.

**Leadership in Central and Southern Australia.**—That the state is co-existent with society and that there has always been some form of authority is becoming an accepted tenet of anthropologists and sociologists. The primitive state is a force which controls, regulates, and organizes tribal life. The leader is one organ through which this force functions. The type of leadership is moulded by the social organization. Whether the leader is a warrior, a magician, a wise old man, or a despotic king will depend on the social structure. Early travelers and missionaries argued that the Australian aborigines had no government, no authority, and yet described how the old men exercised power. No ceremony or council meeting is ever started except by their initiative. Warriors and rich men are not leaders because neither war nor property is important in Australian activities and social organization. Ceremonial performances, based on the Alcheringa traditions, play the leading part in tribal life, and the old men are the only ones who know these myths and can perform the ceremonies. It is because of this specific function that they possess authority that is carried over to other tribal activities.—Hortense Powdermaker, *Economica*, XXIII (July, 1928), 168–90. (III, 1.) C. D. C.

**The Tooth as a Folkloristic Symbol.**—In folklore the tooth is a sexual symbol, standing for both phallus and semen. The loss of a tooth, either accidental or physiological (dentition) or in the form of voluntary mutilation, stands for castration, as punishment for onanism or other sexual perversities. Toothache symbolizes threatened castration; it is guarded against by measures which "make good" for the crime to be punished, by means of a symbolical performance of the normal sexual act with the aim of fecundation. The incest motive and bisexual fantasies again and again recur in the analysis of dental folklore.—L. Kanner, *The Psychoanalytic Review*, XV (January, 1928), 37–52. (III, 2; IX, 5.) L. S. C.

**Manchuria, a New Homeland of the Chinese.**—By force of famine, overpopulation, extortion, and terrorism a million Chinese in twelve months have migrated to Manchuria, a movement unprecedented in modern history. In 1923 the influx amounted to 300,000; by 1926 it had doubled; and then came the deluge. Manchuria has received about 3,000,000 immigrants in five years, principally farmers from Shantung province. Until recent years the migration of Chinese to Manchuria had been in the form of a seasonal labor movement. The present *émigrés* go with the intention of permanent settlement. The profound attachment of the Chinese farmer to the ancestral soil could only be broken by a catastrophe. The present famine in Shantung is the severest in recent years, and in addition life and property has been made insecure by bandits and soldiers. The inducements which Manchuria of-

fers to the immigrants are principally those of agriculture, either in labor or in lands. Railway construction and mining offer employment to a few. Ultimately a population in Manchuria predominately Chinese will redound to the political strength of China.—C. Walter Young, *Current History*, XXVIII (July, 1928), 529-36. (III, 4.)

C. D. C.

**New Mexico's Mexicans.**—New Mexico is still bilingual, with about half of its population doing all of its thinking and most of its speaking in Spanish. For that reason the legislative and court proceedings must be done in two languages. The two hundred thousand Spanish-speaking people in the state are not immigrants. They are Americans and have been citizens for three generations. Their ancestors came to New Mexico and established homes three centuries ago, bringing with them the Spanish culture. In 1846 the invading Americans found settled communities with a well-developed social life. The marks of the old civilization remain in the hospitality, courtesy, spirit of play, communal pleasures, consideration for children, and toleration toward those who think differently. In the smaller towns everybody takes part in the religious processions on saints' days, in the games and dances, and in the folk-plays. Unfortunately the United States, in taking over New Mexico, made no provision for the education of the people. Until 1890, when the territory established its public school system, the natives had no opportunity to learn the language of their new country. Only the very young know English, and the race is not yet an integral part of the body politic. Erna Fergusson, *Century*, CXVI (August, 1928), 437-44. (III, 6.)

C. D. C.

**Fundamental Traits of Indian Religions.**—The thought of the East is likely to have an increasing influence on that of the West. In religion and philosophy India appears to promise most. Materialism and Naturalism have found expression in India, but they have been extraordinarily rare. In general Indian religions are not radically pessimistic, but do consider the life of sense and earthly life as inadequate and unsatisfying. Equanimity of mind is a fundamental trait. This must be achieved by the individual; religion can only point the way. The chief method for its achievement is the practice of *Toga*, or inner concentration and contemplation. All Indian religions discount the importance of the finite self of ordinary experience. The path of divine love is the one most attractive to women and the young; while the path of duty or action has received far less attention than the paths of contemplation and devotion. Belief in transmigration or rebirth is also a fundamental trait; and the fundamental law of Karma refers to the enjoyment or suffering of an individual resulting from his own action. The chief ideal of the Indian religions is release from rebirth or from the bondage of Karma. The world is bad only in so far as men are enslaved to it. In Indian literature there is much interesting detailed psychological analysis of the impulses to conduct and the means by which they are to be controlled in order to attain the condition of equanimity.—A. G. Vidgery, *Scientia*, XLIII (March, 1928), 179-90. (III, 6.)

E. V. S.

**Les contraintes sociales dans les castes hindoues (Social Constraint in Hindu Castes).**—The maintenance of the caste régime constitutes one of the characteristic traits of Hindu social life. It exercises a very powerful social constraint by prescriptions and prohibitions which vary from caste to caste but which are all attached to taboos thousands of years old. Even Gandhi dares not pursue his campaign in favor of the "Untouchables." A caste rests upon a mystical affinity before being submitted to a natural heredity. It is a survival of a form of solidarity only slightly evolved, found among so-called primitive societies. Being eminently particularistic, it is perfectly adapted for an arrested type of social life. The caste must be understood in terms of Hindu character, formed, as it has been, by passive adaptation to waves of successive dominations. The moral depression so fundamental in India is to be linked with the climatic factor and the dense population, and the lack of social energy explains the pathological phenomenon of differentiation without integration. Waves of migrations have civilized the Hindu without making him become active: civilization has led him to contemplation and to a partial disillusionment. The internal constraint of the caste has flowed over its frame and become general, thanks to the law according to which prestige leads either to imitation, or, this being impossible, to a veneration varying with the social distance. The fear of excommunica-

tion from the caste is sufficient to secure conformity from the individual. Community of religion has not been effective in securing social integration. The beginnings of social integration may be observed among Hindu leaders who feel themselves menaced by contact with European civilization, who possess humanitarian sentiments, and are not preoccupied with personal purity. For a long time, however, the caste spirit will be an obstacle to their efforts.—G. L. Duprat, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, XXXVI (January-February, 1928), 7-21. (III, 6.) E. V. S.

**The Cultural and Economic Development of Transcaucasia.**—Before the Revolution, Transcaucasia was one of the most backward parts of Russia. Such conquered alien regions were treated as colonial areas which existed to supply raw materials and to buy manufactured goods. The only industries were the mining of manganese and oil. The many peoples of the region were kept divided by racial and religious antagonisms. The Soviet policy is to give self-government to every distinct nationality, hence there exist tiny autonomous republics within the three larger republics of Transcaucasia, viz., Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. An immense cultural and educational work is being attempted. Already 2,348 schools for the elimination of illiteracy among adults have been established. The number of children attending school is 300,000 as against 94,000 under the Tsar. Children are now taught in their own tongue, and all nationalities have their own pedagogical schools to prepare teachers. Students from the factories and villages are prepared for the universities in special temporary institutions known as *rabfacs* which they attend three or four years. The Soviet government is developing this backward area by furnishing its peoples with industries. Even in remote Daghestan a huge glass factory has been built which takes advantage of the volcanic fires near the Caspian Sea. The Baku oilfields have been electrified and modern American machinery installed. Evidence of industrial progress is patent, and in the national pride in these achievements, racial enmities are forgotten.—Freda Utley, *Contemporary Review*, CXXXIII (March, 1928), 354-60. (III, 3; VII, 1, 2.)

#### IV. CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION GROUPS

**Caste in America.**—Two of the most important characteristics of the Age of Democracy are its belief in differences of ability and its total disbelief in differences of state of being. The state of being of a man depends on the location of the inward center from which he rules the manifold manifestations of his life. All leadership that ever stood the pragmatic test had its *raison d'être* in the existence of such a superior ruling center. For being acts on being exactly as any force acts on another belonging to the same plane. In America the whole social structure has been based on the assumption that men are born equal under all circumstances and that all differences of quality can be accounted for in terms of ability. The middle-class type of man, who does not represent any very definite state of being, predominates in the United States. The democratic prejudice left woman out of the picture. Accordingly, the truth that there are different states of being found here its outlet. Every American man instinctively admits that woman represents a higher state of being. Women actually represent in America a higher caste.—Herman Keyserling, *Forum*, LXXX (July, 1928), 103-6. (IV, 1, 3.) C. D. C.

**American Labor's Improved Status since 1914.**—Taking into account both increased wage rates in dollars and diminished purchasing power of the dollar, organized labor between 1913 and 1928 has improved its position 40-50 per cent. According to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, taking 1913 as a base, the index number for union rates of wages per hour in 1927 is 259.5, while the index for living costs for the same year is 172.7. On the whole, industry in the United States offers more stable employment now than before the World War. Distribution is still unequal, some 10 per cent of the population receiving 40 per cent of the national income, but such disparities are not increasing. The first reason for the great improvement in the condition of labor is its enormous increase in productivity. The second reason is the relative scarcity of labor, due to the temporary cessation of European immigration during the World War, and the restriction by the quota system since.—Edward T. Devine, *Current History*, XXVIII (August, 1928), 804-9. (IV, 1; VII, 1.) C. D. C.

India in 1928.—One cannot compare the India today with the India of 1905 without acquiring the conviction that India is moving toward self-government with an irresistible momentum. What counts is not so much the provisions of the constitution, or the powers of governors or viceroys, as the Indianization of the services, the occupation of the highest executive posts by Indians, the assertion of social equality, the ground won in world-commerce, and the power of Indian opinion to make itself respected. In 1905 not a single Indian had ever secured a place in the executive council of any provincial government, while now the Indian element preponderates in all provincial executives. Perhaps the most important result of the Montagu reforms has been to assist the Indian in asserting equal social status. In the large cities the Indian lady is beginning to appear upon the scene, invalidating one old excuse for racial segregation. Even the objection against the Indian's right of entry into a first-class railway compartment or mail steamer is becoming an anachronism. The future of India depends neither upon the Simon commission nor on the attitude taken by Indian politicians, but rather on the economic condition of the villagers and the ideas which education has been implanting in their minds.—J. T. Gwynn, *Fortnightly Review*, CXXIV (July, 1928), 35-43. (IV, 2; III, 5.)

C. D. C.

The American Negro's New Leaders.—One of the most important phases of the social development of the American Negro is the change in the character of his leadership. Three distinct periods of leadership may be noted. During the first, immediately following emancipation from slavery, the preacher and politician dominated the black masses. The second period was inaugurated by Booker T. Washington, whose leadership marked the emergence of an educated and critical minority. The phenomenal decrease in illiteracy, increase in number of college students, urbanization of Negro population, and the influences of the World War are responsible for the appearance of a new leadership. The new leaders are thoroughly educated men with scientifically trained minds. Prominent among them are those active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and several groups of radicals. The new leadership attempts to deal realistically with fundamental problems by making scientific and rational social adjustments. The potential leadership of the Negro newspaper is indicated by the fact that the aggregate circulation of the *Chicago Defender*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, and the *Baltimore Afro-American* approaches one-half million a week. Negro art and business show similar changes in the type of leaders. In the main these changes present a picture of the social differentiation of the growing civilized minority.—E. Franklin Frazier, *Current History*, XXVIII (April, 1928), 56-59. (IV, 2.)

C. D. C.

## V. COMMUNITIES AND TERRITORIAL GROUPS

The Political Equivalent of War.—Pacifists sometimes talk as if they thought war could be abolished by solemn declarations, by a court, a treaty, a league, or by codifying such international law as now exists. But the history of the establishment of peace in civil societies goes to show that any genuine political equivalent of violence must comprise a vast network of legislative, judicial, executive, social, and cultural institutions. International peace is surely no easier to attain than domestic peace. An international régime exists composed of empires and their dominions and colonies, of national sovereignties and their spheres of influence. In the nature of things this international order cannot satisfy the aspirations of all the peoples within it. Therefore at a thousand different points there are conflicts. Because the world is a changing world, the status quo is never very stable, and the conflicts of governments may be regarded as attempts to maintain or alter the status quo. But in the relations of sovereign states there exists no recognized pacific method by which the status quo can be altered; no political method, analogous to party government in domestic affairs, for altering the existing régime. War will not be abolished between the nations until its political equivalent has been created, and this means an international government strong enough to preserve order and wise enough to welcome changes in that order.—Walter Lippmann, *Atlantic Monthly*, CXLII (August, 1928), 181-87. (V, 3; VII, 3.)

C. D. C.

Forces sociales et facteurs géographiques dans la formation d'un état brésilien (Social Forces and Geographical Factors in the Formation of a Brazilian State).—Vidal de la Blache has best defined the relation between man and the earth. Instead of the ancient fatalism of the milieu, it is rather a question of influence. Three socio-geographic laws of opposition and combination are named: (1) When social and racial forces act in the same direction as the geographic possibilities the latter become real and considerable; (2) when social and racial forces are antagonistic to the geographic possibilities two results may follow: (a) the social and racial forces may completely annul the geographic possibilities, or (b) they may result in a new synthesis. Among undeveloped peoples, as in Africa, geographic forces play a capital rôle; in the territories colonized by advanced peoples, social and racial, as well as geographic, forces act powerfully. The South Rio Grande in Brazil illustrates these three laws, particularly the first and the third.—Jorge S. Goulart, *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, XXXVI (January-February, 1928), 51-55. (V, 4.)

E. V. S.

Geopolitische Bindungen und Kraftquellen des faschistischen Italien (Geopolitical Conditions and the Sources of Power of Fascist Italy).—The long coast line of Italy forces contact with the sea and gives rise to a desire to dominate it; the differences in altitude and climate produces differences in the physiological energy of the population, which therefore ranges from the intensely active people of the north to the listless people of the south. These conditions have always played a large part in Italian history, a history now being spoken of by Italians as the history of the first, second, third, and fourth Romes, which are respectively, the Empire, the Church, United Italy, and Fascist Italy. The ambitions of the latter include, as the first step to world-domination, the control of the Mediterranean. But the geographic conditions of Italy remain unchanged and will probably prevent the success of this plan.—Franz Russell, *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, V (April, 1928), 307-13. (V, 4; IV, 2, 3.)

C. M. R.

Autarkie und Weltwirtschaft (Autarchy and World Economy).—The largest geographic divisions of the earth are the American continent, the Europe-Africa complex, and the Asia-Australia grouping. In each of these the geographic conditions permit a natural autarchy. The imperialistic penetration of Central and South America by the United States and the economic invasion of Canada with the accompanying exchanges of raw material and capital is making America less and less dependent upon the rest of the world. The colonization of Africa by Europe has made the former dependent upon the latter, but has not yet freed Europe from its dependence upon relationships with America and Asia. Asia and Australia, due to the lack of unity among the peoples of South Asia and to the political affiliations of Australia, have made no approach to the autarchy possible to this area by geographic conditions. Except these three, no divisions of the earth are capable of attaining an autarchy by other than artificial means. At present all are more or less interdependent.—Hans Hiss, *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, V (April, 1928), 302-6. (V, 4; VII, 1.)

C. M. R.

## VI. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Newspaper Paralysis.—Chain journalism means newspaper paralysis. The independent newspaper has a soul. It is a living, thinking, though oftentimes blundering, being. Its editorials may be weak, its typography poor, its features junk, its style antediluvian, but the independent newspaper is human. Its readers may ridicule it, or wax wroth at its blunderings, but they continue to buy and read it because it mirrors their lives and those of their neighbors. On the other hand, readers of the chain paper know the ideas and opinions expressed on the editorial pages to be sanctioned by the corporation or its hireling. It is accepted for the service it brings in news and features in the same spirit that the gas company is accepted for its service. It is cold, too big a thing to be easily understood, too powerful a thing to be trusted.—George H. Spargo, *North American Review*, CCXXVI (August, 1928, 189-94. (VI, 7.)

C. D. C.

**The Press and International Affairs.**—The newspaper is for millions of people the one and only means of ascertaining what their neighbors in other countries are doing. It is for statesmen and diplomatists the chief means of judging the trend of opinion in foreign countries. The common opinion in Europe is that a large number of newspapers are officially inspired; and the European assumption being what it is, no American or British journalist can write on foreign affairs in any newspaper of standing without running the risk of being thought to be speaking on official inspiration. A casual article quickly improvised may gain a world-wide publicity, far exceeding that obtained by any other item, however sensational, in the same day's paper. Over a considerable part of Europe, payments by foreign governments for the insertion in newspapers of articles favoring their own views have been a normal part of newspaper practice, and are considered by newspaper proprietors to be a legitimate form of revenue. The question cuts deeply into journalistic ethics, but British and American journalists would probably reply in chorus that when the line between acknowledged advertisement and what professes to be disinterested opinion is obliterated, the reader is deceived. The scarcity in all countries of a free-lance press is a very serious fact in the conduct of international affairs.—J. A. Spender, *Yale Review*, XVII (April, 1928), 485-98. (VI, 7.) H. C. G.

## VII. SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE SOCIAL PROCESS

**Le problème ouvrier aux États-Unis (The Labor Problem in the United States).**—This volume of 561 pages by Professor Andre Philip is based on two years of study in the United States, where the author visited over 500 factories and worked as a laborer. The author concludes that the American system of production places a premium upon the worker who is of lower intelligence and skill, possessing less initiative and independence. Studies by Scott show that the turnover of labor is lowest among laborers of less intelligence, as judged by their scholarship records in the public schools. Scientific management requires stupid and submissive workers; the superior strength of the employer tends to result in a social conformity of his making; a specialized technical education discourages individual thinking; the encouragement of sport sublimates the instinct of pugnacity and critical tendencies of the worker; welfare work places him in a state of dependence; moral and religious propaganda effected under the patronage of the employer results in the imposition of his ideals and philosophy. As far as Europe's taking over American scientific management is concerned, three reserves must be considered: (1) The physiological consequences of fatigue; (2) The waste of raw materials which Europe is too poor to afford; (3) The dependence of scientific management upon a large market, which must wait upon European economic unity.—Analysis in *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie*, VIII (January-March, 1928), 207-9. (VII, 1; IV, 1.) E. V. S.

**Progress and Plenty.**—From nearly all the centers of industry last winter came reports of increased unemployment. Advances toward full employment always culminate in a recession of business and loss of a large part of the gain. Prosperity breeds depression. That curse is the indictment of the present order. The old automatic-production-consumption theory is discredited because overproduction overwhelms us time and again. The money distributed to consumers is not rightly adjusted to the flow of consumer's goods. What we need is a planned prosperity, consciously guided. As a first step we must find and disseminate the facts of unemployment and changes in retail prices more promptly and more accurately. The government should display storm signals for business men as freely as it does for mariners. A federal budget board should be created to make reports on business conditions and to advise the government as to the probable effect on economic welfare of taxes, rebates, refunding operations, foreign loans, payment of public debts, increase of wages, construction of public works, and other fiscal matters. The government should borrow and spend money whenever indexes show that the needed flow of money will not come from other sources.—William T. Foster and Waddill Catchings, *Century*, CXVI (July, 1928), 257-68. (VII, 1.) C. D. C.

**Le rôle international de la presse (The International Rôle of the Press).**—Foreign policy has never awakened so much interest as today. The influence of public opinion is therefore all the greater. Public opinion is not the all-wise moral being,

such as the political orator may picture it to be. It is but the consensus of fugitive emotions, the indefinite and uncertain aspirations of a mediocre multitude. Its convictions vary in proportion to its ignorance; its passions flame out of nothing. In war time it can be disciplined and mobilized. The only real guide of public opinion is the press. The habitual reader finds expression and dignity through his newspaper. For him the newspaper is a teacher: it creates and leads opinion; in the last analysis it makes war. The press must become conscious of its rôle and its responsibility. It must improve its personnel through the establishment of schools of journalism, and holding international conferences, and seek sympathetically to interpret foreign nations and peoples to its readers. In this way it can gradually form a public opinion with an international mind—the only final guaranty of world peace.—Georges Lechartier, *L'Esprit International*, II (January, 1928), 46–63. (VII, 3.)

E. V. S.

**Recent Progress in Science.**—During the last thirty years there has been an abatement in the growth of knowledge (pure science), but a marked advance in mechanical skill (applied science). The international storms from which the world is slowly recovering are most unfavorable to intellectual and scientific progress. Invention is an extension of applied science and springs from scientific activities of the past. Many of our greatest recent discoveries and inventions have been made in human sanitation. Sanitative engineering has lengthened the average expectation of life in civilized conditions from thirty-six to fifty years. Progress in medicine has been made along several lines, among the most prominent being the discovery of filterable virus, the extension of surgical skill through anatomical knowledge, and the discovery of insulin, vitamins, and hormones. Amazing advance has been made in aviation and transportation in general, and in various applications of electricity. The solid ground won by research in physics, chemistry, astronomy, and biology is less sensational, but more significant for pure science.—David Starr Jordan, *World Tomorrow*, XI (August, 1928), 334–37. (VII, 4.)

C. D. C.

**Men Versus Machines in the United States.**—In America today every conceivable human service, from rocking a baby's cradle to ploughing a farm, is done by machines. On a given day the entire continental population of 120,000,000 could crowd into its own motor cars and speed off awheel on vast arterial roads. Telephones in the homes, dictaphones in the office, and tractors in the fields all tend to the same goal of human leisure and the higher life. The application of science to industry is more than a religious rite in the United States; it is a passion almost comic in its fierce intensity. But the United States beholds bread lines of distress forming in her city streets, and some four million men out of work. In consequence of the use of machinery, America's productive power has so outstripped its markets that many of the basic industries could turn out in six months more than could be consumed in a year. Meanwhile American genius, far from being dismayed by bread lines and unemployment, will call more and more upon the *deus ex machina* of her imperial and commercial destiny. W. G. Fitzgerald, *Quarterly Review*, 497 (July, 1928), 70–78. (VII, 4; III, 6.)

C. D. C.

**Is Western Civilization in Peril?**—All over the world the thinkers and searchers who scan the horizon of the future are attempting to assess the values of civilization and speculating about its destiny. This quest for moral values works as a dynamic force in the affairs of nations. Civilization includes all the implements, devices, and practices by which men and women lift themselves above savages: the whole economic order, the system of leisure built upon it, and all manifestations of religion, beauty, and appreciation. Our civilization is distinguished from others chiefly by its technological foundation. Science in all its branches is the servant and upholder of the system. Far from shrinking in its influence, modern science, invention, and technology is steadily extending into new areas. Internal revolutions and civil wars have wrecked other civilizations, but analogies drawn from ages previous to technology are largely inapplicable. The triumph of a party dedicated to a return to pre-machine agriculture with its low standards of life is inconceivable. Even future wars, costly as they may prove in blood and treasure, are unlikely to destroy

the population and mechanical equipment of the Western world so extensively that human vitality and science cannot restore and even improve the previous order.—Charles A. Beard, *Harper's*, CLVII (August, 1928), 265-73. (VII, 4.) C. D. C.

**The Negro's Influence as a Voter.**—Barred from the polls in the South, elected to office and in some states a political power in the North, this remains the present anomalous position of the American Negro politically. His influence is chiefly concentrated in those northern and middle western states where the balance is closest between Republicans and Democrats. For many years the Negro has been considered a static fixture in Republican machinery. But many independent colored leaders and numerous Negro newspapers have been insistently urging a more independent use of the ballot. Political patronage is no longer an answer to the Negro's demands for essential justice, and has declined sharply during recent administrations. In the last Cleveland municipal election, by throwing their support to a Democratic sheriff and helping defeat a Republican candidate for governor, Negroes demonstrated that they can no longer be classed as tradition-bound supporters of the Republican party. The gratifying results achieved by such independence has given rise to a new respect for the Negro vote.—Herbert J. Seligman, *Current History*, XXVIII (May, 1928), 230-31. (VII, 3; IV, 2.) C. D. C.

**Woman Citizens of the Soviet Union.**—In October, 1927, the Congress of Women, consisting of 811 woman representatives from local village and town governments throughout the Soviet Union, met at Moscow to consult and take advisory action on problems of special interest to their sex. The international situation of the U.S.S.R., the condition of working women and peasant women, the participation of women in local government, and problems of public health and education were the leading questions on the agenda. More than 150,000 women hold elective office in the local governing soviets of towns and villages. A much larger number serve on commissions of local government participating in the work of health, taxation, social insurance, libraries, and schools. In the discussion of the Congress the sharpest criticisms were directed, not at the central government, but at local backwardness. To stir sluggish local officials to enforce progressive decrees already enacted, rather than the passing of new measures, was recognized as the problem.—Anna Louise Strong, *Asia*, XXVIII (April, 1928), 294-99. (VII, 3.)

**Government by Amateurs.**—There would seem to be a general tendency in the progress of human history to pass from the superstitious to the rational, from half-conscious instinct to deliberate choice, from ignorance to reason, from art to science. Thus the medicine man of the primitive tribe has been replaced by the doctor and surgeon, the wizard and soothsayer by the philosopher and psychologist, and the astrologer by the astronomer. Everywhere the practices of the arts are made to depend more and more on the laws of the sciences, with one remarkable exception. This is in the sphere of the art of governing. In most civilized countries the men who have the chief posts of government are amateurs, without professional training in the science of government. To say that the politician's chief training must always be human nature, studied by observation and practice in public life, is to exclude him from the specialist professions of scientifically skilled men. There is a vast literature in the fields of sociology, economics, political science, and psychology, and these scientists have worked out—with many errors undoubtedly, but with many invaluable results—some of the laws of human behavior. Notwithstanding these possibilities, politicians remain the crudest amateurs who do not know the first principles of their profession.—G. R. Stirling Taylor, *Nineteenth Century*, CIII (May, 1928), 603-12. (VII, 3.) C. D. C.

**Women of the Leisured Classes.**—Women have been given freedom, but not the training, opportunity, and sense of responsibility that would teach them to use that training wisely. Fifty years ago women were regarded as inferior beings, not far removed from a privileged slave class. Since that time they have been partly enfranchised, and have demanded and secured more opportunities of education, business and professional work, and public activities. In 1870 there were only three or four secondary schools for girls in Great Britain; in 1925 there were 1,500, contain-

ing over 200,000 pupils. Whereas there was only one medical woman in 1870, some 1,300 were engaged in that profession in 1925. Women in offices had increased from a scattered few to over 500,000 in that time. Nevertheless the number of idle, useless women has enormously increased during the same period. Families are much smaller, so that the married woman finds home work only a part-time job. The present system of education does not develop in women a social conscience nor prepare them for community responsibilities outside the home. Lady Rhondda, *Century*, CXV (April, 1928), 681-90. (VII, 4.) C. D. C.

Young Germany and the New Youth Movement.—The *Jugendbewegung* is a moral rejuvenescence of the German people. As far back as 1896, Karl Fischer, in a suburb of Berlin, founded a *Wandervogel* for young men. Robert Schumann, a rural school teacher and lover of nature, originated the idea of walking tours in the country for boys and girls. Gradually this form of recreation developed into a philosophy of life, and set its force against the materialism, commercialism, mechanism, and artificiality of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Interrupted by the war, the *Jung* movement was only strengthened by the hardships of the following years. All classes have been imbued with its ideals.—René Juta, *English Review*, CCXXXIII (April, 1928), 445-49. (VII, 4.) C. D. C.

The Paradox of Peace.—War is seldom given its due, and as a result the difficulties of achieving peace are minimized. The fact is never faced that war is only the *force majeure* which is inevitably involved in conflict, and that conflicts are costly whether war is involved or not. Conflicts, even war, are attractive. War possesses a positive quality: devotion and sacrifice supremely ideal. Peace is merely the absence of expected war. It has no virtues or qualities of its own. The outbreak of international war is the occasion for the recasting of all institutional arrangements and the drastic inauguration of a new pattern of economy. The general consequence for the economic system is the swift adoption and spread of technical devices and instruments which have lain unused because of the relative lethargy of peace. In peace we confine our attention to minute, piecemeal reform of our backward social institutions; we temporize and compromise, and the least suggestion of far-reaching change rouses fear. All this is different in war time; no problem then is too big to daunt us, and we show a willingness to change the very foundations of the social order if necessary.—R. G. Tugwell, *New Republic*, LIV (April, 1928), 262-67. (VII, 4.) C. D. C.

Jazzmania.—“Jazzmania” is a term covering the whole territory of modern extravagance, absurdity, exaggeration and distortion of values. While based upon a species of musical technique, “jazz” has become general, fitting almost every abnormality of the age. Our murder trials, welcomes to transatlantic flyers, sports, conventions, best sellers, drama, concert, and operatic stage, elections, charities, painting, architecture, and even our ethics and religion have fallen under the idiom of jazz. The actual process is one of distortion, of rebellion against normalcy. A caricature is a jazz portrait, and a burlesque is jazz drama. “Jazzmania” is the habit of thinking and acting in distorted terms; a manner of life at war with conservative tradition. It is part of human nature to rebel against the orthodox after it becomes hidebound, intolerant, and burdensome. “Jazzmania” is more than a passing fad or the expression of aimless responsibility. Jazz painting and sculpture have become so common that their distortions are accepted as normal. Jazz architecture has not only utility but also a distinctive beauty. Jazz music is the modern folk music of America, having the essential monotony of rhythm, simplicity of melody, neutrality of mode, and spirit of naive improvisation.—Sigmund Spaeth, *North American Review*, CCXXV (May, 1928), 539-44. (VII, 4; III, 6.) C. D. C.

Causes of Racial Decay.—The future of a race depends on the possession of *civic*, in close association with *racial*, worth; that is, on the possession of qualities of mind and body which will enable a people to respond to the good and to resist the bad influences in the environment, together with the capacity to hand on these good qualities to offspring adequate in numbers to perpetuate the race effectively. In the past, inability to resist the enervating affects of luxury have been the beginning of

the fall of civilizations. The life-history of a people is analogous to that of organisms. Specialization and reproductive capacity are in inverse proportions. Hence the great middle classes are the bulwarks of present civilization, the hope of the race.—C. J. Bond, *Eugenics Review*, XX (April, 1928), 5-19. (VII, 4.) H. C. G.

**The Dime Novel.**—The dime novel, in company with herdics and antimacassars, has been dethroned. Diligent search in musty second-hand bookstalls is required to uncover some of the originals of that once famous series, the "Beadle Dime Pocket Library." Orville J. Victor, first Beadle editor, laid down strict rules of morality and a standard of literary excellence which his authors were bound to observe. The federal government shipped Beadle's novels by the train-load to the armies of the North during the Civil War. But the rising tide of competition swept away Victor's tolerable standards of literary dignity. The period between 1870 and 1900 witnessed the rise of the train robber and detective as the rivals of Davy Crockett, Daniel Boone, and Kit Carson in paper-covered fiction. The quality of the "dimes" was lowered until they became flaring atrocities against which pulpit and the polite press leveled their heaviest criticism. In boy literature today, pseudo-science, and the milder Boy Scout and prep-school yarns have supplanted banditry and cattle-rustling. The condensed, intensified action of the movie thriller has been an accessory to the decline of the dime novel. The similarity between the tabloid journal and the dime novel suggests more than an accidental relation between these two forms of literature. The glaring headline of the tabloid and the sensational title of the thriller are closely related in psychological appeal.—Henry Morton Robinson, *Century*, CXVI (May, 1928), 60-67. (VII, 4.) C. D. C.

#### VIII. SOCIAL PATHOLOGY: PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

**State Institution Population Still Increasing.**—A report from the federal Census Bureau covering: (1) a survey of patients with mental diseases covering 30 states; (2) a survey of feeble-minded and epileptic cases covering 36 states; and (3) a report on prisons covering 31 states was taken and the figures compared with those in a similar census taken in 1923. The comparison indicates that the population of institutions for social deviates is increasing. Either the number of these social deviates is actually increasing or more people are turning to state institutions for relief. The latter is perhaps more probable. In either case it appears that the burden of mental disease, mental defect, and crime borne by the state is continually becoming heavier.—H. M. Pollock, *Mental Hygiene*, XII (January, 1928), 103-12. (VIII, 1.) L. S. C.

**A Problem in Social Adjustment.**—This is a statistical study of the mentality and personality types of more than 13,000 consecutive cases examined at the neuropsychiatric clinic of the municipal court of Philadelphia over a period of five years. Of the total number, 23.7 per cent were diagnosed as normal; 36.6 per cent, as moron; 19.3 per cent, as psychoneurotic; and 20.2 per cent, as psychoses, pathological neural conditions, and undetermined. The juvenile group of 7,664 children under 16 years consisting of dependents and delinquents expresses its abnormality chiefly in intelligence. It is roughly divided in half as between the normal and those presenting some abnormal nervous or mental condition; 971 adolescent delinquents between 16 and 21 years, of the "more difficult" type, show intellectual deficiency complicated by emotional instability. In the adult group of 4,750 cases over 21 years, chiefly from the domestic-relations division, the psychoneuroses more than double the cases of deficient intelligence. Of the total number examined, 56 per cent of those below normal are capable of considerable social adjustment. The total non-adjustable group approximates the normal group in extent. It is obvious that a causal relation exists between social inadequacy and mental deficiency, even though the deficiency be of relatively small degree.—Anna Spiesman Starr, *Psychological Clinic*, XVII (May-June, 1928), 85-96. (VIII, 1; VI, 6.) T. C. McC.

**Probation and Penal Treatment in Baltimore.**—To determine the relative results of probation and penal treatment in Baltimore a study was made of the conduct of two groups of 305 criminal offenders over a period of two years and nine months after their release on probation. Information was secured through police

records, probation officers, Prisoners' Aid Association, and Social Service Exchange. Of the probationers 29 per cent, and of the penal group, 31 per cent, were subsequently convicted. The probationers as a group presented a greater problem to the various social agencies. Incidentally, 211 convicts who were not subsequently convicted in Baltimore served on an average a somewhat longer term than did those who were again convicted. The conclusion is that the subsequent conduct of the probation group was little better than that of the penal group, despite the fact that the latter represented a more hopeless type of offender and a larger percentage of Negroes. Those in the penal group were at least deterred from further depredations during the term of their confinement, while the probation group continued their antisocial acts without interruption. The probationers studied were parasitic rather than productive, while the average prisoner in Maryland Penitentiary earns for his own use \$200 yearly. Probation in theory is as sound as ever. We are concerned, however, with probation in fact after its use in Maryland for more than thirty years. Dean Pound has suggested the need for greater individualization of criminal justice. If practically carried out, this may be the solution.—James M. Hepbron, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XIX (May, 1928), 64-74. (VIII, 1.) T. C. McC.

**Why Capital Punishment?**—Three things always serve to arouse interest in capital punishment: execution of an innocent man, the commission of an unusually atrocious crime, and the threat to the safety of life in general by sudden social disorder or crimes of violence. The cause of the present widespread interest is the alarming increase of homicide in America. The death penalty originated among savages, by whom it was used to eliminate the deformed, crippled, insane, aged, and others who hampered the tribe in its activities. But the argument that capital punishment is necessary to eliminate those who menace life is faulty, for the death penalty is unscientific in its application. The idea of punishment of any type solely as retribution is gradually disappearing. Reformation, obviously, cannot be accomplished by the death penalty. Deterrence from crime is not brought about by severity of punishment, but by the sureness of detection and swiftness of punishment. The assumption that the murderer is a dangerous person who must be removed from society is flatly disproved by the figures which show that 90 per cent of those committed for first degree murder had no previous felony record, and that not a single prisoner pardoned or commuted for murder returned to Sing Sing Prison because of a second homicide.—Lewis A. Lawes, *World's Work*, LVI (July, 1928), 316-22. (VIII, 1.) C. D. C.

**Eugenic Sterilization in California. XII. Social and Economic Status of the Sterilized Feeble-minded.**—As part of the study of the consequences of eugenic sterilization in California, which has been under way for more than two years, an examination was made of the records of the Sonoma State Home for the Feeble-minded to ascertain the social and economic status of the families whose children have been sterilized there. While the results do not give a general answer to the question to what extent feeble-mindedness may be expected in various strata of the population, a conservative interpretation of them suggests that the type of feeble-minded now receiving custodial care is greatly scattered; that it is more common than might be expected in some of the higher strata, such as those which yield the personnel of the skilled trades; and that it is much less common in the highest intellectual stratum, containing chiefly the professional class, which furnishes most of the very bright children to the public schools. This study supports the view that the selection of any socio-economic level for sterilization is not an adequate or a scientific procedure. Sterilization must be applied on the merits of each individual case.—Paul Popenoe, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XII (June, 1928), 304-16. (VIII, 2, 1, 4.) T. C. McC.

**L'optimum de population et ses critères (The Optimum of Population and Its Criteria).**—The doctrine of Malthus shows signs of new vigor among Anglo-Saxons, especially the Americans. This was revealed at the World Congress on Population held at Geneva from August 31 to September 3, 1927. Two tendencies were in conflict: those who viewed with alarm the almost universal rapid increase in population, and those who saw the germs of demoralization in the practices advocated

by the former for the purpose of restricting this increase. The ideal of the Malthusian is expressed in the concept of the optimum of population, which he believes must be fixed by science. The criteria so far put forward, of economic well-being, of longevity, beauty, or the quality of individuals, are equivocal and deceptive in themselves. To fix a definite optimum figure applicable to the whole world is not scientific, but arbitrary. Furthermore, it ignores the possible benefits which come from the stimulating effects of an increasing population. Probably the most scientific method would be to determine for an increasing population the point where the disadvantages which result from density would overbalance the advantages resulting from the state of increase. However, the real difficulty derives from a confusion of thought: that between ends and means. The idea of an optimum is a problem of philosophical ideals, not of science. It is easy to see what motivates the thinking of the American Malthusian: it is the fear of an overwhelming influx of immigrants from all parts of the globe. On the other hand, the more anti-Malthusian tendency of Europe springs from the realization of a regularly falling birth-rate and the fear of political rivalries. In any case the problem of an optimum population is not to be treated from a single world-standpoint, but in view of the multiplicity of social groups. The Congress at Geneva was valuable for its discussion and for the impulse it gave to further research into demographical problems.—E. Dupréel, *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie*, VIII (January-March, 1928), 1-34. (VIII, 2.) E. V. S.

**Group Practice in Medicine.**—Nearly every industry, every great institution, every profession has been subjected to organization save medicine. Organization in medicine would not only make for the self-preservation of the physician, but for his self-betterment. The price the patient has to pay for individual medical service is a hardship for the majority, and particularly for those of the so-called middle class. Group practice would have one charge for the wage-earner, a minimum, and a maximum for the *rentier*. It would develop skilled and reliable physicians and therapists, as well as diagnosticians and surgeons. Also group practice would do away with the pretense and esotericism of medical practice. The most successful medical organization in the world, the Mayo Clinic, is an example of what organization in the medical profession can accomplish. Only skilful administration and willing co-operation are needed to make such institutions available in other localities.—Joseph Collins, M.D., *Harper's*, CLVII (July, 1928), 165-74. (VIII, 3; VI, 7.) C. D. C.

**An Investigation of the Effect of Glandular Therapy on the I.Q.**—Out of 1,867 heterogeneous cases admitted to the mental clinic of St. Vincent Hospital of New York City, 182 cases were diagnosed as suffering from some definite endocrine dysfunction involving one or more glands. A majority of cases were under sixteen years of age. These cases were studied and given certain glandular treatments. It was found: (1) A positive correlation existed between dysfunction of glands and I.Q. when the glandular-dysfunctioning group, whose average I.Q. was 74, was compared with an unselected clinical group, whose average I.Q. was 78. (2) When the glandular-dysfunctioning groups were separated the lowest correlation between dysfunction and I.Q. existed in the hyperthyroid group; the highest, in the hyperpituitary group. (3) the pluriglandular cases seemed to gain most in I.Q. ratings after glandular therapy. There was a loss in I.Q. average in the hypopituitary group. (4) Leaving out this loss by the hypopituitary group, the average gain in I.Q. was 3.5 points per individual.—E. J. Fox, *Mental Hygiene*, XII (January, 1928), 90-102. (VIII, 4.) L. S. C.

**Medical and Social Study of One Hundred Cases Referred by the Courts to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital.**—A hundred cases referred by the courts to the Boston Psychopathic Hospital have been critically reviewed after a period of four years. From this study it is concluded: (1) Psychiatry has a definite contribution to make toward the understanding of crime and disposition of the criminals. (2) In most of the cases of this series the diagnoses and recommendations appear to have been correct. In some cases where the hospital recommended parole, the patients got into further trouble. Some cases did well where the courts completely disregarded the advice of the hospital. This demonstrates that the psychiatrist is not infallible. (3) There seems to be a great deal of duplication of effort by psychiatric clinics.

Only after complete social investigation can it be found that a patient has been in another clinic. One reason for this is that relatives and others, dissatisfied with findings and recommendations of one clinic, often go to another without mentioning it to either clinic.—K. M. Bowman, *Mental Hygiene*, XII (January, 1928), 55-71. (VIII, 4, 1.) L. S. C.

**Individual Psychology and Psychosis.**—Individual psychology, according to Alfred Adler, sees the individual as a unit and a member of the totality of life, sees all his different modes of expression as his individual responses to the social situation and its demands. All these responses contain two elements: a "subjective" one, emphasizing the individual's own interests and subjective interpretation in and of the situation, and an "objective" one that considers only the given real situation and its demands. The question in each case is, Which of these two valuations predominates? If the former, then we find an egocentric individual who falls easily into a discouraged and pessimistic interpretation of his chances in life; if the latter, then we find a social individual, courageous, optimistic, and capable of co-operation. Psychosis is regarded as a method of living, the mode of expression of a feverish ambition and unrealizable expectation on the part of a tremendously discouraged and pessimistic individual in response to the demands of a real situation. This viewpoint gives meaning and significance to all the acts and modes of expression of a psychotic person. Onset, intensity, duration, frequency of relapses, improvement and healing of psychosis, all depend upon the strength of the inferiority feeling, the fixation of goal, and the individual's preparation for life in childhood. The difference between neurosis and psychosis is that in the former the pessimism and feeling of inferiority are much less and the sense of reality much greater than in the latter. When confronted with the problem of whether tendency to psychosis is organic or acquired, it is better, for the present, to treat each case as if it were acquired, excepting, of course, those cases which are obviously the result of organic lesions of the brain, infectious diseases, etc.—L. Seif, *American Journal of Psychiatry*, VII (January, 1928), 639-47. (VIII, 4; I, 4.) L. S. C.

**Psychiatry and University Men.**—In a study of three hundred cases of the Student Psychiatric Service of the University of California it was found: (1) The mental hygiene efforts of a university can profitably and logically be associated with the student health service. (2) A great number of students seek psychiatric service voluntarily. (3) A large percentage of the patients consist of relatively simple maladjustment problems. Sex problems, psychoneuroses, and psychoses are met with in the order mentioned. (4) The greatest degree of improvement was obtained in maladjustment and sex cases. (5) There was a greater amount of mental difficulty among students with limited contacts. (6) There is little evidence of a physical basis for the mental abnormalities encountered except in cases of traumatic psychoneuroses, disorders of the ductless glands, and neurological disorders.—S. K. Smith, *Mental Hygiene*, XII (January, 1928), 38-47. (VIII, 4.) L. S. C.

**The Control of Crime.**—Crime results from the interaction of men to their environment, but there is already a preponderance of evidence which shows that the criminal person is much more important than the criminal situation. The individual tends to create his own environment rather more than he is created by it; and biological forces are rather permanent. The scientific study of the criminal himself is the most tangible means of dealing with the prevention of crime. The efforts of agencies concerned with the control of crime should be correlated and centralized through the various crime commissions. These crime commissions, with an adequate program based on technical advice, should then be developed as clearing-houses and as research centers for the collection and dissemination of information and factual material.—Edgar A. Doll, *Scientific Monthly*, XXVI (June, 1928), 551-56. (VIII, 1.)

**The Perennial Puzzle: Crime** (Conference on Mental Factors in Crime, Boston, May 17, 1928).—The principle contribution of psychiatry to penology has been to furnish a scientific instrument for classification of criminals for the various purposes of penology. But psychiatry has done little with many prisoners, because it

has not yet shown us how to develop self-control in persons who ostensibly show no pathological mental signs at all. Professor E. H. Sutherland mentioned several "propositions in regard to a theory of criminality": (1) the explanation of criminality must consider both the personal and the situational factors, and must consider them both at the same time; this is now being done only by means of the intensive study of individual cases, and not by the statistical method. (2) The most significant part of person-and-situation is the social, that concerned with the interactions between person and situation. (3) The process of interaction most important for an explanation of criminality is the conflict process; and (4) conflict is usually group conflict. (5) The accumulation or piling up of factors and their integration into personality results in criminality. (6) Early and rapid accumulation of antisocial traits and their integration into a definitely criminalistic personality seem to be the result of the mobility of modern life and the weakening of group pressures which controlled behavior in early times.—Sheldon Glueck, *Survey*, LX (June 15, 1928), 333-34. (VIII, 1.)

H. C. G.

**The Deeper Significance of Prohibition.**—A stranger to the United States would infer from all the clamor that the prohibition law is unique in the failure of its enforcement. The truth is that the prohibition law is about the only important law that anyone expects to be enforced. The enforcement of a given law is to be measured, not by the absolute number of violations or convictions, but by the relation between the frequency with which the act would be committed without the law and the frequency with which it is actually committed under the law. Judged in this way, it is safe to say that the prohibition statutes are at least as well enforced as the average of our laws, and much better enforced than the basic laws against murder and theft. Increasing social complexity necessitates increasing social constraint. Conformity to constraint involving conduct intrinsically non-moral must rest either on a personal appreciation of the social utility of the measure or on a genuine respect for law. As a moral measure prohibition is indefensible. Its justification, if any, rests upon its necessity as a measure of order, security, efficiency, and the safeguarding of interests.—Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Virginia Quarterly Review*, IV (April, 1928), 192-207. (VIII, 1.)

C. D. C.

**Can We Live Longer? A Sociological Viewpoint.**—The average length of life has increased considerably during the last few decades as a result of the increasing efficiency of medical science. But the average length of life simply means the life-expectancy at birth. The Bureau of Census estimates that from 1800 to 1920 there has been in the United States a gain of twenty-five years in the average length of life. Such gains do not signify that the number of persons reaching extreme old age is increasing, or that the maximum span of life is becoming greater. Longevity, as all physicians agree, is largely a result of heredity. Medical science and social control may furnish a favorable environment, but they cannot change the hereditary traits of the human organism. Altogether aside from the possibility of increasing the average length of life, there is the further question of the desirability of such a result. While increase in the length of life of competent persons is socially advantageous, society benefits by the death, rather than by the life, of its misfits. It is impossible to estimate the economic burden imposed by prolonging the lives of socially incompetent persons.—R. D. McKenzie, *Scientific Monthly*, XXVI (June, 1928), 537-40. (VIII, 2.)

C. D. C.

**Evolution and Eugenics.**—Eugenics is the utilization of our knowledge of the ways in which evolution has been brought about in the past to improve the lot of mankind in the future. Theories of evolution are of two types, descriptive and explanatory. Descriptive theories, such as "change from homogeneity to heterogeneity," or Holism and Nomogenesis, fail to give us any indication as to how we should act to make human evolution proceed in a desirable direction. Of explanatory theories, natural selection is the only one that has to be considered in a practical social policy of eugenics. At the present time selection is acting to multiply inferior types due to the unfavorable differential birth-rates. The middle class is probably committing race suicide, and only the higher death-rate among inferior types has prevented it becoming biologically extinct. If we are to preserve our civilization for

long into the future, we must reverse the effect of the differential birth-rate by increasing the fertility of all superior stocks and by decreasing that of mentally defectives, insane, and those unable to maintain their families up to a certain standard of living without constant assistance. Racial deterioration, if allowed to continue, will inevitably result in peril to our civilization.—Leonard Darwin, *Contemporary Review*, CXXXIII (May, 1928), 613-23. (VIII, 2.) C. D. C.

#### IX. METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

**Personality as Revealed by Mental Test Scores and by School Grades.**—At the University of Michigan in 1925-26 an average of twenty rankings of 96 students on each of 63 traits was correlated with their rankings by school grades and by mental tests (the Michigan Modification of the Army Alpha), respectively. The conclusions reached were: (1) school grades are a better measure of mentality than are mental tests; (2) school grades are a better measure of foresight than are intelligence tests; (3) school grades are better selective instruments than are mental tests for determining the reliability of individuals; (4) school grades are better instruments for selecting the resolute, determined sort of person than are mental tests; (5) school grades are measures of both mentality and character. Mental tests measure only quickness of intelligence, and do a second-rate job at that. The same general results are indicated by five other independent investigations. According to Webb, persons who receive good grades show slightly less inclination for companionship and tend to be somewhat lacking in joyfulness of disposition. From these studies it would appear that any university that long used mental tests as its criterion of admission would soon become a haven for the slack, the foolish, the playful, the indolent, and the slothful.—Henry F. Adams, Louis Furniss, and L. A. DeBow, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XII (June, 1928), 261-77. (IX, 2; I, 4.) T. C. McC.

**Some Fallacies Underlying the Use of Psychological "Tests."**—Before any  $X$ -variable can be used to test any  $Y$ -variable, (1) both  $Y$  and  $X$  must be capable of being measured directly and independently; (2) the values of  $Y$  must depend on those of  $X$  in a manner which can be reduced to a descriptive equation. Also, the efficiency of  $X$  as a test of  $Y$  should be computed to show whether the test is worth while. Now, if  $Y$  is not amenable to direct measurement, it at once follows from the above that it cannot be indirectly measured, or "tested," by  $X$ . But many of the variables about which psychologists talk belong to the class of things which cannot be independently measured, e.g., "intelligence," "learning capacity," "arithmetic ability," "interest," "intoxication." "Although we cannot observe or measure  $Y$ ," they say, "let us give its name to some function of  $X$ . Let us now treat this function as though it were the thing whose name we put upon it." The argument falls into this formal pattern: (1) By definition,  $Y$  equals  $F(X)$ ; (2) assume  $y$  equals  $Y$ ; (3) therefore,  $y$  equals  $F(X)$ . Finally, the percentage of effectiveness,  $E$ , with which any dependent variable  $Z$  is "tested" by  $X$ , is questionably small unless the value of the coefficient of correlation between  $Z$  and  $X$  is unusually large.—H. M. Johnson, *Psychological Review*, XXXV (July, 1928), 328-37. (IX, 2, 1.) T. C. McC.

**The Measurement of Social Intelligence.**—The George Washington University Social Intelligence Test measures social intelligence as ability to deal with people. Six parts are included: (1) judgment in social situations: the subject chooses from suggested solutions to problems in social relationships; (2) memory for names and faces: faces and names are presented at beginning of test and identified later in a larger group; (3) recognition of mental states from facial expression: as portrayed in pictures; (4) observation of human behavior: true-false test; (5) social information: true-false test; (6) recognition of the mental states behind words: subject interprets quotations from literature and current speech. Persons successfully performing tasks which required above average ability to deal with people scored relatively high on each of the parts of the test. Repetitions of the test correlated .88 and .89. The test applied to 98 employees correlated .61 with their ratings by an executive; applied to students, it correlated .40 with ratings by teachers and others. There was some correlation between test scores and number of extra-curricular ac-

tivities engaged in by students. Correlations of the test with abstract intelligence tests of students average .50; its correlation with mechanical intelligence tests, .22. Social intelligence did not seem to depend markedly on age, but women showed somewhat higher social intelligence than men. Among 115 teachers and 34 executives scores correlated very slightly with salary.—Thelma Hunt, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XII (June, 1928), 317-34. (IX, 2; I, 4.) T. C. McC.

**The Dream Imagery of the Blind.**—Case material shows the nature of the dreams of blind persons. This material was obtained first from children examined in the Department for the Blind of the Chicago Public Schools and the Illinois School for the Blind; second, from the personal experience of the writer, herself blind since birth. The imagery found in the writer's dreams is entirely auditory, kinesthetic, static, and tactile. The sense of hearing usually plays the most important part, while the other three sense modalities seem to be of about equal moment. Gustatory and olfactory imagery have never played any part. The same sort of imagery dominates the dreams of the school children, but some of them apparently include sight imagery. The records of the children, however, were not taken with sufficient care to justify any conclusions from them.—Elinor Deutsch, *Psychoanalytic Review*, XV (July, 1928), 288-93. (IX, 5, 4; I, 3; VIII, 1.) T. C. McC.

#### X. GENERAL SOCIOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

**The Development of Methods in Sociology.**—All of the methods now used in sociological investigation and generalization were to be found, at least in embryo, among the Greeks. The Socratic method was that of definition of ideas and testing of assumptions by a process of elimination of error. Aristotle formalized this process in the form of syllogism. He also used various inductive methods, but did not name these. History was for a long time the major source of data for sociological generalization, because historical data were given artificial definition and fixity, while contemporaneous facts lacked fixity and definition and were correspondingly difficult to perceive because they must be seen without adequate perspective. In the end, however, historical data proved inadequate for the purpose of sociological generalization. Anthropological data largely replaced historical data as a source of sociological generalization. Its relative simplicity and detachment from the observer gave it an advantage over contemporaneous data. Its inadequacy for interpreting modern societies, however, led to the increasing use of contemporaneous data. With the increase of comparable data, especially in the field of contemporaneous social phenomena, the method of case analysis comes increasingly to be supplemented by that of statistical generalization. The case method has gone through several stages—primarily illustrative in function—down to the descriptive survey, analytical survey, and case history. The statistical method has evolved from the informal to the formal. The analogical method of interpretation and generalization of sociological conclusions, although deductive rather than inductive, has persisted in our time in default of a completer development of the statistical method. Analogical, case, and statistical methods are methods of analysis and comparison and generalization of data into sociological facts and principles or formulas. We may also speak of the historical, archeological, anthropological, and contemporaneous methods in the sense of collecting facts as distinguished from methods of generalizing them.—L. L. Bernard, *Monist*, XXXVIII (April, 1928), 292-320. (X, 2.) E. V. S.

**Foundations, Universities, and Research.**—It seems fated that the social sciences should take over their methodology from sister-disciplines which achieve results not open to those who study human relations. We need co-operative research, it is affirmed—division of labor at the base, scientific assembling of the material prepared at the top. When this is done we shall have laws of political behavior comparable in exactitude with those of chemistry or physics, it is claimed. No university today is complete without its research institute; everywhere the movement is away from the discussion of principle to the description, tabulation, and quantitative expression of facts. But while co-operative research is of high value in collecting facts, it is of dubious value in determining what body of facts would be signifi-

cant when found, or in assigning them values after their discovery. Co-operative research stands to the social sciences in the same relation as computing to the astronomer or as the making of slides or the provision of animals for dissection to the biologist. The end of social science is the better understanding of the world, which will come, not from the mere multiplication of men able to collect facts, but from the increase of inventive minds able to find ideas in a body of factual experience.—Harold J. Laski, *Harper's*, CLVII (August, 1928), 295-303. (X, 2.) C. D. C.

**The Movement towards Synthetic Studies, and Its Educational and Social Bearings.**—The Regional Survey movement, not only over the British Isles, but also on the continent and in America, has at once a scientific and a practical aim. Such surveys endeavor first to "see the thing as it is," and next to co-ordinate it with other things until we reach a mental picture of our communities in all the elaborations of their place, work, people, throughout the past and in their present relations. Science cannot but point to action; diagnosis, to treatment. With this clearer vision we may hope and strive to overcome and dissipate evils. As yet civic and political action has been too little concerned with surveys of this comprehensive kind. But it is by means of these synthetic studies that our dispersive and unrelated specialisms are co-ordinated and made to provide a fuller understanding of the human drama in its interaction with nature.—P. Geddes, *Sociological Review*, XX (July, 1928), 223-32. (X, 2.) C. D. C.

**The Inference of Mind.**—Lloyd Morgan's celebrated canon in the field of animal psychology is: "In no case may we interpret an action as the outcome of the exercise of a higher psychical faculty if it can be interpreted as the outcome of the exercise of one which stands lower in the psychological scale." But this canon makes a number of unnecessary assumptions, e.g., evolution is orthogenetic; differences between organisms are differences of degree of complexity; the same is true for their associated action systems and for their "psychical levels." As a practical difficulty, how are we to tell of two alternative mental processes which is the higher and which the lower? Also, the canon carries with it all the tangled difficulties of the concepts of cause and causal necessity. In short, this canon is insufficient to criticize the inference of mind, and an alternative principle has been suggested: any experience or mental process in another organism can be inferred from structure, situation, history, and behavior only when a similar experience or mental process is or has been invariably associated with similar structure, situation, history, and behavior in one's self; and the probability of the inference will be proportional to the degree of similarity. This is believed to indicate more precisely the directions that are taken or that should be taken by criticism of inferences of mental process or experience.—Donal Keith Adams, *Psychological Review*, XXXV (May, 1928), 235-52. (X, 2.) T. C. McC.

**The Gestalt Enigma.**—What makes or changes the *Gestalten*? The *Gestalt* psychology cannot answer. Hence it is merely a psychology of structure and adds nothing to our understanding of genesis. The statement that *Gestalten* are ultimate gives no help here. It is not the *Gestalt* which is the significant and explanatory principle in developmental psychology, but the existence and entertainment of ends and purposes. One school of *Gestaltists* hold that a *Gestalt* is already given in sensation: it arrives at the mind ready-made. Another school thinks that the interpretation of the sense data by the mind is the first *Gestalt*. Another fault with the *Gestalt* psychology is that volition has no place in it; for to admit this simple human phenomenon is to depose *Gestalt*. In brief, we cannot exculpate *Gestalt* from the fallacy of hypostatization. There is no *Gestalt* in which the elements stand to one another in a relation that is independent of the mind imposing it. In fact, we have made a mere abstraction a causative principle, and are saved the trouble of pushing the inquiry beyond the *Gestalt* itself.—Horace G. Wyatt, *Psychological Review*, XXXV (July, 1928), 298-310. (X, 2.) T. C. McC.

**Instinct and Moral Life.**—"Instinctive activity is behavior of a specific and more or less fixed pattern in the presence of certain specific objects." It is innate and common to the members of the species, involves more or less emotion and feeling, and tends to conserve the individual and the race. "Instinctive activity" is empha-

sized, not the instinct, the latter being a difficult, if not insoluble, problem. Probably all instinctive activity is relatively plastic, adaptive, modifiable. It is therefore preferable, with Myers, to speak of "instinct-intelligence." However, there are some moments in life which the instinctive terminology is totally inadequate to describe. Beginning at the instinctive level, with its "blind striving after dim ends innately laid down," man at length comes to see in a detached manner his life as a whole, to evaluate ends in relation to "social, national, international, and perhaps cosmic, claims." A new object of desire then arises: to realize more fully the integrality which seems to be the meaning of life. This desire for perfection or the moral ideal is not instinctive, but is no less deep and innate, "innate" because it always appears. It is awakened through reason and reasoning which makes man aware of the wider world. Thus, while instincts are present in moral life, they are transformed and harmonized by the moral ideal, itself a product of creative reason.—Louis A. Reid, *Journal of Philosophical Studies*, III (April, 1928), 173-85. (X, 3; 1, 2.) E. V. S.

**Nationalism and Economic Theory.**—Nationalism has long been recognized as a factor in economic theory, but a new attempt to evaluate nationalistic influence upon economic science is needed. While nationalism in its present form is comparatively modern, its roots may be traced in the ancient and medieval world. With the rise of modern nationalistic states, the struggle for power led to mercantilism as a definite politico-economic policy. Mercantilism represented the state's control and exploitation of economic opportunities for purely national ends. In Germany the cameralistic doctrines were simply particular kind of mercantilism. Quesnay's fourteen maxims of economic government constituted a comprehensive formulation of national economic policy. With Adam Smith there was no suggestion of a divorce of political and economic interests, and in the *Wealth of Nations* nationalism is more in evidence than cosmopolitanism. Present-day nationalism is changing in both intensity and effect, becoming keenly conscious, highly emotional, and not infrequently aggressive and militant. As a result, current economic theory, both lay and professional, tends to make national welfare the touchstone.—James E. Moffat, *Journal of Political Economy*, XXXVI (August, 1928), 417-46. (X, 4.) C. D. C.

**La psychosociologie et le problème de la conscience (Psycho-sociology and the Problem of Consciousness).**—The progress realized by sociology during the last thirty years, and its efforts to give a new explanation for the highest forms of human mentality, have forced psychologists to give an increasingly large place to its positive conclusions. After freeing itself from the tutelage of psychology, sociologists have been tempted to reverse the relationship. Some psychologists have welcomed this. But others have resisted, with the result that the fundamental postulate of Durkheim is being questioned, viz., the exact significance of the concept of the collective conscience. In view of its success no one can contest the legitimacy of sociology nor deny the reality of collective representations. Psycho-sociology is a science intermediate between the social sciences and the psychological sciences. Sociology should be studied before psychology, since its material is objective. Psycho-sociology studies the way in which collective representations are integrated in the individual consciousness. Perception, memory, foresight, reflection—in fact every aspect of human personality—shows the large contribution made by society. The problem is to find a criterion for the existence of psychological facts which are distinct from social facts. The reality of consciousness can be attained neither by the biological nor by the sociological approach, both of which lie outside. It is defined by the opposition of subjective activities and objective representations. The group furnishes the individual with a generic type, but requires him to individualize it according to the idea which he has of himself. This in turn depends upon memory. Collective representations, as Durkheim admitted, are realized only in the individual consciousness and have no existence outside of it. The term "collective consciousness" is thus as specious as the term "collective representation" is authentic. Durkheim's mistake was in employing the first. Sociologists do not need the term and will gain by abandoning it. Furthermore, collective representations have no intrinsic power of spontaneous transformation. They are definite, stable, crystallized, and their development is entirely mechanical. Between these sociological mechanisms and the physiological mechanisms there is a realm which escapes analysis, viz., the crea-

tive power of the individual. Here experience is integrated and self-consciousness appears. Consciousness is a power of choice, of elaborating psycho-sensorial and social materials. Psychology must study this functioning of consciousness in general and erect a theory of human nature. Psychology has taken its first steps under the guidance of physiology; its adolescence must be guided by sociology.—René Hubert, *Revue Philosophique*, LIII (March-April, 1928), 206-37. (X, 5, 1, 2.) E. V. S.

**Bevölkerung und Nahrungsspielraum in Deutschland (Population and Food Resources in Germany).**—A country is overpopulated whenever the latest increases in population have generally lowered the standard of living. As indicated by the reduced incomes, poorer diet, and fewer clothes of the German people, Germany is at present overpopulated. However, this condition is due to a decrease in economic productivity rather than to abnormal increases in the number of people. To solve the problem by a drastic reduction of the birth-rate would be of great immediate advantage, since it would decrease the number of economic dependents, but it would be unwise because of the hardship which would result from the labor shortage which would follow in the course of fifteen or twenty years. A more satisfactory solution is to be found in redistribution of the population so that the land may be more advantageously cultivated, and in more economical utilization of the available labor power and natural resources.—Karl Keller, *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*, XVII (Heft 1, 1927), 1-36. (VIII, 2.) C. M. R.

**Soziale Notwendigkeiten der Rassenhygiene (The Social Necessity for Race Hygiene).**—The differential birth-rate, rather than the absolute, is the chief problem of Germany at present. The upper classes, even the Catholics, are everywhere adopting the one-child and two-child system, and no power of law or religion can compel them to change. It is therefore advisable to teach contraceptive technique to the lower classes, which will correct the differential birth-rate and incidentally prevent several hundred thousand abortions annually. Such policy would not lead to race suicide. Normal people still desire children and are willing to make considerable sacrifice to have them. The cost of children is so great that financial inducements to rear them would have to be very large to be effective. It is suggested that to encourage the raising of larger families no child should be permitted to inherit more than one-third of his parents' estate. Sterilization of the unfit and changes in the educational system to favor marriage are also urged.—Fritz Lenz, *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, XXV (March, 1928), 436-41. (VIII, 2.) C. M. R.

**Socialized Medicine.**—Modern medicine is a complicated matter, involving expensive training, intricate apparatus, a laboratory, etc. As a result, the cost of medical care has increased greatly and is giving concern to sociologists and economists. The middle class suffers most from this situation. Some economists have advocated a state system of medicine which will provide health care in much the same manner as the state cares for education. The American medical profession has looked with increasing concern at attempts to establish such a system in this country. The mechanization of medicine is a menace to sound medical practice. The intimate personal relationship of physician and patient is essential to complete relief of the patient's ills. In contract work professional standards are lowered and the physician falls into deadly routine. State medicine means the death of individualism, humanitarianism, and scientific practice. Morris Fishbein, *Nation*, CXXVI (April, 1928), 484-86. (VIII, 3; VI, 6.) C. D. C.

**Ungdommens Moral (The Morals of Youth).**—The cavalier and the lady of the eighties and earlier first became comrades, then free lovers. This is but the natural result of the widespread teaching that morals are relative and that Christianity is only an interesting cultural phenomenon. Lacking the support of religion and morality, it is impossible for the individual to control himself. A morality which may be questioned, which is not forever absolute, is no morality at all. But with all their faults the members of the younger generation are better children than their parents deserve to have. Their realistic attitude will open the way for an appeal to them through a religion freed from shams.—Arne Fjellbu, *Samtiden*, XXXIX (Hefte 3, 1928), 202-9. (VIII, 5.) C. M. R.

**Soziale Misstände und Alkoholverbrauch (Social Pathology and Consumption of Alcohol).**—The common assumption that alcoholism causes vice, crime, and poverty is giving way under the weight of evidence to the view that its association with these forms of social pathology shows it to be an effect of the same causes, and not in itself a cause. Feelings of inferiority, for example, such as often accompany failure, may induce alcoholism. If the opportunity to drink made drunkards, there would be more of them among the rich than among the poor; and the reverse is true. If alcoholism is a cause of social ills, the amount consumed should correlate with the extent of the ills. Recent accurate statistics from Denmark, where the consumption of alcohol has fallen sharply, shows no corresponding diminution of the rates of crime, of venereal disease, of divorce, or of the number of dependent children taken from their parents by the authorities.—Günter Schmöllers, *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*, XVII (Heft 2, 1927), 258–68. (VIII, 5.) C. M. R.

**The Anthropological Attitude.**—Two things have increasingly emerged since the beginnings of anthropology in the middle of the Nineteenth century: the attitude of men working in the kindred sciences, and the attitude toward the concept of culture. The other social sciences have now recognized the anthropologists as of their brotherhood. More important is a widespread and growing detachment from the culture we are in, and with this detachment, the ability to conceive of culture as such. Anthropology exists because our culture happens finally to have reached the abnormal—and possibly pathological—point where it is beginning to be culturally introspective, and can lay itself on the dissecting table alongside a foreign or dead culture. This detachment is difficult because the culture is so omnipresent that the naïve person scarcely knows it exists. Culture is a product of men as they live in groups, or societies, but exists as something over and above them. Culture has an existence of its own, and Spencer happily called it the superorganic. Scientific interest in culture had its birth in the Nineteenth century, but still anthropologists are broken up into schools that have little in common except subject matter. The school which aims at isolating processes of cultural events with little interest in the place of these events in actual time and space stands nearest to the exact sciences.—A. L. Kroeber, *American Mercury*, XIII (April, 1928), 490–96. (X, 2.) H. C. G.

**Physics and Politics.**—Physics has changed a great deal since Walter Bagehot's "Physics and Politics," but political science still clings to the eighteenth-century deification of the abstract single man. The idea that such an individual has inalienable rights stultifies political thought. Hence the first problem of political science is, not that of adjusting social control to the interests of the individual citizen, but of securing and maintaining a fair balance between the various groups to which the individuals belong. That is, it should turn to the subatomic possibilities. The individual citizen is neither ultimate nor indivisible. Government consists, not of laws and men, but of the imponderables behind them. Ideas rule the world. Education in citizenship utilizes no scientific techniques, but largely relies on exhortation. Political behaviorism cannot even be described, much less accounted for, by the study of the individual in isolation. The invisible is more important than the visible. The laws of political science are merely definitions which explain how men in groups respond to the stimulus of ideas. Political science should get rid of intellectualistic insincerities concerning the nature of sovereignty, the general will, natural rights, etc. And may well turn from the visible mechanisms to the invisible forces which control the individual citizen.—William Bennett Munroe, *Science*, LXVII (March 2, 1928), 223–27. (X, 2, 4.) H. C. G.

**The New Philosophy of America.**—America is achieving certain things of great moment which have never been achieved before, and is developing a new philosophy of life more suited to the modern world than that of most Europeans. Its dominating belief is that man is master of his fate, and need not submit tamely to the evils which niggardliness of inanimate nature or the follies of human nature have hitherto inflicted. Man has ever been dominated by fears: fear of starvation, of pestilence, of defeat in war, and of murder by private enemies. In elimination of the first three of these major evils, America leads the way. The outlook on life which accompanies these achievements is as interesting as the achievements themselves. American philos-

ophy is sweeping away the static conception of knowledge which dominated both medieval and modern philosophy, and has substituted the instrumental theory, the very name of which is suggested by machinery. The best work that has been done anywhere in philosophy and psychology during the present century has been done in America.—Bertrand Russell, *Fortnightly Review*, CXXIII (May, 1928), 618-23. (X, 3; III, 6.) C. D. C.

Democracy—A Realist View.—Until human nature is so perfected that no government is necessary, democracy will remain in principle the best system. The essence of democracy lies in the possession of sovereignty by the people of the community as a whole. Though many movements are afoot in various parts of the world which may be interpreted as a growing demand for democracy, true democracies are very few. The widespread assumption that democracy is gradually extending over the whole globe is erroneous, as shown by the strong reaction against it in Russia, Italy, and Spain. True democracy presupposes, first, that the vast majority of people have a genuine opinion upon public affairs; second, that electors will use their power for the public benefit. In neither England nor America are these conditions fulfilled. The best citizens are usually those not interested in public affairs. The amassing of political influence appeals to the inferior types of citizens. The great need today is to realize the enormous limitations of the democratic system, and to proceed slowly, guided by the experiences of communities which have tried out various elements of democracy.—Claud Mullins, *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXI (April, 1928), 556-67. (X, 4; IV, 3.) C. D. C.

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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME XXXIV

JANUARY 1929

NUMBER 4

## SOCIOLOGY, ITS METHODS AND LAWS PART TWO. OF LAWS

EUGENIO RIGNANO  
University of Milan

AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION BY  
HOWARD BECKER  
University of Chicago

### ABSTRACT

I. The failure to deduce the facts of history from a single formula is due to fallacious assumptions, (1) of the uniformity of evolution of all societies, (2) of the single origin of all the phenomena of each specific sociological category, (3) of the necessary future continuance of a given direction of development. Owing to the complexity of social factors, the prediction of future evolution from the past must either be so vaguely general as to be true but useless, or so specific as to be contradicted by many instances of retrogression.

II. Evidence disproves Comte's theory that human conceptions always travel from the theological to the scientific-positive. What is necessary is to study the factors which influence development both forward and backward between these two extremes. Research probably would show that the industrial arts impel in the scientific-positive direction; wars or continual social agitation impel in the theological direction.

III. Of the few sociological laws found so far, the law of class struggle is one of the most important. To predict on the basis of it one must determine (1) which of two class groups would regard an eventual social action favorably and which unfavorably, and (2) which possesses the more social pressure. Sociology can then show under what conditions the modification of a group's social pressure can change the situation.

Passing from discussion of method to exposition of genuine, exact sociological laws, we must once more insist that these have

nothing in common with the older unique and fantastic formulas which claimed to sum up the whole course of history.

## I

These abstract formulas were, to be sure, capable of grouping historical facts according to a certain order; this they could do because the specialized and complex nature of the facts to be grouped, on the one hand, corresponded to the indefiniteness and very wide range of these formulas, on the other. Just because of this these abstractions lent themselves equally well to as many different concrete developments of the same historical facts, and, worse still, the same formula could yield, on the basis of the same facts, altogether different groupings of these facts when used by different historians.

This type of grouping consequently admits of excessive arbitrariness, and hence these formulas are quite useless in the explanation of historical facts, though this would not be the case of this order, instead of being arbitrary and ambiguous, admitted of only *one* interpretation, no matter who the historian was who availed himself of the given formula. It follows that such formulas are entirely incapable of leading to the prediction of any phenomena whatsoever. Whereas effective (because unambiguous) explanation and prediction of phenomena are certainly the essential characteristics of every genuine natural law.

Furthermore, the pretension is absurd that we can ever arrive at a single formula with which all history can be reconstructed a priori, i.e., that we can so proceed, this formula being given, that even if we were ignorant of the facts of history they could be found and determined, one after another, by the simple deductive development of this formula. Nevertheless these are just what the majority of sociologists claimed to be able to obtain with their universal formulas. But on the contrary, it is evident that at the present moment and for an indefinite time in the future sociological science can undertake nothing above simple research and the determination of specific, particular sociological laws. And it should declare itself satisfied if it can by the aid of the latter arrive at complete and definitive explanation of particular historical facts. That is, being given and knowing the mode of existence of a definite society

at a definite moment, and also being given and knowing the intrinsic and extrinsic factors which act upon this society and upon its modes of action, then, if sociologists can by the aid of these laws determine the intensity and direction of this action, the different sociological phenomena to which it will give rise, and, as the resultant of all these partial effects, the subsequent mode of existence of this society in its *ensemble*, we should be satisfied.

A similar pretension, that of trying to explain everything by a single formula, does not make its appearance in any other science, although they all deal with phenomena more simple and more general than those of sociology. All the sciences, as Auguste Comte took great care to emphasize, comprise both an abstract and a concrete part. The first has for its province the determination of the respective general natural laws; the second, their application to particular facts. Now the explanation of historical facts plainly belongs to the concrete part of sociology, and in order to explain this concrete part it becomes necessary to apply to it the natural laws of abstract sociology. Thus, the class struggle, or the impossibility of the coexistence of the wage system and "free soil," or the development of ecclesiastical institutions and the strengthening of religious faith as a result of war, or various definite regularities governing the phenomena of imitation, etc., to choose some random examples, are laws of abstract sociology, and accordingly these laws should be applied to the explanation of historical facts. Thus one could effectively explain by means of these laws this or that revolution, introduction or suppression of slavery, strengthening or weakening of religious faith, diffusion of a social agitation, of a custom, of a given invention, and so on.

The same is true, e.g., of the laws of abstract geology (if we are permitted to give it this name), i.e., those physical and chemical laws which find their chief application in geology, such as the laws relating to solidification of molten matter by cooling, to the slow and continuous movements of the crust of a spherical mass as condensation progresses, to the formation of sedimentary layers, and so on. These laws, when once they are applied to the concrete part of geology, are genuinely explanatory. They explain, e.g., the different specific characteristics of the different geological strata, sedi-

mentary as well as igneous; the different orographic conformations of different countries; the different modifications of the earth's surface which seem to appear, from the evidence of various criteria, during the course of the different geologic epochs; the various peculiarities of certain territories which were left exposed by receding glaciers; why a given vein formed in a fissure which traverses such and such strata has certain definite metals in its composition and a definite gangue; why countries having a particular fluvial configuration have acquired this configuration following certain telluric movements or certain variations in the surface vegetation; and so on indefinitely. No geologist of repute, however, has ever conceived the pretension that simply by elaborating one single universal formula—even that of a progressive and gradual cooling and condensation of the gaseous and igneous mass of the earth—he could explain all the geological phenomena of the earth's crust. Even this formula would be of very slight utility without the help of the abstract laws of physics and chemistry.

Astronomy alone admits of *a priori* method, and even here only up to a certain point. Laplace's formula of the progressive condensation of a primordial rotating nebula helps us to calculate some of the most fundamental characteristics of our planetary system, but only when used in conjunction with the abstract laws of mechanics and the abstract astronomical law of gravitation. And, moreover, astronomy is the most simple and general of all the natural sciences; hence it is grossly erroneous methodology to assume that the single-formula procedure, which can be applied only with great difficulty (if ever) in astronomy, and which is manifestly quite powerless in only slightly more complex and less general sciences, would not also be absolutely impotent in the science that deals with the least general and most complex phenomena of all.

Another vice peculiar to these evolutionary formulas is that in their very nature they contain three implicit assumptions: (1) the uniformity of evolution of all societies, without distinction; (2) the single origin of all the phenomena of each specific sociological category; (3) the necessary future continuance in that direction of development which is claimed to have been discovered in the ensemble of social evolution or in each category of specific phenomena

in particular. Not one of these assumptions corresponds to the truth, least of all if they are taken in an absolute sense.

This conception of a uniformity of development of all societies was accepted because of the powerful support afforded by Spencer's evolutionary philosophy, and it still persists today. Thus, certain investigators have only to find certain familial forms, even though they be peculiar of a few tribes only, in order to declare at once that all other societies have passed or must pass through these forms. Slavery, serfdom, wage-system—these are claimed to be successive economic phases which any and all societies must evidence in their evolution. And so on and on.

To be sure, this so-called "uniformity of evolution" has many facts in its favor: instance the fact that certain fundamental characteristics (those fixed in the germ plasm, not those due to the action of the physical or sociological environment) are common to the human species, and hence certain instincts and needs are also common-human; moreover, other fundamental factors must necessarily be equally present in all or nearly all societies, and consequently must produce equal effects. Thus, for example, increase in population density will always act, wherever it occurs, according to its own laws and in such a way that the effects thus brought about will be the same throughout. War, being a spontaneous and necessary phenomenon in all primitive societies, must lead to similarity in all the other phenomena which it causes: the building up of an intense religious faith and the concomitant development of ecclesiastical institutions, for instance, are some of the most important. Furthermore, imitation could well have contributed a great deal toward the equalization of societies, whether by diffusing certain inventions or certain customs, or by propagating definite individual needs which would lead to equal or similar manners of satisfying them. Imitation of the introduction of slavery as a substitute for massacre is an instance sufficient to explain the similarity of a whole series of phenomena common to the most dissimilar societies. And if the technical instrument is a factor which acts in its own way, the imitation of successive inventions would be sufficient to produce similar effects wherever these technical improvements were introduced.

This is, however, a long way from the extreme conclusion, that every sociological mode of being, no matter how specific and particular, which any society whatsoever has passed through also must have been or must be passed through by every other society.

And until the opposite is proved, we should maintain (and we can factually demonstrate our thesis) that differences in telluric environment, in race, and in all other original or derived factors, instead of merely influencing the speed of each separate social evolution determine, on the contrary, even social developments which are markedly different.

The Spencerian doctrine of universal evolution, moreover, does not at all imply that this evolution must be uniform, for there are thousands of ways of passing from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the simple to the complex. We have manifest proof of this in organic life (and not only there), where development certainly has not been along one line, but has been as multilateral, as manifold, in the various species of the plant and animal worlds as can well be imagined.

This is also true, and *a fortiori*, of the supposed single origin of all the phenomena of each separate sociological category. Thus for Comte the religious phenomenon always began, in every time and place, with fetichism alone; for Spencer, on the other hand, the sole genesis of the religious belief was to be sought in the cult of ancestor-doubles—the “ghost-theory.” Each claimed to have furnished the only possible explanation; they did not admit what is now generally accepted, i.e., that among the numerous hypotheses which have been advanced to account for the origin of the religious phenomenon there could very well be several which were equally true, while none of them, probably, is the sole explanation.

Again, a single origin has been claimed for that whole category of phenomena constituted by the progress of “the instrument of production” in the broadest sense of the phrase. Instance Comte: he attributed sole causal efficacy to the particular philosophic doctrines successively in power, e.g., fetichism impels to pastoral and agricultural life, polytheism summons forth the first industrial transformations of matter, while the materialistic interpretation of history in its most recent form recognizes economic forces *alone* as

causal factors. A closer examination of the question suffices, however, to convince one immediately that this doctrine of a single origin is of no value whatever when applied to the instrument of production; it is of less service here, if possible, than anywhere else.

The sociological laws upon which explanations of the phenomenon of technical progress devolve are of two distinct kinds: the laws which hold sway in the invention of technical processes, and those which govern the diffusion and introduction of these inventions. The phenomenon of different successive inventions certainly does not fall to psychology alone for explanation, for although it may have some laws relative to the thought-processes of genius, these have to do with invention in general, not with such-and-such an invention in particular. If some particular invention appears before some other, this is due to the particular nature of the social environmental ensemble; hence the phenomenon is patently sociological. The genesis, the productive sociological cause, however, may be different each time instead of always remaining the same, according to whether this or that particular invention is in question.

Among these different causes could be, e.g., the following: (1) the state of science during a given period, predisposing mental action toward study and research in given directions; (2) the exercise of the arts already in use, leading of itself to the improvement and development of these arts and to the discovery of new scientific laws and new technical processes; (3) the pressing needs of a given society, toward the satisfaction of which all mental activity tends in such a fashion that every possible expedient is successively tried until finally a great new discovery results. The Phoenicians, e.g., were continually forced, by their very active commerce with other peoples speaking idioms differing from their own, to fix by writing not only the ideas which had reference to goods, customs, institutions, contractual forms, etc., unknown to them, but the foreign terms themselves. Our Phoenicians could consequently refer to the corresponding objects only in foreign terms, and thus passed gradually from ideographic to phonetic writing, whereas the Chinese, an agricultural people without commercial relations with peoples speaking different idioms, continued the use of ideographic writing. Again, the economic interest of the dominant class has often fur-

nished the drive toward certain inventions, above all at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the capitalist class stimulated the feverish invention of new machines by offering prizes, patents, and rewards of every sort. They wished to substitute machines for workers, hoping thereby to prevent, thanks to continually increasing disparity between the proportion of capital invested in machines and the capital employed in wages, any rise in the wages themselves. Prehistoric anthropology, thanks to the studies upon the origins of hunting and fishing and of pastoral and agricultural life so fortunately undertaken, can already inform us how *each one* of man's first steps toward the transformation of his natural environment has frequently had its own specific cause, distinct and different from the others.

We are, moreover, informed by the physicist that calorific phenomena, for instance, are engendered by various causes such as shock, friction, combustion, an infinite variety of other extremely varied chemical reactions, the electric current; and he also tells us that electricity itself is also produced by friction, heat, chemical reactions; and so on for all the other species of physical phenomena. There is then nothing which could justify the pretension of attributing for each species of sociological phenomena, in general, and for a sociological phenomenon as specific as technical invention, in particular, only one single cause.

Where the diffusion and introduction of these inventions is concerned, we give Tarde the credit of having discovered some relevant laws in his studies on imitation. But the laws of imitation (which, moreover, are far from being completely known) do not remotely explain why certain inventions have been diffused while others have not been diffused at all, for imitation should exert the same diffusive push upon all inventions equally. In such cases we usually discover that the laggards were contrary to the economic interest of the dominant class. At other times a whole mass of inventions which has not been imitated for a long while by a given people may suddenly be imitated with feverish energy as a consequence of modifications in the mere economic organization of this people, without the least previous change occurring in opportunities for imitation or for imitative contacts. Japan gave an example of this toward the

end of the past century—a most striking example. Hence, the laws of imitation taken by themselves, and any other monistic laws of whatever kind, are not sufficient explanation of all cases of diffusion of inventions; each phenomenon of diffusion can have its own distinct origin, so that where this category of phenomena is concerned there is, as for the others, not merely one, but several, possible origins.

We have still to examine the last of the before-mentioned assumptions inherent in the very conception of universal formulas, i.e., the assumption of necessary future continuance in that direction of development which is claimed to have been discovered in the ensemble of social evolution or in each category of specific phenomena in particular. According to this assumption we should be able to predict the future by deducing it from the direction which social evolution has followed up to the present moment. It is easy to convince ourselves, however, that the direction of development attested, as it were, by these formulas, will never really offer a single guaranty of absolute certainty as to future becoming that can in any degree satisfy the demands of scientific precision. In case of need they consequently reveal themselves as altogether incapable of even the slightest precise and sure prediction. All this is partly a consequence of the very nature of such formulas, and partly because of their vagueness and excessive generality. It is sufficient here to mention Comte's formula of the three successive stages—theological, metaphysical, and positive—or that of Saint-Simon and Spencer, the passage from military to industrial social structure; or that of several economists, the evolution from slavery to serfdom to the wage-system to free labor; and so on.

Genuine natural laws are merely confirmations of definite relationships of succession or similarity among phenomena; these relationships have often been verified in the past and are always re-verified whenever the phenomena are repeated. In this way such laws merit our complete confidence, arrive at valid explanations of these phenomena, and admit, in certain circumstances, of prediction. But *evolutionary* formulas, upon the whole, are nothing more than simple confirmations of one evolutionary fact, which having occurred once and for all, so to speak, may never be repeated.

Therefore they really say no more than this: "Up until now society has evolved in this particular direction."

In the first place, it is very doubtful logical procedure to deduce, from such a declaration of a single fact, this prophecy: "Society will therefore continue to evolve in this same direction in the future." Such logical method is much less certain and sure than to deduce the prediction that certain phenomenal relationships will continue to manifest themselves in the future as they have in the past because they have been verified an almost infinite number of times in the past, and continually re-verify themselves in the present. This procedure of deducing predictions from *evolutionary* formulas is especially reprehensible in sociology because of the exceptionally specific and complex nature of its phenomena. We need only recall, e.g., how slavery reappeared among the civilized Anglo-Saxons in the American colonies when it seemed permissible to believe that it had disappeared forever; or how the barbarism of the Middle Ages caused a reversal in the philosophic and scientific evolution which had advanced so far in Greece and the Mediterranean littoral; or how many other similar events have occurred that constituted genuine retrogression in this or that evolutionary trend previously thought unchanging and unchangeable.

In the second place the vagueness and extraordinary generality of these formulas, the absolute lack of rigorous principles for defining in what a given developmental trend truly and precisely consists, or for verifying this direction, renders them nearly useless. For the predictions of which these formulas permit are so vague and general that they have nothing to do with the very specific and very definite predictions which, on the contrary, can be made on the basis of genuine natural laws, in sociology as well as in other sciences, as we shall see.

Consequently and *a fortiori*, we should likewise completely reject the pretension to apply similar formulas toward explanation and prediction of separate and particular categories of phenomena. We have several of these formulas which, to tell the truth, are more frequently employed for political ends than for scientific purposes. Such a formula, e.g., is frequently used to predict, in opposition to socialism, that property will never again become collective (as it

once was) because property in land has passed from the collective form to the familial, and finally to the individual. Again, we have another formula which predicts that testamentary or will-making rights will never again return to the control of the collectivity, because hereditary familial rights have progressively given place to individual rights of bequeathing increasingly detached from all ties of entail, majority, primogeniture, legitimacy, ultimogeniture, reversion, etc. Another instance is the opposed formula, which on the contrary deduces the prediction that the hereditary transmission of property rights, and consequently testamentary rights as well, will cease in time because the hereditary transmission of social titles and offices has already nearly ceased everywhere. We need only recall the great number of juridical forms formerly in power in Roman law which later disappeared completely in feudal law, and which we now see reproduced in our *bourgeois* law, in order to persuade ourselves of the hollowness of these explanations and predictions based upon the application of such evolutionary formulas to phenomena so specific and determinate.

It should be further noted that a considerable number of these specific evolutions, after having arrived at their terminus, beyond which it would be "materially" impossible for them to go (for instance, the before-mentioned evolution of property from the collective form to the familial and finally to the individual), must forever cease or else continue in a new path. In the latter case it then becomes necessary to resort to Vico's formula of recurrence, Goethe's spirals, *et sic de similibus*; in short, to formulas still more vague which explain nothing and which do not permit of even the slightest prediction.

Spencer's evolutionary formula, "from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from the simple to the complex," vague to the highest degree as it is also, nevertheless is of a different nature because it simply declares a fact which has been verified in all the various evolutions which have occurred up to now, ranging from the evolution of our solar system to every other inorganic or organic or social evolution. In other words, it is a fact which has been verified a great number of times without a single contradiction.

Hence this law is valid for every evolutionary process. On the

one hand, however, because of its very indeterminateness, it can never be of more than slight utility in the explanation and prediction of any phenomenon whatsoever, for, as was emphasized before, there are many ways of proceeding from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous and from the simple to the complex. On the other hand, because we commonly conceive of evolution as a gradual, continuous process without breaks, a too excessive, undue extension of this idea would exclude the possibility of sudden modifications, violent surges, rapid shifts of equilibrium from one mode of existence to another, which nevertheless actually do happen and have important effects in all cosmic phenomena. In sociology, e.g., it would lead to the denial of those violent shifts in the respective pressures (*poids*) of the different antagonistic classes which we call social revolutions, and also to the denial of their direct and inevitable consequences, i.e., sudden variations in property rights and in legal institutions, which occurrences have been nevertheless well attested and verified many times in the history of all peoples.

## II

We must therefore absolutely reject any notion that sociology consists in or can be summed up in simple evolutionary formulas, whatever they may be, for this notion is profoundly mistaken from a methodological point of view. Nevertheless these evolutionary formulas often contain a certain amount of truth; this is their only warrant for surviving—but in a very much limited rôle.

Instance Comte's evolutionary formula. When it is properly limited it expresses an important and valid psycho-sociological law, that is, that human philosophical conceptions can only be of two opposed varieties. One is the theological, with its metaphysical auxiliary; it supposes that phenomena are governed by arbitrary divine wills similar to human wills, or by abstract beings or entities furnished with determinant volitional attributes. The other is the scientific-positive; it makes no suppositions other than that phenomena are regulated by invariable natural laws alone. The result is that human philosophic conceptions are capable of moving only along a single straight line determined by the two extreme points of a purely theological and an unreservedly scientific, positive

standpoint, united by an intervening metaphysical continuum along which human beings gradually move from the first conception to the last by insensibly pushing the imagined arbitrary volitional entities to an ever more remote and nebulous background.

Explanation of the priority of theological belief is easy enough. In primitive minds, incapable as they are of corrective reflection, the association of ideas which forms itself most spontaneously and which finally prevails over all the others is that by which the behavior of the surrounding physical world is compared to the acts of the observer and is consequently considered due to agents of a nature similar to the observer's own. For Comte, however, the human mind tended, as the primitive stage was left behind, to move constantly in the scientific positive direction by its own power, without the need of any impulse from without. Today, on the contrary, we recognize the enormous importance which these impulses, arising from a complex social environment, have had in the development of the human mind. Hence the possibility that these external impulses may even bring about a retrograde movement; this really occurred, e.g., in the Middle Ages, when the philosophic spirit, considered as a whole, noticeably regressed in the theological direction.

In other words, by virtue of Comte's psycho-sociological law the direction of the line of movement of the human mind is a constant, determined by the nature of the human mind itself, capable as it is only of theological *or* scientific positive conceptions; the function of external impulses can only be to influence the direction of development (forward or backward) and the speed of this movement.

In order to complete this law, sociology should determine: (1) what the principal sociological factors are which can exert driving, impelling power upon the development of the human mind; (2) which of them tend to push it backward in the theological direction or forward in the scientific-positive; and (3) what the laws of their action are.

Research along these lines would probably reveal, for example, that the action of the industrial arts impels in the scientific positive direction because natural laws are more readily discovered as a result of continual practice in the transformation of matter.

Again, war or any other state of continual social agitation and terror would probably be shown to have an opposite effect, i.e., to exert a push in the theological direction. Indeed, terror, by blocking the functioning of the inhibitory psychic centers, and consequently stopping corrective reflection, gives new impetus to the revival of that elementary association of ideas just referred to, which compares the behavior of the surrounding physical world to the volitional acts of man, and which is the primary source of all theological conceptions or religious beliefs. In the second place, war and the state of continual social agitation which it produces gives rise to the growth of ecclesiastical institutions, those devices par excellence for collective hypnotization; their function is precisely that of infusing the corrective of confidence into the terrorized masses and guiding their otherwise divergent and unruly movements in the desired direction. And because of the immense influence which these beliefs (held as they are by the vast mass of society) exert upon the intellectual élite itself, it often happens that a period of intense and widespread religious faith irresistibly sweeps this élite in the theological direction also; this is just what occurred in the Middle Ages.

Now, it is by the discovery of these and other similar laws that we may justifiably hope that the true character of sociological science will be gradually but clearly sketched and that a real advance in sociology will ensue.

### III

To be sure, the sociological laws which have been found up to date are not very numerous: (1) a few laws of economic statics and dynamics; (2) Loria's law concerning the impossibility of the coexistence of the wage-system and free soil, and vice versa; the uselessness and unprofitableness, as soon as free soil has ceased to exist, of slavery or serfdom as a means of obtaining the necessary supply of exploited labor, because an equivalent, the great mass of the proletariat, comes into existence when once the soil is fully taken up; so that slavery and serfdom disappear as soon as the soil of a country has been wholly occupied, and are introduced anew when free soil is again present as in new colonies; (3) some laws of imitation and collective psychology; (4) the law of intensification of religious faith and development of religious institutions just de-

scribed in detail; and some others still few in number. (5) The law typical of all others, however, the one which best exemplifies the character of the new science, is the great law of class struggle with its ensuing discovery of the vast importance of the economic factor in the whole sociological world.

In pointing out that the economic spring is the inner force in many social events, even those most different in their exterior appearance, this law discovers a relationship of similarity among the latter, and consequently explains them. And because of the sort of actions and reactions which it makes manifest between the different classes, and thanks to the predictions which in many cases it makes possible, it can be compared to the law of double decomposition of salts typical of chemical laws in general. This law permits, indeed, of the prediction of reactions which take place when two saline solutions of a given composition and strength are mixed—and the sociological law of class struggle permits, in many social contingencies, of prediction which is of an analogous nature and no less sure. When we have determined, e.g., which social classes would regard a certain eventual social action—such as a war, a particular modification in the institution of property, a given law, etc.,—as likely to favor their own economic interests, and which classes would regard it as likely to damage theirs, and when we find out which of these two class groups is the most powerful, has the most pressure (*poids*) as a sociological factor, we are at once able to predict with the greatest certainty whether or not this action will ensue.

In order to give this sociological law of class struggle an increasing capacity for prediction, however, it is necessary to complete it. The writer has attempted this, in his before-mentioned work on socialism, by investigating the laws which govern the variations of the pressure exerted by the respective social classes and by the investigation of the laws which regulate the way these classes act (degree of efficiency and direction of action) when once they achieve preponderance over the others.

But in order to obtain these results the writer was compelled to begin by thoroughly elucidating and decidedly rejecting the enormous and fundamental contradiction of the materialistic interpre-

tation of history. On the one hand it proclaims the class struggle as the supreme law of history, and that historical events are merely the results, the products, of these struggles; while on the other hand it denies all effectiveness in changing conditions to the conscious action of these classes, the imperturbable flow of economic and sociological phenomena in general being supposed to be solely and entirely determined by the instrument of production (Marx), or the degree of population density (Loria), or by other such exclusively material factors.

Once having rejected this fundamental contradiction of historic materialism and having recognized the conscious action of the classes, its whole efficacy as sociological factor, we can pass with advantage to the question of the modifiability of sociological phenomena.

When a sociologist enters into this argument he frequently becomes vague, confused, contradictory. And this can never be otherwise so long as we do not discriminate between the various kinds of modifying forces whose pressure upon sociological phenomena we wish to measure.

In all the other sciences, as a matter of fact, the only modifying agency is man himself, external to the phenomena to be modified, motivated by scientific or technical interests always the same for all the operators, and with a modifying effectiveness independent of this or that specific human being, inasmuch as all the operators can equally avail themselves of the means furnished by science. In sociology, on the contrary, the modifying forces are internal, i.e., they form an integral part of the phenomena to be changed. Moreover, each one has his own motives, driving forces; and even when sociological knowledge is equal, modifying efficiency varies greatly from one to another. Furthermore, the quality of the desired modification and the power to obtain it will be different according to whether a single individual or a collectivity of individuals is the operative agency. And in the first case, the quality of the desired modification and power to obtain it will differ according to whether the individual has this or that egoistic or altruistic motive, this or that amount of the energy proper to the man of action, this or that social position. In the second case, the quality of the desired

modification and power to obtain it will differ according to the social class which is acting, according to this economic motive rather than to that, according to this or that numerical proportion of its members relative to other groups, according to its economic power and to the degree of the extent and completeness of its collective consciousness.

A Napoleon, for instance, will take advantage of the law of class struggle in order to realize an egoistic goal of supreme power; consequently, in order to attain and maintain this power, he will obtain for himself the backing of those social classes which sociology (or his intuition) have indicated as possessing preponderant pressure or pressure capacity. The philanthropist, on the other hand, will see his illusions concerning the altruism of collectivities destroyed by this same law; and he will here find the moving reasons for no longer losing his time in sermonizing the dominant exploiting classes; he will instead employ all his energy in awakening an increasingly effective consciousness among the proletariat, and thus increasing its pressure as sociological factor. In brief, every individual, whatever may be the goals and the sociological modifications he proposes, will learn from this law the necessity of *first* finding out which class has an interest in backing his efforts toward these goals and modifications; *second*, he has then simply to direct all his actions toward forcing this class into the political action and strengthening its pressure. Finally, the different social classes, each with its own economic motives and its own effectiveness in social changes, will draw upon sociology for extremely valuable information; that is, they will learn how to increase their pressure, where to concentrate their action most effectively according to their relative influence, and so on.

The sort of change desired and the effectiveness in realizing it will therefore be different for each modifying agent; the direction and the specific forms which sociology will advise these various agents to give to their respective modifying acts will also be different, in order that the maximum effect may be obtained. Consequently to speak of the modifiability of sociological phenomena in general, without further particularization, is to say nothing at all.

This sociological law of the struggle of the classes, and the

other more recently discovered laws before mentioned, manifestly introduce a profound change in the way the character of sociological science is conceived.

In the opinion of the writer, when this fundamental change in the way of conceiving of our young science has finally taken place, and only then, can we hope that it will make real, substantial, and even rapid progress.

## INDIVIDUAL AND PERSON<sup>1</sup>

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C. LLOYD MORGAN

St. Leonard's on Sea, England

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### ABSTRACT

The human being is both an individual and a person. It seems valid to use the concept of "individuality" with emphasis on his uniqueness, and the concept of "personality" with emphasis on his representative typicality. Every entity, from atom to man, is in some measure unique and in some measure typical. But what distinguishes a man from a cow or an ant is that he is a reflectively social person, contemplating human life as a drama. He plays a conscious rôle in the drama. He is a farmer, architect, statesman, etc., speaking and acting as representative of a type. Or, he may be speaking and acting for the *Zeitgeist*. What should be thought of as "personal" is this representative human activity.

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In current literary usage the words "individual" and "person" are often used interchangeably. One could quote many passages where, for example, stress is laid on someone's remarkable personality and then, a little lower down in the paragraph, this is illustrated by salient instances of his striking individuality. In such cases it seems that either word may be substituted for the other with little or no detriment to the meaning which the writer seeks to convey.

In some cases, however, one or other of the words is felt to be more appropriate. Thus one speaks of individuality in literary style or in handwriting—perhaps in deportment and dress—feeling that personality would not here accord with common usage. And if it be said that handwriting, in a measure, and style, more fully, are individual expressions of what the man really is as a person, still some distinction is implied.

In the interests of discussion I propose to take up tentatively what may seem to be an extravagant position. I suggest that there is a sense—not the only sense, but none the less a valid sense—in which it may be said that individuality and personality are limiting concepts which are logically poles assunder. I use the words in their abstract form to earmark these limiting concepts. It must be understood, however, that the concrete human being is not individual

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Psychological Section of the British Association, Oxford, 1926.

or person. He exemplifies individuality *and* personality, just as he exemplifies both mental and physical attributes, distinguishable but nowise separable.

In what I shall have to say the emphasis will fall on what we distinguish as mental attributes. But we cannot disregard those that are physical. And our avenue of approach to some distinction between individual and person is from the current usage of common speech. May we say of puppies that they severally show marked individuality—say in intelligence, in docility, perhaps in greediness? But should we speak of them as illustrating differences in personality? Or, taking the concrete form of the noun, with respect to cows in a field we may speak of half a dozen individuals, but not of so many persons. Again, using the adjectival form, it may be permissible to say that this Alderney shows certain individual traits. But few would speak of these traits as personal.

It may be said that this is because human folk only are personal. That may be true enough. But human folk are individual also. If it be urged that animals are not personal, this does not imply that men are not individual. Since, then, we want in some way to distinguish individuality from personality where both are in evidence, we must seek some criteria, say first a criterion of individuality. What, then, is distinctive of the individual as such? Is it not some touch of uniqueness?

Let us, however, note that there is a sense in which both words, "individual" and "person," may carry only *numerical* distinctness. Thus, of fledglings, we speak of so many individuals in a nest; of men, so many persons in a room. There is here no stress on the presence or the absence of distinctive uniqueness. One is merely taking the birds or the men as units, each numerically "singular," that may be counted and can be dealt with severally. Thus we may talk of all the individuals of some species. But why use the word "individual" in this sense? Why not speak of all the members of a species? Why not say all red ants, or cuckoos, or lemmings? Why not so many birds in a nest, so many guests in a room, or shareholders at a meeting? That suffices to indicate numerical distinctness—singularity in one sense of this word. Here no stress is laid on their singularity in the further sense that each has, or may have, something that differentiates it or him from the others.

We come back, then, to distinctive uniqueness in individuality. And, so far, there seems nothing to preclude our speaking of physical or physiological traits as, in this sense, individual. If then, such structural and functional characters be included, individual uniqueness may, on sufficient evidence, be predicated of this or that dog, or daisy, or diatom. It may be predicated of any living organism.

May we go farther? Is the word applicable to anything not living, say a crystal of quartz? Here opinions differ. The word "individual" may imply something more than uniqueness only. Some physicists tell us, however, that could we but know all about them, no two atoms or molecules are quite alike. Each is differentiated with minute but elusive subtlety as a "this" or a "that." If so, whether its singular "thisness" be called individuality or not, it illustrates uniqueness no less than does Dick, Tom, or Harry. In principle, therefore, something of the same kind as individuality, so far as uniqueness is concerned, may be severally distinctive of all integral entities throughout nature. Each bears its singular monomark of uniqueness, though perhaps in so small a measure as to be negligible.

But any given natural entity—be it atom, or molecule, or crystal; be it cell, multicellular organism, or community of such organisms—is not only individual in virtue of its uniqueness; it is also typical in so far as it represents what I shall here call a type. In biological regard the specific characters of each member are typical. On these terms the structure or the behavior of any given member of the species is individual in virtue of its distinctive uniqueness; but it is typical in so far as it represents something common to all like members.

In the further biological treatment of individuality, as discussed for example by Professor Julian Huxley, the emphasis falls on numerical individuality. In this sense what is spoken of as individual is commonly regarded as typical. Thus the individual development of this or that embryo chick or rabbit is taken as an instance that represents the typical course of development in all chicks and all rabbits. Here the biological stress is on numerical distinctness rather than on differentiating uniqueness. Here it is applicable to cells, or to organisms, and may be extended to communities.

On this understanding we may start with cells as primary units numerically distinguishable; these combine in the unity of organic integration to constitute a multicellular organism; and such organisms, as secondary units, may combine in some mode of social integration to constitute a community. Each in turn exemplifies numerical individuality. We are dealing with *a* cell, *an* organism, *a* community. We have thus, in broad outline, three ascending levels with advancing stages of such individuality. Many interesting problems then arise with respect to intervening stages showing varying forms of biological partnership. Are they numerically individual, or not? The salient point, however, is that at any stage, earlier or later, the individual is regarded as a relatively independent unit. That, I think, is what is meant by speaking of its individuality in this sense. But here no stress is laid on the distinction I seek to draw between uniqueness as individual and that which is typical in that it is not unique but is expressed alike in each several and concrete representative of the type.

Thus we have on the one hand individuality and on the other hand what may be called typicality. These, I submit, as limiting concepts, are logically opposites, or, as one may put it, poles asunder. In so far as unique this or that—any this or that—this not typical. In so far as typical it is, thus far, not unique. Its uniqueness is unshared. Its typicality is shared by others.

But every natural entity—in the widest sense of the word “natural”—from atom to man, may be, and I venture to think is, in some measure unique, with a singularity all its own, and in some measure typical. In concrete being it is always both.

In search, then, for general principles I submit that, under the headings uniqueness and typicality, we may distinguish complementary and “polar” concepts that are universal in their range of application. We must now pass to human affairs. And here I ask whether there is not a sense in which human individuality falls under the heading of uniqueness and human personality implies representation of some social type and thus exemplifies typicality.

To render this view initially plausible one must ask that the origin of the word “person” and all its derivatives in connection with the drama be borne in mind. And one must raise the question

whether the familiar etymology of the word does not count in this partly, but not wholly, verbal inquiry. Of course it may be said that the word has long ago shaken itself free from the trammels of its origin in connection with the masks of the old-time stage. And no doubt servitude to etymology may often fetter freedom of speech. But sometimes a word's origin takes us back to something that is worthy of preservation. Is it not so in this case?

Let us, however, turn first to the usage in which little trace is left of any primary dramatic implication. There is a comprehensive sense in which, as Dr. R. G. Gordon says in his recent work, in order "to define a man's personality adequately, we must describe his parentage and race, his bodily structure, his intellectual attainments, his emotional reactions, his practical achievement," and all that has happened to him "from birth to death." More concisely, "personality," he says, "might be defined as the emergent synthesis of the bodily and mental attributes of the individual." I am not criticizing Dr. Gordon's able treatment of his theme. I merely suggest that for the words "person" and "individual" we may here substitute "man." It then comes to this: With respect to any given *man*, considered comprehensively in physical, physiological, biological, mental, and social regard, we must describe, so far as we can, "all there is to him."

But for some of us there is a more special regard in which we commonly speak of the man as a person—that regard in which we should not speak of a cow or an ant as a person. Shall we say that in this more special regard he is a reflectively social person, with all that this implies? He has reached that level of mental development which enables him to contemplate human life as a drama in which he and others play their several parts. The emphasis is on reflective contemplation. In the "social" life of ants the members of the community do play their parts in modes of relation which we can describe perhaps in dramatic terms. But can any one of them reflectively contemplate this "communal" life *as a drama*? I leave it as a question. Anyhow, that is what a man can do and "act" accordingly. He realizes, or can realize if he pause to think, that he plays his part in due relation to the parts that are played by others. And I submit that, as person, he always more or less wittingly represents

or stands for some social type which he then and there impersonates. He plays his part as farmer, as architect, as statesman, and so forth. This he accepts as his rôle in life's drama. And the more consistently he acts, the more does he endeavor, deliberately and of set purpose, to sustain worthily his rôle as representative farmer, or architect, or statesman. He has a sense of responsibility in playing up to the part that is "intrusted to him" by the "management" which he speaks of as "Society." And this he may do while retaining all his unique and distinctive "mannerism" in individuality.

I put the matter dramatically. But my point is that literary usage, as distinguished from strictly scientific usage, retains and cherishes subtle reminiscences of the dramatic origin of the word "person" and its derivatives. It is this that I seek to emphasize.

The stage helped not a little to socialize a concept which implies a communal voice that speaks through the mask of the individual actor and serves to evoke a communal response. The player impersonates someone who represents a social type. This is obvious enough in the dramatis personae of *The Rivals*: Sir Anthony Absolute, Lydia Languish, and the rest, in each of whom some human trait is dominant. It is less obvious, and may be disputable, where historical characters are introduced, say Joan of Arc, or Abraham Lincoln. Even here, I think, the author chooses, say as the central figure of his play, someone who in real life represented a social type. And he claims freedom to treat his theme as dramatist and not only as historian. Therein lies his art. Here, however, one must ask Mr. Bernard Shaw, or Mr. John Drinkwater, or such a dramatic critic as A. B. W.

Behind the drama on the theatrical stage is that which we speak of as the drama of social life. Are we justified in thus designating it? May we interpret social affairs in dramatic terms? Whether this procedure be justifiable or not, does not the man of letters habitually interpret in these terms? If so, at any rate in literary usage, does not the word "person"—admittedly of dramatic origin—still retain at least so much of its original meaning as to imply representation of a social type?

I submit, then, that in much literary usage the person is always representative. With some measure of effective realization, in

speech and in action, a man, as person, is, and he claims to be, something socially more than he is as individual. He speaks or acts as lawyer, as committeeman, as minister of religion; perhaps as intimate friend. It is this that marks his representative personality.

Contrast with this his idiosyncratic individuality. That which is individually unique in you and in me—perchance some touch of originality—is private and unshared. Have not some of us read disquisitions on “the fundamental isolation of the individual”? As Professor Pringle Pattison says, the individual self is “a unique existence which is perfectly impervious to other selves.” Here, as I think, he takes individuality in abstraction from personality. That which is typically personal as representing some social type is public and is shared by others. So far from being perfectly impervious to others, a man, as person, is above all things socially pervious. He voices the judgment of others; he shares the outlook of others.

It may be said, however, that nowadays the word “personal” has come to mean private rather than communal. Astronomers, for example, say since 1795, speak of the “personal equation.” This is intended to denote some uniqueness in this or that observer which must be allowed for in order to render his observations typical of what Professor Eddington calls the normally equipped human being. If, therefore, we lay stress on uniqueness, this “equation” is distinctively individual. But as we saw at the outset, the words in much current parlance have become synonymous.

Take, however, a more familiar example. An after-dinner speaker, having eulogized his “toast” as a good citizen and a public benefactor, asks leave to close on a more personal note. What does this mean? Does it not mean that he speaks *as* a friend *of* a friend and wishes, at the climax of post-prandial oratory, to voice the verdict of many such friends? There is still something to be said for the view that, in the more personal note, he represents a worthy type of human folk.

But after all I seek only to present a point of view which may or may not prove acceptable. From that point of view when a man speaks with the backing of the whole fellowship of golfers, or of

Alpine climbers, or of artists, or of musicians, or of men of science, he speaks in each case with a personal, and not only an individual, voice. He pronounces representative judgment with a sense of responsibility, weighing his words. At long last he may in some measure speak for the *Zeitgeist*. He approaches the limit of all-embracing personality. And yet it is just he, the man himself, as actor in the social drama, through whom the spirit of his time finds utterance. Of course no one is big enough, or sufficiently comprehensive in his outlook, to speak for mankind at its best. But Shakespeare had a pretty large personality in this sense. Was his individual uniqueness any the less?

And not only does a man, as typical person, speak with a communal voice; he sees things with the communal eye. At a meeting of the British Association there is much discussion of the external world from many points of view. There are as many individual points of view as there are members in session. But there is the comprehensive outlook which all the members of our fellowship share as representative men of science. This affords one way of defining an external world common to all of us. Thus Professor Eddington characterizes that world as "a synthesis of appearances from all possible points of view." Some may say that, though this it is, it is something more than this. But let that pass. The question here is: Whose is this comprehensive outlook? It is ours—that of each one of us and all of us—in so far as we are normally equipped human beings. "We have," says Professor Eddington, "a fairly definite idea of a normally equipped human being, and it is to his standard of appreciation that the concept of the external world of physics particularly relates." May I for "normally equipped human being whose outlook comprises a synthesis of appearances from all points of view" substitute "representative person as scientific inquirer"?

The antithesis I have drawn is that of uniqueness and typicality where the same natural entity affords an instance of both. Is there a valid sense in which one may say that in the human individual, as such, the emphasis falls on his uniqueness; in the human person, as such, on what one may call his representative typicality?

We have the two words "individual" and "person." Not infre-

quently we use them interchangeably. In my opinion it would be well to differentiate in the way I have indicated. This may be only an individual opinion. But as I read what is written on personality, in general literature, in psychology, in sociology, and in works expressive of religious thought, I venture to think that it is in a measure personal, and that, however inadequately, I voice the judgment of some others.

## A NEW CENSUS AND AN OLD THEORY: DIVISION OF LABOR IN THE PRELITERATE<sup>1</sup> WORLD

WALTER T. WATSON  
University of Illinois

### ABSTRACT

*"Primitive communism"* vs. *"solitary hunter."*—The ancient theory that division of labor is non-existent in the preliterate world is perpetuated in two mutually inconsistent forms: (1) The work of these peoples is done in common—the task of one is the task of all. (2) Primitive man is a non-co-operative "solitary hunter" carrying on life and labor independently of his fellows. *Census method.*—This theory is here tested by a labor census which classifies cases derived from published works concerning thirty tribes, division of labor being conceived, for purposes of the census, as occurring whenever any activity becomes a recognized function of a particular person, sex, or group of persons. *Functional differentiation.*—On the basis of degree or type of specialization, three distinct classes of activities emerge in the census: regular, incidental, occasional. Regular activities are, for the most part, daily, full-time functions of those who engage in them, and correspond to the occupations of literate industrial society. Incidental activities occur in the course of a broader and more general set of activities or occupation. Occasional activities are performed at more or less irregular or unexpected intervals, or at stated periods widely separated in time. The appearance of these classes of activities under each of thirteen functional groupings (medicine, craftsmanship, etc.) assigns the theory above outlined to the fascinating library of academic mythology, and warrants an alternative formulation: (1) Division of labor is coextensive with preliterate social life. (2) Specialization by craft and occupation may be found in some form in every preliterate tribe. *Differentiation within population classes.*—The fact of division of labor receives wider significance in its relation to (1) sex, (2) age, (3) physical strength, (4) marital condition, etc. These factors cross-cut functional lines and are, in some sense, the results of the cultural assignment of functions in any given situation. There are, in fact, all sorts of social divisions of labor, and the unending complexity of these divisions must be viewed as coextensive with the infinite number of relationships, classifications, and stratified layers of preliterate social life, as well as with the manifold conceptions which individuals have of each other's abilities, capacities, and fitnesses for special duties.

*Primitive communism.*—It is the purpose of this paper to test an ancient theory by a modern method. The old method was generalization; the one here applied, particularization. The theory, commonly known as "primitive communism," though recently called in question,<sup>2</sup> persists, nevertheless, both in its original form

<sup>1</sup> See Ellsworth Faris, "Preliterate Peoples: Proposing a New Term," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXX, No. 6, May, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*; B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*; and, with some reservations as to theoretical formulation, W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*.

and in conjunction with multiplied other abstractions that have been deduced from it.

Communism, of course, means absence of private property and ownership in common by the group. But, as here discussed and as even more widely conceived, it means that division of labor in the preliterate world is nonexistent, that the work of these peoples is done in common, and that what is the task of one is the task of all. Closely related and bearing frequently the same classifying label, but in exact antithesis to the foregoing, is the assumption, oddly enough by many of the same writers, of the non-co-operative "solitary hunter" "who sought food independently and regardless of his fellows."<sup>3</sup>

These two latter interpretations are alike in that they deny the phenomena of differentiated preliterate labor. The following formulations—a few from the many available in the literature of social science—direct attention to this general point of view.

In nature conditions there is no work and consequently no division of labour.<sup>4</sup>

[In] the primeval age . . . neither labour nor division of labour was known, but simply the necessity of keeping together in hordes.<sup>5</sup>

Primitive man lives in isolation and hates his neighbor. He lacks the instincts that lead men to live in intimate relations and assist each other in production. Under these conditions the principle of the division of labor cannot be utilized.<sup>6</sup>

In primitive times . . . even the most pressing needs, such as keeping social order and securing food supplies, were . . . cared for by customs which made all members of a group participate in all types of activity.<sup>7</sup>

There was very little division of labor and practically no such thing as specialization of tasks in the hunting and fishing stages [and], no distinct differentiation between employer and employee functions [in the] pastoral stage.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> F. W. Blackmar and J. L. Gillen, *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> F. Muller-Lyer, *The History of Social Development*, p. 267.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

<sup>6</sup> Simon N. Patten, *The Theory of Dynamic Economics*, p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> Hornell Hart, *Social Life and Institutions*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>8</sup> Gordon Watkins, *An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems*, p. 10.

For primitive man . . . there is little division of labor. What one man can do all can do.<sup>9</sup>

This, then, is the theory. Plato<sup>10</sup> enunciated it; Durkheim<sup>11</sup> accepted it and incorporated it as an essential aspect of his analysis; and the social scientists of the present era are broadcasting it to more thousands than one can think of with equanimity.

What are the facts? To what extent, if at all, may division of labor be said to characterize the work of preliterate peoples? In what activities, if any, does differentiation occur? Is occupational specialization fact or fiction?

*Census method.*—In order to answer these and related questions, a labor and vocational census has been made of thirty tribes selected on the basis of geographical distribution, cultural diversity, varying population, and available data.

No tribal bureaus of census, of fisheries, of agricultural economics, of labor statistics, of mining and manufacturing; no departments of commerce and labor and agriculture and interior have records which can be consulted with reference to the points raised. This does not mean that such bureaus do not exist. The Banyoro (Central Africa) king makes a yearly census of his subjects, his flocks, and his herds. But the results of his enumerations have not been written down. It has, therefore, been necessary to rely upon primary sources from outside observers—monographic studies, reports by anthropologists and ethnologists, accounts of scientific expeditions, government documents, and findings of missionaries, travelers, etc.

For the purposes of the census, division of labor has been conceived as occurring whenever any activity becomes a recognized function of a particular person, sex, or group of persons. The 1,532 cases excerpted have been recorded on specially prepared forms and the results summarized in Tables I, II, III, IV, Figure 1, and Chart I.

This census has one characteristic in common with all other censuses: it is not a perfect census. Neither is the occupational

<sup>9</sup> R. T. Ely, *Outlines of Economics*, pp. 27-30.

<sup>10</sup> Davies and Vaughan, *Republic of Plato with Analysis*, pp. xiv-xv.

<sup>11</sup> Émile Durkheim, *De La Division Du Travail Social*, Livres I et II.

census of United States a perfect census; the Department of Commerce admits this fact. The census for 1920 lists silk-weavers in the state of Idaho. But there is no silk-weaving in Idaho.

One of the reasons why this census is not perfect is because it has been derived, as previously stated, from published works, and the completeness of these sources varies with authors and areas considered. The first strike census in the United States was also derived from "published works,"<sup>12</sup> and the present strike censuses of the Bureau of Labor Statistics depend, in large measure, upon newspapers, trade journals, labor periodicals, etc.

Another reason why this census is not perfect is because the talent of its takers has varied. The talent of the takers of other censuses has also varied. United States census enumerators work piece-work and for wages. The enumerators<sup>13</sup> of this census paid for the opportunity of making it and were selected on the basis of specific interest in the problems underlying it.

There are other census comparisons which might be made. The United States occupational census covers more pages, but this census covers more territory (Fig. 1). The United States census includes more figures, but more time per figure was spent upon the figures which this census includes. For certain purposes—specifically for the understanding of the modern workaday world—this is a more important census than the occupational census of United States for any given decade. This is, of course, a large statement. It is obviously not a scientific statement. It is a matter of opinion—of individual interpretation as to how much contribution the study of preliterate labor can make to the complex vocational problems of the Western world. It has nothing whatever to do with the validity and use of either census.

*Functional differentiation.*—Table I is a comparison of the extent of division of labor, i.e., the number of activities or specialized

<sup>12</sup> *Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor* (1887), pp. 1029, 1107-8.

<sup>13</sup> The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance given in making this census by Miss Frances Ellis, Mr. Thornton Merriam, Mr. Charles Newcomb, and Mrs. William Burke, graduate students, and by seventeen undergraduates of the University of Chicago. The work was done in connection with classes in Social Origins and The Mind of Primitive Man of Professor Ellsworth Faris, 1925, 1926, and 1928.

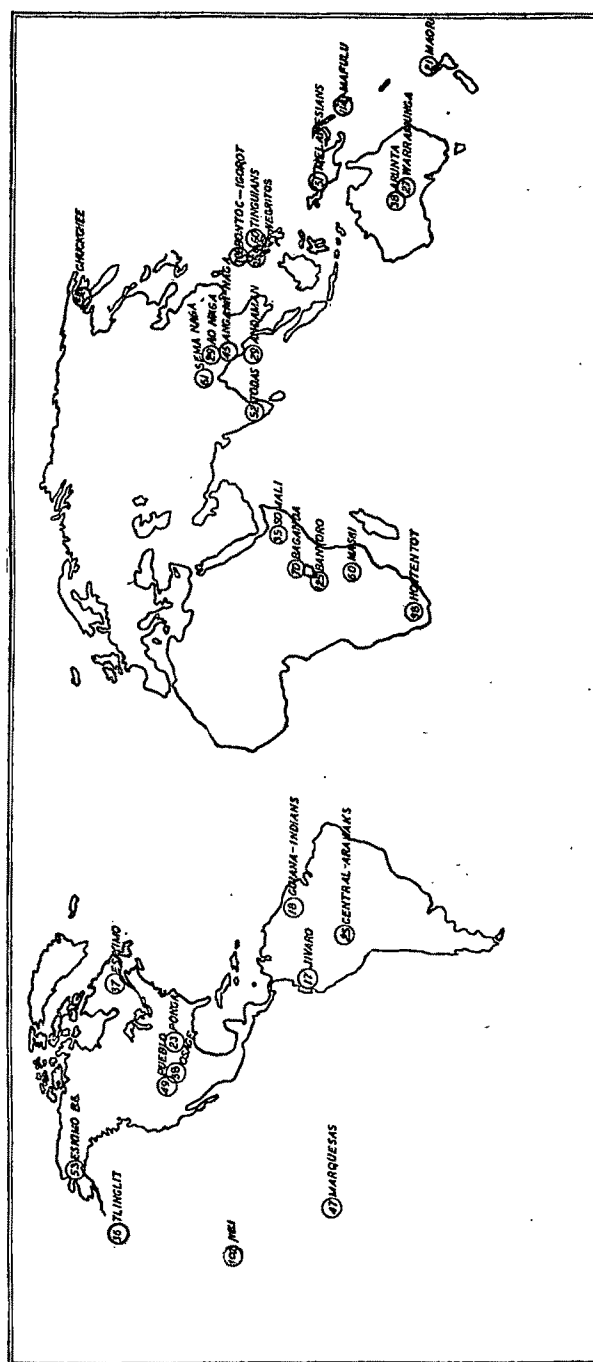


FIG. 1.—Extent of division of labor in thirty preliterate tribes. (Inclosed figure indicates total number of divided activities.)

TABLE I  
A COMPARISON OF THE EXTENT OF DIVISION OF LABOR IN THIRTY  
PRELITERATE TRIBES

TRIBE	LOCATION	TYPE	ESTIMATED POPULATION IF GIVEN*	SPECIALIZED FUNCTIONS (ACTIVITIES)		
				M	F	Total †
<i>Africa:</i>						
Baganda . . . . .	Central	Pastoral	1-3,000,000	49	21	70
Banyoro . . . . .	Central	Past.-Agric.		99	31	125
Hottentot . . . . .	Southern	Pastoral		45	13	58
Masai . . . . .	Southeastern	Pastoral	30-40,000	35	25	60
Somali . . . . .	Eastern	Pastoral		20	16	35
<i>Asia:</i>						
Angami Naga . . . . .	Eastern India	Agric.-Past.	Largest of Naga	33	16	45
Ao Naga . . . . .	Northeast Assam	Agricultural	Hill District	21	8	29
Chuckchee . . . . .	Northeast Asia	Fishing-Past.	12,000	30	29	52
Sema Naga . . . . .	Northeast India	Agricultural		40	21	61
Todas . . . . .	Southern India	Pastoral	700	37	15	27
<i>Australia:</i>						
Arunta . . . . .	Central	Hunting	Largest in Central Australia	26	13	38
Warramunga . . . . .	Central	Hunting		23	5	27
<i>North America:</i>						
Eskimos-BS . . . . .	Bering Strait	Fishing-Hunt.		35	18	53
Eskimos-L . . . . .	Labrador	Hunting-Fish.	1,700	29	8	37
Osage . . . . .	North Oklahoma	Hunting-Agric.	1,994 (1906)	26	14	38
Ponca . . . . .	Okla. and Nebr.	Hunt.-Agric.	833 (1906)	13	10	23
Pueblo . . . . .	Southwest U.S.	Agricultural	{ 1,600 (Zuni) } { 1,878 (Hopi) }	33	24	49
Tlinglit . . . . .	Southeast Alaska	Hunt.-Fish.	8,597 (1861)	18	18	36
<i>South America:†</i>						
Central-Arawaks . . . . .	North Brazil and So. British Guiana	Agric.-Hunt.		18	8	25
Guiana-Indians . . . . .	British Guiana	Hunting-Fish.		12	7	18
Jivaro . . . . .	Ecuador and Peru	Agricultural	15-20,000	8	9	17
<i>Oceania and Islands:</i>						
Andaman . . . . .	Andaman Islands (Bay of Bengal)	Hunting		16	16	29
Bontoc-Igorot . . . . .	Philippine Isles	Agricultural	76,000	54	34	88
Nei . . . . .	Hawaiian Islands	Agricultural		91	13	102
Mafulu . . . . .	New Guinea (South Pacific)	Agricultural		71	43	114
Maori . . . . .	New Zealand	Fish.-Agric.		18	4	21
Marquesas . . . . .	Marquesas Isles (Mid-Pacific)	Fishing		44	13	47
Melanesians . . . . .	Melanesia (South Pacific)	Horticultural- Hunt.		42	9	51
Negritos . . . . .	Philippine Isles	Hunting		14	11	25
Tingulians . . . . .	Philippine Isles	Hunt.-Agric.	20,000 in towns	25	35	60
Totals . . . . .				1,025	507	1,485

\* John Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 6 (Baganda); Hermann Norden, *White and Black in East Africa*, p. 90 (Somali); also *Accounts and Papers and Correspondence Concerning Africa*, pp. 20-21; J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 14 (Angami Nagas); Waldemar Bogarus, *The Chuckchee*, p. 22 (Chuckchee); W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 6 (Todas); Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Across Australia*, I, 185 (Arunta); *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. (Labrador Eskimos); F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 158 (Osage); *ibid.*, p. 278 (Ponca); L. F. Jones, *A Study of the Tlingits of Alaska*, p. 117 (Tlingits); Farabee, *The Central Arawaks*, p. 159 (Central Arawaks); Rafael Karsten, *Blood Revenge, War, and Victory Feasts among the Jivaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador*, p. 1 (Jivaro); A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc-Igorot*, p. 168; Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Tinguian*, pp. 238-39 (Tinguian).

† Sum of Column M and Column F, minus duplicates, i.e., functions that are performed by both men and women.

‡ Studies of South American tribes are fragmentary and literature incomplete. Guiana-Indians is a class name applying to several groups which are not clearly differentiated, and all of which are to be distinguished only on the basis of territory occupied. Central-Arawaks, similarly, is a more or less generalized group name.

functions, discovered in the survey of the literature of the thirty tribes studied. On the basis of the degree or type of specialization, the activities included, though not separately treated in this table, fall into three distinct classes: regular, incidental, and occasional. Regular activities are, for the most part, daily, full-time functions of those who engage in them, and correspond, in the main, to the occupations of literate industrial society. They are the major tasks upon which individuals depend for a livelihood, as, for example, practicing witchcraft, blacksmithing, pottery-making, administering government, etc. Incidental activities are those functions which occur in the course of a broader and more general set of activities or occupation. They are usually performed daily or nearly so, and more or less regularly, as, for example, carrying water, gathering firewood, fumigating and washing milk-vessels, stringing beads, hunting insects or lizards, cooking kangaroo intestines, etc. All of these activities, it will be noted, are incidental to being a housewife. Finally, occasional activities are those functions performed at more or less irregular and unstated or unexpected intervals, or at stated periods widely separated in time, as, for example, preparing the marriage feast, building a floating-house of papyrus grass, making rain, burying the dead, crowning the queen, castrating bull calves, etc.

Tribes showing the most extensive specialization are Banyoro (Central Africa), Mafulu (New Guinea), Nei (Hawaiian Islands), Bontoc-Igorot (Philippine Islands), and Baganda (Central Africa). This does not mean that these tribes are necessarily the most specialized, although such an assumption would be roughly correct. More accurately, however, it means that, in the study made and on the basis of available literature excerpted, more cases of divided activity were discovered for these tribes. The completeness of the material for any given group is, throughout, always a matter of question. There is one point, however, that is not a matter of question: division of labor is a universal phenomena and may be found, in greater or lesser measure, in every human society, preliterate as well as literate.

Table II classifies and analyzes by function the activities of the thirty peoples studied. The most extensive specialization under

TABLE II

ANALYSIS BY FUNCTION OF 1,532 CASES OF DIVISION OF LABOR

TRIBE AND CONTINENT	SEX	FUNCTION													TOTAL
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	
		Medicine	Magic and Religion	Practices re Birth, Death, etc.	Art, Music, and Education	Craftsmanship and Manufacturing	Trade and Commerce	Animal Industry	Agriculture	Hunting	Fishing	Domestic Activities	Personal Service	Government	
<i>Africa:</i>															
Baganda.....	{M	4	4	6	5	6	4	1	1	5	2	3	0	8	49
	{F	0	2	6	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	6	2	0	21
Banyoro.....	{M	4	10	11	2	13	4	16	2	5	0	5	6	21	99
	{F	1	1	2	3	3	1	1	6	0	0	8	3	2	31
Hottentot.....	{M	5	8	4	2	9	1	6	0	6	1	0	0	3	45
	{F	0	0	2	0	5	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	1	13
Masai.....	{M	3	7	10	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	35
	{F	1	1	7	0	2	4	1	0	0	0	6	3	0	25
Somali.....	{M	0	1	5	1	2	3	2	0	0	0	3	0	3	20
	{F	0	1	1	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	16
<i>Asia:</i>															
Angami Naga.....	{M	0	9	6	4	4	1	0	3	1	1	1	0	3	33
	{F	0	3	2	3	2	1	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	16
Ao Naga.....	{M	0	3	3	0	3	2	0	2	1	1	0	3	3	21
	{F	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	8
Chuckchee.....	{M	2	7	3	2	3	4	3	0	2	1	1	0	2	30
	{F	0	6	3	2	2	4	2	0	1	0	8	1	0	29
Sema Naga.....	{M	0	4	2	5	3	0	1	2	3	3	4	0	13	40
	{F	0	3	1	2	4	0	0	1	0	1	6	0	3	21
Todas.....	{M	4	14	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	37
	{F	4	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	15
<i>Australia:</i>															
Arunta.....	{M	3	3	2	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	3	3	4	26
	{F	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	0	0	13
Warramunga.....	{M	1	5	7	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	23
	{F	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
<i>North America:</i>															
Eskimos—Bering Strait.....	{M	4	3	3	8	4	1	1	0	4	2	1	1	3	35
	{F	1	0	1	3	5	1	1	0	0	0	5	1	0	18
Eskimos—Labrador.....	{M	1	3	3	3	7	2	1	0	5	1	1	0	2	29
	{F	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	8
Osage.....	{M	0	3	6	3	3	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	6	26
	{F	0	0	2	0	8	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	14
Ponca.....	{M	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	3	13
	{F	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	10
Pueblo.....	{M	3	4	1	1	6	2	0	2	2	0	5	0	7	33
	{F	2	1	1	0	4	2	0	4	0	0	9	0	1	24
Tlinglit.....	{M	1	3	0	1	4	1	0	0	3	1	1	2	1	18
	{F	0	0	0	2	4	1	0	0	2	2	5	2	0	18

TABLE II—Continued

TRIBE AND CONTINENT	SEX	FUNCTION													TOTAL
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	
		Medicine	Magic and Religion	Practices re Birth, Death, etc.	Art, Music, and Education	Craftsmanship and Manufacturing	Trade and Commerce	Animal Industry	Agriculture	Hunting	Fishing	Domestic Activities	Personal Service	Government	
<i>South America:</i>															
Central-Arawaks..	M	0	1	1	1	4	4	0	3	1	1	1	0	1	18
	F	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	8
Guiana-Indians...	M	1	0	0	0	6	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	12
	F	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	7
Jivaro.....	M	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	8
	F	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	0	9
<i>Oceania and Islands:</i>															
Andaman.....	M	0	1	3	0	5	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	2	16
	F	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	6	3	1	16
Bontoc-Igorot....	M	2	6	2	3	7	2	2	11	2	3	12	0	2	54
	F	2	0	0	0	3	1	2	18	0	1	7	0	0	34
Nei.....	M	5	9	8	10	13	2	0	3	1	10	2	17	11	91
	F	0	0	2	3	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	13
Mafulu.....	M	4	8	3	0	32	2	0	8	2	1	1	2	8	71
	F	1	1	4	1	14	0	1	10	0	1	6	3	1	43
Maori.....	M	1	5	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	18
	F	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
Marquesas.....	M	3	10	4	0	13	0	0	0	0	2	8	0	4	44
	F	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	13
Melanesians.....	M	12	2	1	10	7	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	6	42
	F	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	9
Negrito.....	M	1	1	1	2	2	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	2	14
	F	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	11
Tinguians.....	M	1	0	5	3	7	0	0	2	2	2	0	1	2	25
	F	1	3	5	3	9	0	0	5	0	2	6	1	0	35
Totals.....	M	65	143	109	72	181	42	34	42	59	37	58	41	142	1,025
	F	17	36	52	33	93	17	16	65	8	12	124	22	12	507

each of the several functional classifications is as follows: medicine, Melanesians, Todas; magic and religion, Todas, Marquesas, Banyoro, Ponca; practices associated with birth, death, puberty, and marriage, Masai, Banyoro, Baganda, Warramunga; art, music, and education, Nei, Bering Strait Eskimos, Melanesians; craftsmanship and manufacturing, Mafulu, Tinguians, Banyoro, Nei, Hottentot, Marquesas; trade and commerce, Masai, Chuckchee,

Baganda, Banyoro; animal industry, Banyoro, Hottentot, Todas,<sup>14</sup> Chuckchee, Somali; agriculture, Bontoc-Igorot, Mafulu, Banyoro, Tinguians, Pueblo; hunting, Hottentot, Osage, Tlinglit, Labrador Eskimos, Baganda, Banyoro; fishing, Nei, Sema Naga, Bontoc-Igorot, Tinguians; domestic activities, Bontoc-Igorot, Marquesas, Pueblo, Banyoro, Sema Naga, Arunta; personal service, Nei, Banyoro; government, Banyoro, Sema Naga, Nei, Mafulu, Baganda, Todas, Pueblo, Melanesians.

Once more, as with Table I, these data are primarily significant, not because of any comparison between specific tribes as such, but because they point concretely and minutely to the universality of functional differentiation within every human grouping.

Table III compares occupational specialization and isolates, therefore, those activities of the preceding tables which are regular, together with those which, though incidental or occasional, suggest, when combined, definite occupations. These data do not mean that there are 551 different occupations in the thirty tribes surveyed. They mean that, in the literature examined, there are 80 different occupations among the Nei, 67 among the Banyoro, 39 among the Baganda, 33 among the Marquesas, 5 among the Bering Strait Eskimos, etc., and that the gross sum of these figures is 551. But shaman or priest may, for example, be counted many times—once for each tribe maintaining the specialty. Only in the sense, therefore, that the cultures are distinct and the precise requirements for an occupation in any given locality more or less at variance may these 551 vocations be conceived as different.

Among the occupations listed are the following: architect, auctioneer, axe-maker, bag-maker, bailiff, barber, bard, bark-cloth maker, basket-maker, beggar, belt-maker, blacksmith, blanket-maker, bow-and-arrow maker, bowman, brewer, builder, canoe-builder, canoe-man, cap-maker, carder, carpenter, captain, carver and wood-worker, chamber-man, chief, subchief, chiefess, clairvoyant, cloth-dyer, coffin-maker, cowman, cook, counselor, crier, dairy-maid, dance-apron maker, decorator, dish-maker, diviner, drum-maker, drummer, entertainer, executioner, fan-maker, far-

<sup>14</sup>Table II does not show this fact because activities connected with buffalo care are grouped under other headings.

mer, feather worker, ferryman, fife-player, fire-tender, first reaper, first sower, fisherman, flute-maker, fly-swatter, furrier, garter-maker, genealogist, general, ginner, great instructor, guard, ham-

TABLE III  
A COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALIZATION IN  
THIRTY PRELITERATE TRIBES

TRIBE	OCCUPATIONS		
	M	F	Total
<i>Africa:</i>			
Baganda.....	30	9	39
Banyoro.....	57	10	67
Hottentot.....	20	4	24
Masai.....	10	4	14
Somali.....	11	2	13
<i>Asia:</i>			
Angami Naga.....	11	5	16
Ao Naga.....	8	3	11
Chuckchee.....	10	1	11
Sema Naga.....	7	4	11
Todas.....	15	2	17
<i>Australia:</i>			
Arunta.....	10	3	13
Warramunga.....	8	1	9
<i>North America:</i>			
Eskimos—Bering Strait...	3	2	5
Eskimos—Labrador.....	5	1	6
Osage.....	12	1	13
Ponca.....	8	2	10
Pueblo.....	16	6	19
Tlinglit.....	13	10	23
<i>South America:</i>			
Central-Arawaks.....	7	2	9
Guiana-Indians.....	3	7	9
Jivaro.....	4	2	6
<i>Oceania and Islands:</i>			
Andaman.....	9	3	10
Bontoc-Igorot.....	8	1	9
Nei.....	69	11	80
Mafulu.....	6	3	9
Maori.....	6	2	8
Marquesas.....	25	8	33
Melanesians.....	21	5	26
Negritos.....	8	4	12
Tinguians.....	10	9	19
Totals.....	430	127	551

mock-maker, hairdresser, headdress-maker, headman-over-goats, headman-over-sheep, herald, herb-doctor, herdsman, hook-maker, housewife, hula-dancer, hunter, iron-worker, judge, keeper-of-the-sacred-fire, keeper-of-the-spittoon, king, king's cook, king's cook's

servant, knife-maker, knitter, laborer, labret-maker, leather-worker, lord-of-the-tobacco-pipes, magician, man-who-looks-after-everything, maple-sugar worker, mason, master-of-the-beer-pots-and-brewery, master-of-drums, master-of-spears, mat-maker, medicine-man, assistant medicine-man, chief medicine-man, merchant, messenger, midwife, milkman, milkmaid, miller, mittin-maker, moccasin-maker, music-man, net-maker, nurse, orator, overseer-of-the-king's-women, pig-sticker, pipe-maker, poet, poison-maker, police, pot-maker, potter, priest, higher priest, inferior priest, prime-minister, professional mourner, prophet, queen, ring-maker, sacrificer, salt-worker, salt-vendor, scout-for-king's-harem, seer, shaman, shell-money maker, slave, sled-driver, soldier, soothsayer, sorcerer, spinner, standard-bearer, steward, stone-worker and carver, storyteller, string-maker, surgeon, tailor, tanner, tatooer, tax collector, thief, tooth-fundi, trader, trapper, turtle-fisherman, vest-maker, village burier, weapon-maker, weather wizard, weaver, wind-maker, wine-maker, witch-doctor.

Table IV and Chart I summarize and compare by function the 1,532 cases of division of labor (divided activities) and the 589 cases of occupational specialization. Division of labor, on the basis of gross totals, is most extensive in craftsmanship and manufacturing, followed by domestic activities, magic and religion, practices associated with birth, etc., and government. It is least extensive in fishing, animal industry, trade and commerce, personal service, and hunting. Medicine, art, music, and education, and agriculture come midway in the list.

When occupations only are considered, the order is craftsmanship and manufacturing, magic and religion, government, medicine, practices associated with birth, etc., art, music, and education, domestic activities, personal service, trade and commerce, agriculture, hunting, fishing, and animal industry.

The relatively small number of occupations in proportion to the functions performed in practices associated with birth, death, marriage, and puberty, and in art, music, and education, is due to the excessive number of occasional and periodic activities falling within these classifications. Similarly, in domestic activities and agriculture the proportion is low because of the incidental nature

of much of the work. One raises yams and cooks them, harvests beans and shells them, hoes corn and grinds it, and is, strictly speaking, neither sufficiently farmerette nor housewife to be classified occupationally.

*Differentiation within population classes.*—Facts summarized in this chapter have been directed to two propositions: (1) Divi-

TABLE IV

SUMMARY BY FUNCTION OF 589\* CASES OF OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALIZATION  
AND 1,532† CASES OF DIVISION OF LABOR IN THIRTY  
PRELITERATE TRIBES

FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION	FUNCTIONS			OCCUPATIONS		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Medicine.....	65	17	82	45	11	56
Magic and religion.....	143	36	179	74	15	89
Practices attendant on birth, death, marriage, puberty.....	109	52	161	27	12	39
Art, music, education.....	72	33	105	23	9	32
Craftsmanship and manufacturing.....	181	93	274	93	30	123
Trade, transportation, communication, and commerce.....	42	17	59	22	3	25
Animal industry.....	34	16	50	18	3	21
Agriculture.....	42	65	107	15	10	25
Hunting.....	59	8	67	21	2	23
Fishing.....	37	12	49	19	4	23
Domestic activities.....	58	124	182	14	18	32
Personal service.....	41	22	63	21	11	32
Government.....	142	12	154	64	5	69
Totals.....	1,025	507	1,532	456	133	589

\* Table III (A Comparison of Occupational Specialization in Thirty Preliterate Tribes) shows a total of 551, or 557 if the sex columns are totaled without eliminating duplications. In the functional classification above given, this refinement of gross totals which is possible for any given tribe (either by sex or total) has not been attempted, i.e., a medicine-man or priest may perform functions that are classified as medicine, as magic and religion, as practices attendant on birth, death, marriage, and puberty, as government, etc. Such a specialist cannot be arbitrarily placed in any specific group unless the census-taker can interview him sufficiently long enough to inquire in which classification he would prefer to be placed or where the major number of his activities would fall. No anthropologist has undertaken this task.

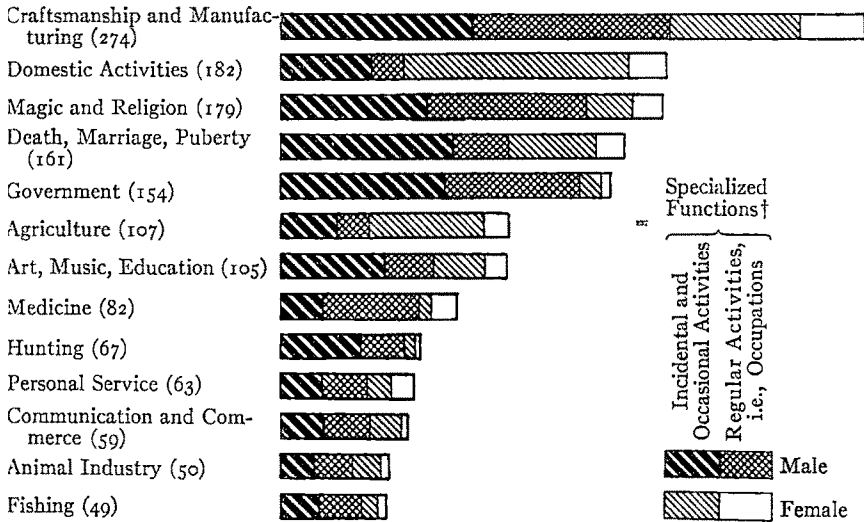
† Gross totals are retained, without the elimination of sex duplication, as in Table I (A Comparison of the Extent of Division of Labor in Thirty Preliterate Tribes). The difference (1532-1485) is slight, and the total used makes comparison between "Function" and "Occupation" data possible.

sion of labor is coextensive with preliterate social life. (2) Specialization by craft and occupation may be found in some form in every preliterate tribe. A more complete statement would involve also some reference to differentiation on the basis of (1) sex, (2) age, (3) physical strength, and (4) marital condition. All of these factors cross-cut functional lines and are, in some sense, the results of the cultural assignment of functions in any given situation.

Table IV and Chart I suggest the more important facts as to sex. Males carry on 67 per cent of the activities and are listed in 77 per cent of the occupations. For females, the corresponding percentages are 33 and 23. Considered in the aggregate, females lead males in but two functional classifications, domestic activities and agriculture, and in but one occupational grouping, domestic activi-

CHART I

PER CENT ANALYSIS OF SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR IN THIRTY PRELITERATE TRIBES: BY FUNCTION AND OCCUPATION\*



\* Based upon Table IV: Summary by Function of 589 Cases of Occupational Specialization and 1,532 Cases of Division of Labor in Thirty Preliterate Tribes.

† In a few cases, "occupation" includes one of several incidental and occasional activities which, when combined, suggest definite occupations.

ties. In this field women perform more than twice as many functions.

For any specific classification (except government), special localities or tribes can always be found, however, where women carry on an equal or greater number of activities than the men, depending upon the particular distribution and assignment of the labors of the tribe. Thus, in craftsmanship and manufacturing, females among the Somali, Sema Naga, Bering Strait Eskimos, Osage, Ponca, Tlinglit, Negritos, and Tinguians equal or exceed males in the number of tasks performed (Table II).

Cultural allotment of work to age and age groups is a further aspect of functional differentiation which is universal among pre-literate peoples. The 1,532 cases studied contain 101 specific references to the fact of age, and even more to youth and childhood.

The most striking fact which the census shows with reference to the aged is their domination of the practices associated with birth, purification, puberty, marriage, and death. More often than not, in activities attendant on these occasions, old people will be found performing important services. This does not mean that others do not assist. It means that age is overwhelmingly found in positions of ceremonial honor and authority.

Among the functions performed by old people in connection with these practices are the following: building a new fireplace on the occasion of childbirth (Angami Naga),<sup>15</sup> taking the place of the father in case of his inability to attend his wife (Angami Naga),<sup>16</sup> assisting the chief-medium at the time of childbirth (Tinguian),<sup>17</sup> disposing of the afterbirth (Tinguian),<sup>18</sup> rolling the babe in mud or snow and howling to drive away evil spirits (Bering Strait Eskimos),<sup>19</sup> baptizing the infant (Tinguian),<sup>20</sup> conducting special child-naming ceremony (Masai),<sup>21</sup> singing and dropping tobacco from a pipe onto the left toes during baptism (Osage),<sup>22</sup> circumcizing boys in return for tobacco leaves (Bontoc-Igorot),<sup>23</sup> teaching tribal customs to boys and girls at puberty (Banyoro),<sup>24</sup> conducting puberty schools which sometimes continue for four months—done by certain wise men, both old and learned, who bear the title of Oknirabata or Great Instructor (Arunta),<sup>25</sup> assisting

<sup>15</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 342.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>17</sup> Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Tinguian*, p. 262.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265.

<sup>19</sup> H. L. Aldrich, *Arctic Alaska and Siberia*, p. 155.

<sup>20</sup> D. C. Worcester, *Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon*, p. 859.

<sup>21</sup> C. W. Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes*, p. 126.

<sup>22</sup> P. Dickerson, *History of the Osage Nation*, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc-Igorot*, p. 63.

<sup>24</sup> John Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 78.

<sup>25</sup> B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp.

the father of a child in "Passing of the Fence," a ceremony associated with circumcision (Masai),<sup>26</sup> making the match and officiating throughout the betrothal period (Sema Naga, Angami Naga),<sup>27</sup> sitting on the platform during the marriage ceremony (Negritos),<sup>28</sup> sprinkling the married couple to complete the union (Hottentot),<sup>29</sup> conducting the ceremony before an interment and giving the last message of the deceased to the bereaved family (Tinguian),<sup>30</sup> watching the corpse at night (Ao Naga),<sup>31</sup> digging the grave and burying the dead (Sema Naga),<sup>32</sup> dividing the property of a dead man (Warramunga).<sup>33</sup>

Almost as important as the relation of the elders to the practices named is their functional association with the affairs of government, legislation, adjudication, etc. Among the governmental and quasi-governmental activities undertaken by them are the following: serving as clan-chief (Masai),<sup>34</sup> advising the village (Bering Strait Eskimos),<sup>35</sup> serving on the council of elders or headmen which administers tribal life (Warramunga, Tinguian),<sup>36</sup> acting as chiefs of kraals (Hottentots),<sup>37</sup> dictating the policies and actions of the headman (Arunta),<sup>38</sup> choosing the headman of the village (Tinguian, Angami Naga),<sup>39</sup> settling clan and village disputes (An-

<sup>26</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 294-96.

<sup>27</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Naga*, p. 238; J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Naga*, p. 220.

<sup>28</sup> W. A. Reed, *The Negritos of Zambales*, p. 59.

<sup>29</sup> A. S. Quatrefages, *The Pygmies*, p. 28.

<sup>30</sup> Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Tinguian*, p. 288.

<sup>31</sup> W. C. Smith, *The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, p. 104.

<sup>32</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Naga*, pp. 217-18.

<sup>33</sup> B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Across Australia*, II, 401.

<sup>34</sup> C. H. Stigand, *Little Land of Zinj*, pp. 212-13.

<sup>35</sup> E. W. Nelson, *Eskimos about Bering-Strait*, p. 304.

<sup>36</sup> B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 22; Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

<sup>37</sup> G. W. Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of South Africa*, p. 86.

<sup>38</sup> B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 20, 24.

<sup>39</sup> Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

gami Naga, Ao Naga),<sup>40</sup> throwing a horn into the fire at the end of the feast in which a chief is installed (Masai),<sup>41</sup> punishing the more serious crimes such as "bone-giving" (causing death by evil magic) and violation of the strict marriage laws (Arunta),<sup>42</sup> lecturing disobedient youths on tribal laws (Warramunga),<sup>43</sup> acting as headman of a hunting party and distributing to each man his share of the game (Negritos),<sup>44</sup> steering the war-canoe—done by an old woman of rank (Bering Strait Eskimos),<sup>45</sup> building the fire of peace at the cessation of hostilities (Sema Naga).<sup>46</sup>

In addition to government and practices associated with special occasions, medicine, religion, and magic account for a considerable number of the activities of the aged. A few of these are driving away the offending Anito who causes sickness (Bontoc-Igorot),<sup>47</sup> healing the sick and training medicine-men (Warramunga),<sup>48</sup> healing the sick by dancing around the patient and assisting him to turn somersaults—these Mediñillos are held accountable if death occurs (Negritos),<sup>49</sup> conducting religious ceremonies—done by the oldest man in the village (Angami Naga),<sup>50</sup> serving as Putir or priest in charge of the welfare of a community (Ao Naga),<sup>51</sup> acting as mediums when warned late in life by trembling fits of their qualifications for the profession (Tinguian),<sup>52</sup> singing, praying, and conducting a bonfire ceremony in time of drought (Masai),<sup>53</sup> making rain (Angami Naga),<sup>54</sup> calling up spirits and

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>41</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 300.

<sup>42</sup> B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 25.

<sup>43</sup> *Idem*, *Across Australia*, II, 401.

<sup>44</sup> W. A. Reed, *The Negritos of Zambales*, p. 48.

<sup>45</sup> A. P. Niblack, *Indians of the Northwest Coast*, p. 353.

<sup>46</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 179.

<sup>47</sup> Jenks, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>48</sup> B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Across Australia*, II, 401.

<sup>49</sup> Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>50</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 186.

<sup>51</sup> W. C. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>52</sup> Fay-Cooper Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

<sup>53</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

<sup>54</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 236.

officiating at ceremonies determining the presence of game (Labrador Eskimos).<sup>55</sup>

Other activities of old people are teaching songs and traditions (Bering Strait Eskimos),<sup>56</sup> pouring milk and honey-wine on the ground before raids (Masai),<sup>57</sup> piercing ears in return for a piece of wood (Angami Naga),<sup>58</sup> intercepting a wild reindeer that has been speared in midstream (Chuckchee),<sup>59</sup> tattooing—just one old woman in each village is qualified (Ao Naga),<sup>60</sup> inaugurating sowing and reaping of rice and millet crops (Angami Naga),<sup>61</sup> hoeing corn to assist the men (Hopi),<sup>62</sup> supervising young men in cutting and hollowing out a canoe (Andaman),<sup>63</sup> assisting in house-building (Melanesians of Solomon Isles),<sup>64</sup> manufacturing wooden dolls for sale (Angami Naga),<sup>65</sup> collecting firewood, building houses, acting as sentries, carrying loads, and doing other rough work—refers to the old women (Masai),<sup>66</sup> carrying on petty crafts and making pipes from goat's bone or rhinoceros horn (Masai),<sup>67</sup> purchasing poison for arrows (Masai),<sup>68</sup> and bartering for food (Masai).<sup>69</sup>

Young people and children, like the aged, have special rôles which vary from tribe to tribe in the division of labor process. The types of activity in which they engage seem, in the main, to be of an equitable and common-sense character in view of the particular backgrounds underlying each.

<sup>55</sup> E. W. Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimo*, p. 128.

<sup>56</sup> E. W. Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 286, 348.

<sup>57</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

<sup>58</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 341.

<sup>59</sup> Waldemar Bogoras, *The Chuckchee*, p. 134.

<sup>60</sup> W. C. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>61</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 167.

<sup>62</sup> Walter Hough, *The Hopi Indians*, pp. 67, 69.

<sup>63</sup> A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, p. 42.

<sup>64</sup> Gevege Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 204.

<sup>65</sup> H. J. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 67.

<sup>66</sup> S. L. Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 68.

<sup>67</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341.

<sup>69</sup> H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*.

In addition to the preparatory labors for the tasks which they follow through life, one finds girls and young women performing such functions as the following: attending the birth of twins and assisting the mother in their care, acting as a nursemaid, nursing pups by permitting them to suckle chewed-up seal from their lips, serving as personal attendant to the king and smearing his body with butter and medicine, knocking out teeth at puberty, serving as royal milkmaid, guarding the temple fire following dedication to the god, and sprinkling warriors with milk in honor of their services during a raid. Similarly, boys and young men cut firewood by lot for the gang, attend a pregnant woman by beating the grass on either side of her pathway, herd sheep and goats, make coffins for relatives, make rain, and guard the chief while waiting to win rank and power for themselves.

Tasks of children vary all the way from tending babies to collecting sticks and stones near hostile borders in anticipation of a projected battle. Other sample activities of children are cleaning cooking utensils, fetching water, chopping firewood, and assisting their parents with miscellaneous household duties, guarding crops against flocks of birds, weeding crops, snaring small birds for food, capturing fish by hand in shallow water, serving as cowherds, tending sheep and goats, milking goats, announcing the approach of the sacred cattle—an office held by a sacrosanct boy herald from the age of nine or ten until puberty, furnishing the power to crush sugar-cane, working as apprentices to smiths and smelters, collecting gums of myrrh for delivery to the coast, washing the corpse, beating the war-drum, beating the drum and singing songs when on the march, shooting birds to obtain plumes for warriors, making rain, offering special songs for rain, and making medicine.

Not only is there a distribution of functions to sex and age groups, but, in the third place, the labors of the preliterate world are meted out along lines of strength and special physical characteristics. Thus, among the Sema Nagas, men and women too old or feeble to work in the fields remain at home and dry paddy.<sup>70</sup> Among the Bontoc-Igorots, old people and children help during the day to

<sup>70</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Naga*, p. 117.

protect the grain from birds, rats, and monkeys by patrolling terrace walls, while at night men and women of more vigorous years drive off the wild hogs by means of bonfires.<sup>71</sup> Children and idiots act as Angami Naga cowherds, receiving two baskets of paddy per annum for their care of grazing cattle.<sup>72</sup> Old men assist Masai boys in similar work.<sup>73</sup> Among the Hottentots, young men break in oxen as a test of strength.<sup>74</sup> Strong girls of the Baganda hold children on their backs while an old man pours a specially prepared baptismal mixture over their heads.<sup>75</sup> On the occasion of the installation of a Masai chief, the two strongest men of the tribe hold the bullock that is to be sacrificed;<sup>76</sup> while, in the same tribe, the young men who are the warriors gain strength by living, with their boy servants, in slaughter houses and gorging themselves with beef for a month before a raid.<sup>77</sup> In Somaliland, the oldest and most decrepit women carry water vessels and look after the donkeys.<sup>78</sup> And among the Chuckchee, women and male weaklings carry provisions when on the move.<sup>79</sup>

Finally, marital status and relationship is a fourth factor in the division of preliterate labor. Thus, milking is the exclusive duty of the unmarried Hottentot daughter.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, among the Masai, for the first few months, the newly married woman does all of the work in her father-in-law's kraal, including the milking.<sup>81</sup> The particular assignment, as emphasized throughout, is cultural in its origin and varies from group to group.

Similarly, there are tasks performed by widows, by daughters-

<sup>71</sup> A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc-Igorot*, p. 100.

<sup>72</sup> J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Naga*, p. 80.

<sup>73</sup> S. L. Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, pp. 38, 82.

<sup>74</sup> F. Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, p. 291.

<sup>75</sup> John Roscoe, *Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda*, p. 119.

<sup>76</sup> A. C. Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

<sup>77</sup> Joseph Thompson, *Through Masailand*, p. 434; Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

<sup>78</sup> E. J. E. Swayne, *Seventeen Trips through Somaliland*, p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Waldemar Bogoras, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>80</sup> A. S. Quatrefages, *op. cit.*, p. 805.

<sup>81</sup> Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

# THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

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FRANK WILSON BLACKMAR  
University of Kansas

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## ABSTRACT

The unsolved problems of the American Indian are greater than ever. The Indian population is slowly increasing owing to education and better custodial care. The Indian Bureau is continually extending its services and of necessity increasing its expenditures. The educational work is rapidly improving. The great problem is the assimilation of the Indian into ordinary independent citizenship. The changing attitude of the Indian toward education and the "white man's" civilization, results as shown by Haskell graduates, and indications of change in social contact outside of school are discussed. To make the Indian a citizen among citizens in the political world and a co-worker in the industrial mechanism with a recognized place in the social world is of prime importance.

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The history of the relations of the American Indian to the European population and its descendants is one of great interest, made of shifting scenes, new attitudes of mind, and new conditions with new problems. Some oratory has been delivered and some poetry has been written in showing the vanishing of the red men toward the setting sun. These are but hints of a great epic which has never been written, and may be impossible to write. We have always had the Indian with us, and he is now here of a certainty with as many unsolved problems as ever, because when advancement is made in one line new conditions involve the solution of new problems.

In most instances Indians still hold their tribal organization. In the United States exclusive of Alaska there are at least 300 tribes with a population estimated at 355,901. Owing to improvement in health and better custodial care the population is increasing. According to the report of the Commissioner of Indian affairs there were 208 Indian schools all filled to capacity in April, 1927; 76,000 Indians were of school age. Of these, 69,000 were enrolled in the day schools and boarding schools maintained especially for Indians, 37,500 in state public schools, and 7,000 in mission and other independent schools.<sup>1</sup> All schools maintained exclusively for

<sup>1</sup> The number of tribes is at present difficult to determine because of the indefi-

Indians have an organization, more or less perfectly adhered to, of six elemental grades, three junior high school grades, and three senior high school grades, making in all the twelve grades patterned after the education of the non-Indian population. Such is the picture of the educational problem. The large part of the expenditure for maintenance goes now to education and custodial care, but the Indian problem is much larger than that, and very large in proportion to the population. Owing to the scattering residence of the 355,901 in different territories and situations, with varied contacts with the white race, the number of questions that must be considered is greatly multiplied. The question is further complicated because all this must be governed by a bureaucracy at Washington, thousands of miles away from the field of actual service.

Charles H. Burke, commissioner of Indian affairs, has successfully enumerated the various contacts of the federal government with Indian problems. "The federal government, through this bureau in the Department of the Interior, teaches sanitation to the Indians, promotes home building, educates the children, encourages thrift and industry, cares for the indigent and helpless, supervises the marketing of Indian products, makes individual allotments of land to Indians, teaches them how to farm and raise livestock, supervises the leasing of lands for noncompetents, sends the tubercular to hospitals and sanatoria, protects their property holdings, sells land under supervision to secure a fair price, teaches Indian mothers how to care for their homes and children, constructs irrigation projects, encourages the proper utilization and conservation of timber resources, determines heirs of deceased Indian allottees and approves Indian wills, supervises the development and conservation of mineral resources on reservations, purchases annually approximately \$5,000,000 worth of goods and supplies for use at Indian schools and agencies, and sends physi-

nite meaning of the word tribe. Estimates give the number all the way from 125 to 301, and even greater.

Owing to the difficulty of taking the census there are no accurate statistics of the Indian population. The Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, June, 1928, gives the number 355,901 as above.

The appropriations for maintenance of the Indian service for 1926 amounted to \$14,991,485. The entire expenditure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the same year was \$48,507,711.59. This included the amounts paid for gratuities, reimbursable purposes, treaty stipulations, and permanent indefinite appropriations.

cians, nurses, and field matrons to Indian homes to improve health and sanitary conditions";<sup>2</sup> and yet with all this the problems of the care of the Indian are not solved, but in many ways are growing more acute. At present the federal government is *in loco parentis* to the Indian, and he is becoming a perpetual follower with the suggestion that the Indian children will be in its care for generations, if not always, unless something can be done to cause the Indians to become socialized American citizens, standing on the rights, duties, and privileges of other American citizens, and be out from the parental control of the government.

Secretary Work said: "Centralized authority with decentralized responsibility, the fundamental of effective administration, is essential in the Indian service because of the distance between the bureau in Washington and its wards." In this case he also stated that: "After all, the Indian problem is a human one and should be treated from human standpoints." So much for the general attitude of Washington toward the Indian problem; but its real problem is not yet solved.

The main issue in the Indian question today is his assimilation to the population of ordinary citizenship. To obtain this it is necessary to have universal education of the right sort suited to the needs of the Indian boys and girls in their present status. So far as possible the Indians at large should be thrown upon their own responsibility for their living and education. This should be considered in the light of opportunity, and the young should be sufficiently prepared to enjoy that opportunity. As rapidly as possible, with safety, the tribal organizations should be broken up and individual ownership of land and property encouraged and promoted. This, of course, must proceed slowly because of the power in the unity of the tribal organization as it has existed through generations. To break suddenly away from this would cause the Indians to lose their human contact and to degenerate rather than advance. The difficulty of educating the Indian to hold his property and manage it successfully is great. This means that the government must not only spend more money at present in the employment of teachers of the right sort, but must employ skilled teachers for special kinds of instruction for home economics, conservation of prop-

<sup>2</sup> *National Republic*, April, 1927.

erty, in government relationship, and in responsible citizenship. There must be better salaries in order to procure better teachers, but teachers in the schools are not any more important than teachers in the field, who might be called community organizers, or social engineers, or vocational advisers, who should go into the community and teach the people how to live as well as what to live for. In order to procure better teachers it will be necessary to have them especially prepared for the work, and in order to have this, better salaries must be paid; but nothing avails so much in doing justice to the Indian and promoting his instruction as the abandonment of partisan politics in appointments. Also, from the administration standpoint, the sooner the work can be decentralized and responsibility thrown upon states and local communities for the care of people within their borders, the better. The practical details of forcing the government to let go its hold and abandon its bureaucracy, whose institutional power is increasing year by year, are forbidding in their troublesome aspect. It means an entire readjustment of the reservation plan of Indian control, and this is a very difficult thing to accomplish. Having undertaken the task to care for the Indians as wards of the great father in Washington, there is no letting go without establishing sufficient security to enable Indians to earn their own living, and to gradually take up with the customs and habits of the white people around them, and to live as independent American citizens.

The trouble is, the care of the Indian is like the case of the "infant tariff"—the longer it is nursed the greater it becomes—or like the story of Milo who carried a calf daily through the streets of Athens, his strength developing as the calf increased in weight, until he was seen carrying an ox through the street. That is all very well for Milo, because there is a limit to the size of the ox, but there is no limit to the size of the Indian educational problem. They are too contented as children of the state, and want to be, and there are enough people in the United States who are willing to take care of them if paid well for doing so, so that the number of Indians will increase, more thinking will be done for them at greater expense, and then, unless we control them properly with thorough-going measures, the gradual withdrawing of the support of the federal government, the greater will be the problem.

One of the difficulties arising from our education in the Indian high schools, under the direction of the government, is that these people, when prepared for their work, seek employment by the federal government. Here for illustration I give you the record of the Haskell graduates for 1926 (see Table I). With the exception of three, all of the 112 regularly employed on salary were employed by the government, which shows more and more the institution of Indian service, and will continually grow greater and increase its momentum power through the generations unless something can be done to stir the Indian to independent action.

TABLE I\*

	Girls	Boys	Total	Income Received
Teachers . . . . .	10	1	11	\$ 9,900
Clerks . . . . .	12	8	20	18,000
Seamstresses . . . . .	7	0	7	5,580
Matrons . . . . .	2	0	2	1,560
Laundresses . . . . .	2	0	2	1,380
Asst. discip . . . . .	0	2	2	1,800
In school . . . . .	23	19	42	.....
Home working . . . . .	6	8	14	.....
Married . . . . .	1	0	1	.....
Health . . . . .	2	0	2	.....
Misconduct . . . . .	3	0	3	.....
Unknown . . . . .	0	6	6	.....
	68	44	112	\$37,320

\* By courtesy of C. M. Blair, superintendent.

Now we have arrived at the real problem of socialization. It is not difficult to prepare Indian to work for Indian or to work for the federal government in schools and institutions, but to prepare them to work side by side with white people in industries and live and take social position man to man is attendant with great difficulties. This cannot be done by force only, but training the Indian in independent initiative and activity and breaking down the prejudice of both races will correct the differences in type of mind and attitude toward each other, permitting effective socialization.<sup>3</sup>

Haskell Institute has long been one of the chief centers of education in the United States. There are assembled there, at present, about 900 students representing 72 different Indian tribes. The type of education is similar to that given in the ordinary public

<sup>3</sup> See Table II.

schools of the state for white people. The old question arises as to whether the Indian should not have special attention paid to certain phases of his education which are less necessary to the white children reared in an independent existence of a dominant race.

In 1892 I made a study of the Indian education,<sup>4</sup> using Haskell as a center of investigation. I said then that the Indian will do just what a white person would do under similar circumstances. Then I proceeded to show that the circumstances of the American Indians are different from those of the white and always have been, and the problem is to make those circumstances as nearly equivalent to those of the white race as possible. In the celebration held at Haskell in the autumn of 1926 there were about 2,000 Indians of many tribes coming in from various reservations to dedicate the stadium at Haskell Institute, built and paid for by the Indians themselves. One big chief said, "We have brains; tell us what to do with our brains"; and the question is significant. After you develop the brains, the Indians must have an opportunity to do something with them.

It is interesting to contrast the difference between the status of the Indian education of thirty-seven years ago and of the present, especially the attitude of the adult Indian mind toward education. Comparatively few of the Indians who went to Haskell in those days came on their own initiative or the initiative of their parents. Usually the parents had to be persuaded to send their children to school. This kept the agents busy running over the country and gathering in their students. Also after these students were educated at Haskell, a large number of them returned to the primitive conditions on the reservation, to the tepee and blanket, and resumed their own old tribal habits. The recent attitude of the adult Indians toward education has changed greatly. This has been brought about more especially from the development of local schools until education has seemed a desirable thing by the Indians, and because education has become popular. Also, the gradual breaking down of fierce tribal animosities and the actual adoption of the modern methods of living practiced by white people have changed the very attitude of the Indian mind toward the old sub-

<sup>4</sup> *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, II, 813; *Review of Reviews*, V, 557; *Seminary Notes*, I, 98.

TABLE II\*  
A VOCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION CHART OF GRADUATES FROM HASKELL  
INSTITUTE IN 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926

	Graduated	Attending Schools of Higher Education	Following Vocation as Government Employee	Following Another Vocation as Government Employee	Following Vocation in Private Life	Following Another Vocation in Private Life	Unemployed for Various Reasons	High School Graduates with No Vocation, But at Work	Girls That Have Married	Unaccounted for	Deceased	Percentage
Business.....	88	8	49	1	16	3	1	...	5	5	...	...
Engineering.....	13	2	1	...	2	5	...	...	...	3	...	...
Painting.....	8	1	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Carpenter.....	5	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	4	...	...
Normal training.....	48	2	23	...	4	...	2	...	8	6	3	...
Home economics.....	47	6	19	...	...	3	3	...	6	10	...	...
Printing.....	8	2	...	1	1	3	...	...	...	1	...	...
Nursing.....	22	5	...	...	1	2	2	...	1	11	...	...
Masonry.....	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	3	...	...
Bakery.....	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Agriculture.....	13	2	3	...	1	1	3	...	...	3	...	...
Mechanical drawing.....	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Physical education.....	10	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...
Auto mechanics.....	4	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Blacksmithing.....	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
High school.....	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...
Totals:												
Graduated.....	281	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Attending schools of higher education.....	...	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11.3	...
Following vocation as Government Employee.....	...	...	101	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	35.9	...
Following another vocation as Government Employee.....	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	.7	...
Following vocation in private life.....	...	...	...	...	31	...	...	...	...	...	11.0	...
Following another vocation in private life.....	...	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	...	6.4	...
Unemployed.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	4.2	...
High School graduates with no vocation, but working.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	1.4	...
Girls that are married and not following vocation.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	7.1	...
Unaccounted for.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	20.6	...
Deceased.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1.0	...
Total.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	99.6

\* "A letter was written to the parent or guardian of each graduate and a request was made for the information listed in this table. In 75 per cent of the cases a prompt reply was received. It was necessary to consult friends of graduates whom we were unable to locate, in order to get the desired information.

I am able to say that I consider this a very complete and thorough report."—W. T. JOHNSON, *Business Principal*.

ject. Now the schools are crowded without any extra urging by representatives of the federal government or anyone else. There have been aroused in the Indian mind desires for the benefits of modern civilization regarding food, housing, clothing, mechanical inventions, and means of transportation which have pointed the way to a different kind of living for him. In order to have these things he sees it is necessary for him to adopt white men's ways and have ambition for education, for wealth, and for a different life. Although some of the backward tribes have shown very little improvement in this way, others have gone far along the line of improvement for wealth and power and desire to become citizens of the United States.

It is true that in many tribes Indians do still live in tepees, ride ponies, and allow their women to walk and carry the burdens; but in contrast to this it is interesting to see in the streets of some cities in the West an Indian girl driving the automobile with the father, mother, and children all well dressed in stylish American clothes. The excitation of human desire for independence and a demonstration of the way to independence will cause exertion of the Indian toward achievement.

The educational system at present is making special endeavors to try experiments in socialization. Miss Ruth Muskrat, a graduate of Haskell and the University of Kansas, has now a group of Haskell graduates whom she has taken into Kansas City and put into different homes to see how far they can be assimilated into white peoples' ways of doing and thinking, to give them a consciousness of worth on their part and the right attitude of mind toward surrounding civilization, and on the other hand to study the reaction of the people of the dominant race toward those of the backward race. With most of the Indians the consciousness of inferiority or of such great difference from the white people makes a gulf which cannot be easily closed. This will be gradually lessened by changing into a realization of worth, value, and independence.

Another experiment is that of Kate Wagon, a graduate of Haskell and of the University of Kansas, 1927, who has gone to the Navajo tribe as a vocational guide. The policy of the Bureau of Indian Education is to increase the number of trained workers to

work in Indian communities as vocational guides and social engineers, to bring the Indians into harmony with modern social conditions and to develop independent character as well, with purpose and ambition to achieve.

On account of social and tribal traditions and customs passed on from generation to generation, and in part on account of their relations to the dominant race, Indians have a different mental attitude from that of their conquerors. Moreover, through biological heredity, slowly through the centuries differentiated traits and temperaments have been developed. There is no use to ignore these differences because they really exist, whether we want them or not, nor is it necessarily a question of mental ability so much as mental difference. Some Indians show strength in one way, others in another, and in this respect there is great difference in the character of the Indians coming from different tribes. One of the great troubles in the settling of many problems of this nature is that the white man has conceded his own superiority, establishing the inferiority of the Indian. The point of approach in all Indian studies in education should be that of difference rather than inferiority or superiority or equality, and as such, if this attitude had been taken through the past centuries in our efforts to improve the Indian, and an effort put forth to make a good Indian out of him instead of a good white man, we should have had very much greater success in his civilization and progress.

Some investigations through mental tests of Indians demonstrate that Indians show strength in some ways and weaknesses in others.<sup>5</sup> They are strong in symbol tests and weak in comprehension and definition. They show more strength in observation and memory, especially in regard to home life. This is due perhaps to early training where the home and family life, and all that pertains to it, were of the utmost importance. This training was essentially a conventional imitation and memory process with the suppression of the individual initiative on account of the family and tribal domination. Some tests show some difference between the full blood and mixed blood, in most tests in favor of the mixed blood. In general, if averages were to be considered, all tests would

<sup>5</sup> Velma Helmer, "American Indian and Mental Tests" (1924), under direction of Dr. Rosenau.

show intellectual inferiority of the Indian in general, but this may be owing in part to the language handicap, the provincial type of life in early development, and the control of tribal mores and customs and conventions which prescribe the child in his activities from birth. Also the tribal taboo is against individual development of the Indian character.

Here we find the worth of socialization is increased by early educational training to promote the adaption of Indian children to new conditions, or to have new values of mutation in life which would bring about progress. There must, therefore, be injected into the Indian's tribal concept new factors of independent individual existence, initiative, and thought, whether within the tribe or without. To accomplish this the federal government ought to make special provision for the employment of Indians, not only outside of their tribe and among the industries of the world, but also outside the employment of the federal government. In no other way can we bring these people into the realization of independent civilization. They must be brought into the activities of industries and occupations such as are followed by the white people before they can be assimilated into our complex social and political life.

What a long, weary, crooked road we have traveled in our treatment of the Indians in the last 400 years. We began at the wrong end of the whole question by sending missionaries among them to teach them the law of love at the same time that the renegade whites and the renegade Indians were developing quarrels that led to bloody wars, and for self-preservation the white people were obliged to attempt extermination. We have learned something in recent years about our missionary effort to blot out all habits, customs, beliefs of the supposed inferior race and substitute a new religion, which has been all wrong. We should have seen long ago that there are good elements in all religions, good habits in all people, and good traits in all people, and upon this foundation should have developed by suggestion the better qualities of a religion of advanced civilization. We should have seen that the religion frequently taught by missionaries was one of dominance and the reduction to slavery of new cults, instead of a scientific building on a foundation of civilization already established.

The management of the territorial rights of Indian tribes has been one of the most difficult problems that confronted the federal government in the control of Indian affairs. It became customary, early in the history of our country, to recognize Indian tribes as nationalities with certain rights, with whom the federal nation could make treaties. Thus they were recognized self-sufficient nationalities with power to make treaties. This was an acknowledgment that the Indians had a right to the lands which they possessed. While this might have been a recognized theory of government in practice, the early settlers and the later immigrants failed to respect this principle and frequently invaded Indian territory and appropriated the lands. This was a cause of many wars. The claims of different nations of Europe to certain territory failed to recognize the rights of Indians and treated them as chattels that went with the land. These chattels were not assets, but troublesome factors to be disposed of according to the will of each nationality that claimed ownership to the soil.

When troublesome wars came, and the Indians fought for what they supposed their rights, and were conquered, the theory that to the conquerors belong the spoils was vindicated. The rights of conquest determined the control of territory after the war, and as the European always won in the long run, the possession of the land fell to the white people. But as the white populations crowded in on the territory occupied by the Indians, the question of moving them farther west into new territory came up. Then came the recognized rights of the Indians to the territory they occupied, the buying of their rights, or the trading for other lands. So we find a constant shifting of the Indians farther and farther to the western Mississippi Valley and to the Rocky Mountain slopes.

At first the Indians were left alone on these tracts to which they had been removed; but later, when troubles arose, the United States government took more direct control of Indians within their own territory and finally established reservations to which the scattered Indians of the tribes were removed. Every attempt of the Indian to hold to his own independence under his primitive method of organization was met with difficulties, and when placed under the control of the government as guardian of their rights, duties,

and privileges, every attempt to gain the freedom of independent citizenship has met with great difficulties. They were robbed by factors and agents who supplied the reservations with food, and when they were given independent ownership of land they were traded out of it; the whiskey vender and the bootlegger were always present to sell the poisonous stuff to thirsty Indians. Upon the whole, while the federal policy has been one of continual adjustment to new conditions, and frequently has been weak and faulty in its management, and until recently without any vision to the proper solution of the problem, still it was far superior to the practices of the people, who felt that an Indian was not worthy any consideration if he had property that was wanted by others, and it was right to take it in whatever way they could get it by fraud or trickery. Even now, with the best protection that the federal government can give the Indians of Oklahoma, there is an army of lawyers, agents, and speculators all ready to take advantage of the Indian's lack of knowledge of business and his failure in alertness at trade with the white people.

But there are a good many changes in the social consciousness of the Indians, which means not only a better socialization within the relations of their own people, but a better established relationship to the dominant race. A very good example of this growth in independence is to be related by the work of Paul G. Wapato, a full-blood American Indian of the Northwest. There was an Indian congress held once a year for consultation regarding Indian affairs. This congress had been managed by white people, who treated the Indians as wards, organizing their congress, telling them what to do, and then by expressions and resolutions saying what was best for the Indians. It is the same old story of the danger of trying to help people without doing them an injury. Gradually the help of the helpless by the strong leads to perpetuation of institutionalism and a perpetuation of the parental idea until it is accepted by both parties as the regular thing. Wapato worked his way through Wenatchee High School, and subsequently through Willamette University, taking a course in law in the latter institution. Wapato makes a strong thrust for the independence of the Indians in the right way. He wants a determining group activity built on group con-

sciousness. That is, instead of spending the time in talking about the wrongs that Indians have suffered at the hands of the white men, he wants the Indians to do something for themselves. Instead of reciting their wrongs and appearing before white people as suppliants for their help, he wants them to organize to help themselves. This is a practical illustration of what the Indian must do in order to obtain his independence, and, indeed, the social status which is due him. By the earnest activity of Wapato the congress and its organization passed into the hands of the Indians of the new generation, Wapato being the president of the congress. This is a position long hoped for by thoughtful people who are interested in the development of the Indians.

Another instance of the tendency for the development of Indians' social consciousness and co-operation in group activities is the annual convention held in Tulsa, Oklahoma, where representatives of all the tribes meet to discuss the affairs that pertain to their welfare. Some people are apprehensive about this organization of Indians for fear it will lead to further resentment against the whites and eventually to war. It does not seem probable that such would occur if the white people would do the square thing by the Indians. Government protection will be necessary in their case, as it is in new communities of white people, to save them from thieves, marauders, exploiters, and robbers who pretend to practice what they call "good business." Moreover, the attitude of mind of the Indians toward the civilization of the white man, with a desire of possessing it with all of its advantages, will arouse in them an activity which will be conducive to their higher development and will give them opportunity to exercise their group expression. Taken in their independent relationships, Indians feel conscious of power and exercise a feeling of pride in their ability and power to achieve; but when they come in contact with the machinery of civilization of the white race they assume an inferiority complex, feeling that the orders of civilization are so much against them that they refuse to play the game, so it is necessary to inspire them with a feeling of confidence that they can play the industrial, political, educational, and social game of the white man.

One of the great modern means of independent group activity

has been the training in games, especially that of football. The man who was coach of the Indians at Haskell for a number of years in the early period of the development of football said that the Indians were brave fighters on the gridiron until the tide turned against them, when they lost their courage and would not play the game through. Indeed, sometimes they would refuse to play longer, and walk off the field. However, by training year after year they learned to take victory and defeat as part of the natural course of the game. It is true that any football team anywhere is elated with victory and depressed when the game is going against them, to a certain degree, but the boys of our American colleges have learned to hang on and play the game through to the end. Games and plays are among the earliest expressions of socialization of the human race; through these we get the earliest primitive socialization, and they also form a great factor in modern socialization.

The training of an Indian football team at Haskell that could win victories over the best teams in white men's colleges was of great importance in developing social consciousness of the Indians and in reducing the "inferiority complex." The culmination of its success appeared when a new, large stadium was dedicated, built and paid for by the Indians.

It is not a fad entirely that the modern educational cause is interested every year in the building of great stadiums and thoroughly training teams for football and baseball, polo and tennis. These are great socializing processes of modern life. They are natural expressions of human nature which arouse interest and sufficient competition without the destruction of conflict. Sometimes college professors, other educators, and high churchmen deplore the fact that too much attention is being given to athletics in universities and colleges. No doubt in many instances this is overdone, and will continue so until it becomes equalized with other university functions of education. Nevertheless it must be conceded that it is a great expression of human nature. As an absorber of energy it is taking the place of the old-time warfare or the personal combat. If athletics, games, sportsmanship, and other arts of peace be allowed to have full expression they will do as much or more than any other movement for the abolition of war and the establishment

of permanent peace because they give opportunity for the exercise of conscious energy and community enthusiasm, thus relieving the pent-up tension of doing things without the destructiveness of war. That the Indians can be organized in football teams which can compete with the white man on a successful basis is a demonstration that they can organize themselves for competition in industrial affairs, that they can obtain education in colleges and absorb the culture of the past and take an active interest in the political and social affairs of the present. But before they can overcome the social prejudice that the average white population feels toward a different race, a long period of educational and industrial civilization must take place. The white people must on their part get rid of the idea that the individual Indian is necessarily inferior, therefore to be considered beneath them. All should take the same attitude of mind toward the Indian that they do toward their own group of people, whether it is a meeting of the chamber of commerce, a religious organization, the faculty of a university, or a body of university students. Both Indians and white people cannot help but recognize differences, not only in appearance but in traits. It is not desired to overcome these differences, but to have such education and training which shall allow each one to develop in every way according to his own capacity. That brings a variety of expressions of strength which fits into the variety of demands of human society. If this rule is applied to the Indians, some will be found to be dull in some lines and bright in others. A complete diagnosis of each case is needed to find out what ability is there and how it may best be fitted into social life. There is no room in a democracy for race hatred or race prejudice, and race aversion or opposition should be disposed of as thoroughly as possible. An even-handed justice should be given to everyone within the territory of the United States. Education and culture, common attitudes of mind, common industrial pursuits will gradually wear away any race feeling that may exist, and people will eventually associate on the basis of congeniality and merit, irrespective of racial difference.

The question of intermarriage of white and the Indian race has been one of great discussion. Most people feel a revulsion at the

idea of white people and Indians marrying. It has been proved, however, by actual test that Indian blood is not a bad mixture with Anglo-Saxon as far as biological inheritance is concerned. The main difficulty is the taboo against people indulging in such matrimonial lapse, and especially the taboo against the children, who cannot be born into a status equal to that of children of the white race of European stock. Gradually, however, as the Indians take on the education and culture, the language, the dress, and the arts of living of white people, the revulsion against intermarriage will pass away; there will be more of it in the future than in the past, and it will be of such high character as to be better than that of the past. Intermarriage of whites and Indians in past times has not been of a high order of social union. Frequently the demand for wives by white men where white women were not obtainable, the demand for the property of the Indians or for political power, or indeed at times forced marriage for actual self-defense—all have had a tendency to unite the races on rather a low standard of matrimonial alliance; but with the high movement in civilization these low-grade marriages will gradually disappear.

As to the curriculum of education which the Indian must receive in the schools, it must be assumed at first that if he is going to fit into the modern life of our civilization he must have an education equal to that of the white population of the dominant race. That is, he must be treated as we treat the white youth of today in fitting him for the life he must live. This means, of course, that he must have a general education as far as he is able to take it. We are adopting the same theory in our high schools, colleges, and universities. We must give the youth an education that will fit him for the life that he has to live, and this will be determined by his traits, tendencies, and abilities on the one side, and the field of human service he is to enter. Now this applies more specifically to the Indian youth, because, not having the range of choice that the white boy has, we must be sure that he is fitted for a particular occupation, so that industrial training in industry, arts, agriculture, and commerce must be dwelt upon as of prime importance. But at present the local public schools of the independent Indians or the Indians on the reservations are a most important item of Indian edu-

cation. In such schools as Haskell and Muskogee the Indians may take the high-school course, and a few will drift into general college education, into medicine and law. Gradually the number taking the high-school education will increase, and also those taking up the professions; but in university education a strong urge toward mechanical, electrical, and business arts should be emphasized.

Doubtless a few great national schools like Haskell will be established and maintained as future universities, but the sooner Indian children can be absorbed into the local grade and high schools and the local colleges, the better for their socialization. Eventually the national schools will be displaced by local institutions or else retained as special technical or professional schools.

In closing it may be said that to make an Indian efficient among Indians is of great value, but to make an Indian a citizen among citizens in the political world and a co-worker in the industrial world with a recognized place in the social life is of prime importance.

## A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF DISTINGUISHED LIVING AMERICANS

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ROY HINMAN HOLMES  
University of Michigan

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### ABSTRACT

A study of the 1924-25 edition of *Who's Who in America* reveals the fact that the cities have been more than twice as productive of individuals of eminence as the rural districts. It also appears that during the period 1840-90 the cities' ratio of productivity suffered a significant decline. It is argued that the reasons for the differences found must be sought mainly in the field of environment. Various social factors operative in both urban and rural districts contributed to the improved showing made by the latter. In the cities, the members of the less privileged classes increased in numbers at a more rapid rate than the total population, while in the rural portion of the nation the opposite was the case, the better privileged business and professional classes making a disproportionate gain in numbers. Other factors operative in the country which aided in increasing the proportionate numbers of rural-born individuals of distinction were bettered means of communication, including the growth in numbers of small towns, and of higher institutions of learning located in rural communities. The family-unit system in agriculture is an important negative factor from the standpoint of the rural contribution of men and women of distinction. The 21,600 names considered were grouped into twelve occupational divisions for purposes of comparison. While the city has been more productive than the country in the case of all the occupational divisions except agriculture, its proportionate productivity has been much the greatest in the case of artists, and somewhat the least of all in the case of educators.

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The following study is based on the thirteenth edition of *Who's Who in America*. With each new edition, the list of names is considerably altered. That of the thirteenth contains 25,357 biographies, 2,774 of which had not appeared before. One thousand six hundred and ninety-five biographies appearing in the twelfth edition were omitted from the thirteenth. I have used the sketches of 21,600 native-born Americans who furnish data adequate to cover the desired points.

Each of the 21,600 individuals was listed by occupational designation and by place and date of birth. Also, the individuals were classified into twelve occupational groups. The next step was to indicate in which census period each individual's birth occurred. For example, all individuals born between July, 1865, and June, 1875, inclusive, were listed as of the 1870 period. Next, the census publications were consulted to ascertain the population, for the census

year indicated, of the birthplace of each individual. If the population proved to be 8,000 or above, it was listed "urban"; if below that number, "rural." The 8,000 division point between rural and urban was taken because it is the only point of division that the United States Census Bureau has used throughout the period under consideration. The whole number was studied to ascertain rural-urban distribution by census periods, also to ascertain rural-urban distribution of each of the twelve occupational groups.

Table I shows that the cities have in each decade produced more than their proportionate share of distinguished individuals. The percentage furnished by the cities is 36.57; while in 1870, but

TABLE I  
RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF THE BIRTHPLACES OF DISTINGUISHED  
AMERICANS, SHOWING THE DECADE OF BIRTH

Census	No. of Individuals born in each decade	Rural	Urban	Percentage of Urban in Total Population	Percentage of Urban among the 21,600 Names
1820.....	2	1	1	.....	.....
1830.....	49	42	7	6.72	14.28
1840.....	593	435	158	8.52	26.64
1850.....	2,391	1,669	722	12.49	30.19
1860.....	5,859	3,916	1,943	16.13	33.16
1870.....	7,289	4,563	2,726	20.93	37.40
1880.....	4,309	2,538	1,771	22.57	41.10
1890.....	1,055	526	529	29.20	50.14
1900.....	53	9	44	33.10	83.01
Totals.....	21,600	13,699	7,901	.....	36.57

20.93 per cent of the total population were living in cities. As a much larger number of the individuals considered were born before 1870 rather than after that date, and as the proportion of urban residents becomes constantly smaller the farther back we go, we may say that the less than 20 per cent urban portion of the total population has produced more than 36 per cent of the individuals studied.

While in each census period, the urban group has exceeded its proportionate share by a considerable amount, the tendency has in general been one of the decreasing excess. If the results for the 1830 and 1900 periods be disregarded, as based upon groups too small to be representative, we find that there has been a nearly

continuous and somewhat marked decline in urban excess productivity of eminent individuals. This fact is brought out by Tables II, III, and IV.

TABLE II

RATIO OF URBAN-BORN INDIVIDUALS IN *Who's Who* TO URBAN POPULATION

Census	Urban-born in <i>Who's Who</i>	Urban Population	Ratio
1840 . . .	158 :	1,453,994 ::	1 : 9,202
1850 . . .	722 :	2,897,586 ::	1 : 4,013
1860 . . .	1,943 :	5,072,256 ::	1 : 2,610
1870 . . .	2,726 :	8,071,875 ::	1 : 2,961
1880 . . .	1,771 :	11,450,894 ::	1 : 6,465
1890 . . .	529 :	18,327,987 ::	1 : 34,646

TABLE III

RATIO OF RURAL-BORN INDIVIDUALS IN *Who's Who* TO RURAL POPULATION

Census	Rural-born in <i>Who's Who</i>	Rural Population	Ratio
1840 . . .	435 :	15,615,459 ::	1 : 35,897
1850 . . .	1,669 :	20,294,290 ::	1 : 12,158
1860 . . .	3,916 :	26,371,065 ::	1 : 6,734
1870 . . .	4,563 :	30,486,496 ::	1 : 6,681
1880 . . .	2,538 :	38,704,889 ::	1 : 15,250
1890 . . .	526 :	44,619,727 ::	1 : 84,828

TABLE IV

RATIO OF RURAL-BORN TO URBAN-BORN IN *Who's Who* IN PROPORTION TO THE  
NUMBERS OF EACH GROUP IN THE TOTAL POPULATION

Census	No. of Urban Population Represented by Each In- dividual Contributed	No. of Rural Population Represented by Each In- dividual Contributed	Ratio
1840 . . .	9,202 :	35,897 ::	1 : 3.90
1850 . . .	4,013 :	12,158 ::	1 : 3.02
1860 . . .	2,610 :	6,734 ::	1 : 2.58
1870 . . .	2,961 :	6,681 ::	1 : 2.25
1880 . . .	6,465 :	15,250 ::	1 : 2.35
1890 . . .	34,646 :	84,828 ::	1 : 2.44

The information given in these three tables may be stated more concisely, as follows: In 1840, it took a rural population of about 36,000 to produce each individual yet living who found his way into *Who's Who*, while it took but about 9,000 urban population to produce such an individual. In other words, in 1840, the urban

part of our population was about four times as productive of distinguished men and women as the rural. By 1870, urban productivity of such individuals was but two and a quarter times as great as rural. In 1880, the cities' relative productivity had apparently increased slightly; and in 1890, the cities' apparent showing was still better, although not as good as it had been in 1860.

A large share of the distinguished individuals born in the 1840 and 1850 periods are no longer living, hence are not included in this study. Obviously, if there is any great difference between the average age at death of rural- and urban-born men of distinction, the accuracy of the figures for the earlier periods is correspondingly affected. It seems fairly safe to assume, however, that on the average, the rural-born live at least as long as the urban-born. If their average age of death is greater than that of the urban-born, then the cities' relative productivity in the 1840 and the 1850 periods was even greater than is indicated in the tables.

There seems to be good reason to believe that the cities' apparently improved showing in the 1880 and 1890 periods is due entirely to the fact that the urban-born achieve distinction at an earlier age than the country-born. That this latter is a fact is indicated by consideration of the very small 1900 group (Table I). Forty-four of the 53 individuals here represented were urban-born. Twenty-five of the 44 are artists. The art group, which is one of the larger occupational divisions into which the whole number is divided, is the most urban in birth of all, as will be shown later; and, as indicated by the analysis of the 1900 group, artists achieve distinction, in general, the earliest of all. Presumably the 1890 and 1880 figures are influenced to a lesser extent by this factor which has so obviously distorted the results for 1900.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIMINISHING RATIO OF URBAN PRODUCTIVITY

In 1909, Dr. Frederick A. Woods remarked that "the failure to find a higher ratio for the cities [than for the country] would have been a serious blow for heredity."<sup>1</sup> Looking at the matter from his point of view, surely the *diminishing ratio* for the cities is an equally serious blow for heredity. If, as Dr. Woods believed,

<sup>1</sup> *Science*, XXX, 20.

and is very likely true, the cities are being continually enriched biologically at the expense of the country by a migration cityward of the more capable stocks, and if, as he also believed, heredity is able to determine one's relative place in life almost, if not quite, independently of social conditions, then the cities must show not alone a higher ratio than the country but an increasingly higher ratio as time goes on and as the migration continues. The markedly decreasing urban ratio that has been shown to exist evidently means that one or the other of Woods's assumptions is false. Either the migration of the best family stocks is away from the city rather than toward it or else his conception of the relation of heredity to environment is unsound. As there is no reason to assume the former of these possibilities to be a fact, the latter is presumably the case. The evidence seems to make for such a conclusion, even were one ignorant of the newer view of heredity as presented during the past few years by such eminent biologists as Child, Davenport, Herrick, and Jennings, who seem to agree, to quote the last mentioned, that "every individual has many sets of 'innate' or 'hereditary' characters; the conditions under which he develops determine which set he shall bring forth."<sup>2</sup>

The cities' superior showing as compared with the country is due to a more favorable combination therein of the factors of heredity and environment. The cities' position has been one of declining superiority. Whether the forces producing this change have been mainly operative within the city or the country, one cannot expect to determine with certainty.

Whether the somewhat general assumption that the country stock has been appreciably depleted by urban migration is valid may be seriously questioned. Without doubt, of the country young people who have shown themselves to be unusually capable, the cityward movement has been well marked. And if it were true, as is quite likely the usual belief, that inherent predispositions surely manifest themselves, then such a cityward movement would actually represent rural biological depletion. In view, however, of Jennings' statement, such a belief is clearly untenable. Obviously, there is a real possibility that farm conditions have been such that

<sup>2</sup> *Scientific Monthly*, XIX, 233.

the most of the very finest of such ability has never come to expression. The very most that can be said with safety upon this point is that *possibly* the urban stock has been enriched somewhat at the expense of the country.

Whatever may be the actual situation regarding the relative hereditary values of city and country, the truth probably is that while the question is an interesting one, it is of no real significance as far as our present problem is concerned. Every social class and type of community produces many individuals with hereditary potentiality equal to that of its few distinguished contributions to society. No other conclusion seems possible on the basis of the justifiable assumption that the environment everywhere falls short of ideal efficiency. Certain individuals are raised to places of distinction through the favorable working together in their cases of the forces of heredity and environment. Others with as good a heredity fall far short of distinguished achievement because of the lack of favoring environmental stimuli.

While there are, in each social class and type of community, hereditary limits to the numbers of significant musicians, painters, scholars, and engineers which the best environment imaginable would be able to develop—and there is no reason to suppose the limits to be the same in the various groups—surely the environment always and everywhere falls far short of ideal efficiency in the process of bringing into highest expression the potentialities available.

Without doubt certain social changes within the cities themselves are in part responsible for their declining superiority. For one thing, they have been becoming larger, and it has been shown<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> A study by Professor Stephen S. Vischer, appearing in 1925 (*American Journal of Sociology*, XXX, 551), made for the purpose of determining relative productivity in terms of American individuals of distinction, arrived at the following values:

As to type of birthplace:

Suburb of large city . . . . .	10.9
Village (up to 8,000) . . . . .	8.9
Small city (8,000–50,000) . . . . .	6.1
Large city (50,000—) . . . . .	5.6
Farm . . . . .	1.0

[Footnote continued on next page.]

that the small cities have made a slightly better record than those of over 50,000 population. In 1840, 48 per cent of the entire urban population of the United States were living in cities of more than 50,000 population; in 1890, these larger cities contained 64 per cent of the total. Presumably, however, the increasing size of the cities has merely accompanied their diminishing superiority instead of having been at all a cause for it.

According to Vischer's findings, the laboring classes, both unskilled and skilled, have been very much less productive of eminence than the business and professional classes. Business families have produced twenty times as many distinguished individuals in proportion to their numbers as has the *skilled* labor group. While the cities have been growing larger, the members of the laboring classes have been increasing in numbers much more rapidly than has the business group. In 1890, the number of business establishments in the cities was less proportionately to the size of the cities than was the case in 1840, the size of the plants was greater, and the average number of employees to each employer was larger.

This tendency toward concentration is general throughout industry. And this means that the more favorably situated groups in the cities in 1890 formed a smaller proportion of the total population than was the case in 1840. And this condition, through its development, one would suppose to have been an important factor in reducing the cities' margin of superiority over the country, unless the same sort of transition was also in effect there.

As a matter of fact, however, the opposite sort of development has been effective in the country. In 1840, the farming population, at all times the dominant rural occupational group, formed a much larger proportion of rural society than was the case in 1890. At the earlier date, a large share of the business and professional services in country districts was performed by the farmers themselves. As

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As to occupations of fathers:

Clergyman . . . . .	2,400
Professional man (other than clergyman) . . . . .	1,035
Business man . . . . .	600
Farmer . . . . .	70
Laborer (skilled) . . . . .	30
Laborer (unskilled) . . . . .	1

the communities became older, better settled, and more closely united to the cities, a more complete division of labor very naturally developed. Specialized business and professional groups, closely related in interests and in point of view to those of the cities, gradually became a more important element in rural society.

Vischer showed that the rural towns have been relatively about nine times as productive of eminent individuals as the open country. Pioneer areas are naturally, in general, little else than open country for some years after they have been occupied by settlers. Small towns gradually spring up and develop, in most cases, to serve the surrounding farms in a business and professional way. Obviously, rural America in 1890 was much better supplied with towns than was the case in 1840. As small towns are relatively much better represented in *Who's Who* than are the farms, the great increase in numbers of towns and of the total town population, as compared with that of the open country, must have been an important factor in increasing the ratio of rural births of eminent individuals.

It may or may not be true, as has often been said, that it is the brighter boys from the surrounding farms who become the small-town business and professional men. Whether or not the best of rural *capacity* tends to concentrate itself in the small towns, it is obviously the case that the best of rural opportunity is located there. It is in the towns that the best schools are found, and it is there that the best music and lectures are to be heard. Children living in the town have a more ready access to such cultural advantages as are to be found in them than have their farm-born cousins, partly because of physical nearness, partly also because of their greater freedom in general from the necessity of long hours of work. And, again, children of business and professional men may through family encouragement and influence be started on paths of development which may lead to eminence in the parental occupations or in others closely allied to them. The farmer's son may also through family aid be helped to become very successful in the occupation of his father. The difficulty in his case is that the nature of his father's occupation is such that relatively high success in it does not make for eminence.

One factor which is probably important in making for the high place of the small town in Vischel's scale of relative values is the tendency of the unusually successful business and professional men in such towns to move to the cities. A doctor may begin his practice in the country village and live there until his children are born. If he is especially successful and normally ambitious, he is likely to go to the large city for the sake of the social and professional advantages to be derived. His children, though born in a rural community, may get the most of their development in the city, with its added advantages. Upon the other hand, when the farmer's family moves to the city, the father is very likely, because of lack of training for anything else, to become a hand laborer; and the children are then apt to develop the labor-class point of view, which, whatever their capacities may be, is likely to stand in the way of subsequent distinguished achievement.

The rural portion of society has gained environmentally in other ways than through the development within itself of the more highly favored groups resident in the towns. Through the improvement of means of communication, including transportation, the country population as a whole has been enabled to share more and more completely the life of the cities. Thus, in so far as the city environment is superior to that of the country as a developing field for potential genius, the superiority has been lessened by a gradual but very real extension of its influences out over the countryside.

One of the most important factors in narrowing the gap between rural and urban facilities for development has been the founding of higher institutions of learning in rural districts. Most of the men mentioned in *Who's Who* are college men. "In round numbers, 77 out of every 100 persons giving educational data, whose names appear in the 1922-1923 edition, attended college, and 64 out of every 100 were college graduates."<sup>4</sup> The great eastern cities and many of the smaller cities in the eastern states have all through the period under consideration been able to afford their young people the opportunity to attend college without their being

<sup>4</sup> *Who's Who in America*, XIII, 27.

obliged to leave home. In the nature of the case, most country young people can never be so fortunately situated. Every college, however, that is established in a rural area makes its contribution toward increasing the ratio of the distinguished rural-born.

PROBABLE CAUSES OF THE LOW PRODUCTIVITY OF DISTINGUISHED  
MEN IN THE FARMING CLASS

The farming class is such an important element of the rural population as to demand much in the way of separate consideration. In Vischer's table of relative values, the skilled laborer is rated at 30, the farmer at 70, and the business man at 600; and Vischer emphasizes the fact that "the farmers did much better than other manual laborers." It is just as true, however, and possibly more significant, that the farmers have done much worse than other business men. The farmer is a business man as well as a laborer, and the greater significance in comparing his record with that of other business men rather than with other laborers lies in the fact which Williams<sup>5</sup> makes plain, that the American farmer is traditionally a member of the middle class, as are most business men, with a certain contempt for the wage-earners of the city. He manages his own undertaking, and in most cases is the owner. In a much larger proportion of cases than is true of the urban laboring class, he is native born, which fact tends to strengthen his feeling of likeness to the longer established middle- and upper-class families of the city.

What, then, are the reasons for the farmers' low rating as compared with that of business men, from the standpoint of the contribution of distinguished children to the general social life? The fact of the greater isolation of farm families from educational and other cultural influences has been considered. Just what part the farming class has played directly in the improved relative showing of the rural population as a whole is not indicated by the statistics. Supposedly, the gradual bettering of opportunity has made for an increasing proportion of distinguished successes coming from the farms. The nature of the farming occupation, however, is such that

<sup>5</sup> *Our Rural Heritage* (1925).

it seems quite probable that nothing in the way of improved communication can equalize the chances for eminence of the children of farmers, generally, with the children of other middle-class families. In other words, the more essential isolation from which farm children suffer is a class or occupational isolation rather than one which can be thought of in physical terms. It consists, in part, in the fact that the occupational unit is typically the family rather than the individual. While the implications of this fact are many, there are but two which need concern us here. In the first place, it means child labor. In the second, it means family and community pressure brought to bear upon the sons to keep them in the occupation.

It is a matter of general knowledge that farmers' sons usually work with the father upon the land. The important part played by this labor of children may not be so generally understood. In Iowa, where conditions are likely as representative as may be found of American agriculture as a whole, according to Warren H. Wilson, who depends for his information upon the opinion of one whom he considers competent to speak intelligently as to conditions in that state, the margin of profit in agriculture corresponds to the margin of child labor on the farm.<sup>6</sup> This statement was made prior to the World War, when agriculture was profitable in Iowa.

Just how important a factor the nature of the farmers' occupation may be in limiting the number of their children who achieve places in *Who's Who* obviously cannot be determined. That it is very important cannot be questioned. Child labor on the farm acts in a positive way to hold the children in the occupation by giving them a preparation for that life, so that by the time they arrive at the age for choosing their life-work they are likely to be well qualified to follow in the father's occupational footsteps. It acts negatively to the same end by limiting the volume and force of other suggestions. Even in cases where it doesn't prevent school attendance, or lower the quality of the work done, it is likely to act in this negative way by limiting the contacts with other sorts of occupational suggestions. Those boys who leave the farm, unless they have done well in school, are obviously shut out from the possibility

<sup>6</sup> Bricker, *Solving the Country Church Problem*, p. 36.

of advancement in fields in which educational preparation is essential. And the fact that they have done poorly in school may as likely have been due to poor home conditions as to inherent inability.

The farm is a family affair. If the son can succeed his father happily and efficiently, so much the better; but whether happily or efficiently or not, he must in general succeed his father, or else through his failure to do so be the cause of a more or less serious social and industrial disorganization. Therefore the somewhat highly organized system for the purpose of manipulating the conditions of choice of farm-born young people, to the end that they remain in the parental occupation.

In the period that we are considering, 1840-90, the need for an organized influence outside of the family to be exercised in checking the cityward drift of young people was not so keenly felt. During that period, families were larger than now, and contacts with the outside world were fewer. A family succession in most cases would develop naturally. But whenever the need was felt, the force of local opinion expressed through community leaders could, in general be depended upon to assert itself upon the side of loyalty to parents, which in most cases meant a continuance in the family occupation. The "good" son was the one who "stayed at home and looked after the old folks." The one who "ran off to the city" to find his place in life was likely to be considered "rather wild" or at least a somewhat selfish sort of person. These attitudes were among the more clearly distinguishable ones in the rural community of my childhood.

We are now concerned only with the obvious fact that the nature of the farm occupation is such as to check very greatly the free flow of ability out from it into other fields, in which success might lead to eminence. Whether or not the use of propaganda to bolster up a family occupational institution in an industrial world that has mainly advanced beyond the family stage is or is not to be justified may be debated pro and con. It is enough now merely to see that the rural ratio of distinguished individuals contributed to the larger social whole has been kept down in part by the "let-us-keep-the-boy-on-the-farm" attitude.

To the extent that the farm-born are sharing in the increasing

ratio of rural-born eminence, that fact must be due to a decreasing effectiveness of the limiting forces surrounding them. The present-day propaganda-made isolation of farm youth is very likely much less complete than the more natural isolation of earlier decades.

#### DIVISION INTO OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

The end sought in the matter of occupational grouping was a distribution into groups few enough in number to make for simplicity of treatment, yet small enough in size to make for a reasonably high degree of homogeneity in type of interests. A division into twelve groups was adopted, as follows: business, science, education, law, politics, church, medicine, art, journalism, army and navy, engineering, and agriculture.

In certain cases, the distinctions made are somewhat arbitrary. For example, most individuals of the science group are also educators; and the greater proportion of the politically distinguished are also lawyers. The science group consist of those whose biographical sketches indicate some achievement of a productive sort in science or scholarship. The education group consists of educators whose distinction apparently rests upon achievement of an administrative or instructional nature. Librarians and social workers were placed either in the science or in the education group, depending upon whether or not they are apparently entitled to distinction for achievement in the field of productive scholarship.

Lawyers whose biographical sketches indicate that they have held public office or have been active in the field of party politics were placed in the politics group; the remainder were placed in the law group. In the art group were placed those who have won distinction either as producers or as critics anywhere in the broad field of the fine arts. The journalism group consists of all writers whose writings apparently do not entitle them to classification in either the science or the art groups. Editors and publishers are also included here.

In certain cases, an individual might have been placed in two or more of the different occupational divisions. In such cases, the art classification was arbitrarily given precedence over all others, with politics, second in this regard. Where possible, teachers were classified in their field of instruction instead of being placed in the

education group. For example, a teacher of engineering would be classed in the engineering rather than in the education group. In every case, the biographical sketches were studied to determine the classification to be made; the occupational designations which individuals give themselves are lacking in exactness to such a degree that they cannot be relied upon.

Possibly the most significant fact indicated in Table V is that, the small agriculture group excepted, the cities have contributed more than their proportionate share to every occupational group.

TABLE V  
RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF THE BIRTHPLACES OF DISTINGUISHED  
AMERICANS GROUPED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

Occupation	Total	Rural	Urban	Percentage of Urban
1. Art.....	2,168	884	1,284	59.22
2. Business.....	2,203	1,177	1,026	46.57
3. Journalism.....	1,629	907	722	44.32
4. Engineering.....	1,142	645	497	43.52
5. Law.....	1,048	607	441	42.08
6. Medicine.....	1,584	923	661	41.72
7. Science.....	3,817	2,594	1,223	32.04
8. Army and navy.....	537	372	165	30.72
9. Church.....	1,924	1,401	523	27.18
10. Politics.....	3,238	2,424	814	25.13
11. Education.....	2,183	1,650	533	24.41
12. Agriculture.....	127	115	12	9.44
Totals.....	21,600	13,699	7,901	36.57

The urban excess is least in the case of education, but even here 24.41 per cent were urban-born, while as late as 1880 but 22.57 per cent of the population were in the cities. Art is in a class by itself from the standpoint of urban birth, being nearly 13 per cent higher in the list than business with its 46.57 per cent of city-born.

From the standpoint of rural-urban distribution, the twelve occupational groups divide very definitely into two divisions of six each, medicine and science (sixth and seventh in the list) being separated from each other in the scale by nearly 10 per cent. Such a marked division of the groups must rest upon a somewhat corresponding separation between the factors in rural and urban life which make for distinguished success in the various occupations. The country-born furnish much higher proportions of the six groups

lowest in the list than of the others. Without doubt, the greater simplicity of the rural environment is in large part responsible for this fact. Lacking the numerous suggestions of the city-born, the country boy has at least the teacher, the minister, and the local politician to turn to as models. Then, too, distinguished careers in the fields represented by these men may have, and quite frequently do have, most modest beginnings. The farm boy of good capacity, and strong ambition, although lacking money and influence, may gradually make his way to success in one of these familiar fields.

Quite likely, most boys, both rural and urban, at some time fancy themselves becoming officers of the army or navy. In general, such ambitions would find less competition in the mind of the farm boy than in that of his urban cousin. Then, too, as appointment to Annapolis and West Point is by Congressional districts, and as there are many rural districts, the rural portion of the population is bound to be well represented among the graduates of these schools.

As to the politically distinguished, the same factors make for a large rural representation. The rural portions of the population are naturally very generally served politically by rural-born officials, who, if of a certain rank, are arbitrarily given places in *Who's Who in America*. Then, too, the undoubted popular impression that in some way country birth is an asset has certainly contributed to the political success of many farm-born individuals in competition with men from the city.

The lone position of the art group at the head of the list, from the standpoint of urban birth, is sufficiently striking to call for a separate inquiry as to probable causes. This is the more true because of what probably is the popular belief that artists in general owe much to rural life for their inspiration. Almost invariably when I have asked students to arrange the twelve groups in what they would think to be the correct order, from the standpoint of urban birth, "business" has been placed at the head of the list, with "art" appearing several points below. Assuredly the city is the place of business—"hard," "impersonal," "materialistic"; while the country, with its wide open spaces, its "lowing kine," and "rippling brooks," is the realm of poetry and of song.

It may very well be, when one stops to think of it, that the city youth is in a better position to appreciate the beauties of nature than is the boy on the farm. The latter may be too much a part of nature to perceive anything in the way of art significance, even if his practical contact with it allows him to sense anything of its beauty. At any rate, birth in the city does not prevent one from experiencing rural contacts; and if one is of the more privileged urban classes, he is likely to have opportunity to travel widely and to touch life at many points, gathering to himself whatever his unique combination of natural capacity and training fits him to use.

Then, too, it is in the city that the finest examples of all of the arts are to be found. And early access to these models must be of extreme importance to the future artist. The better facilities for training are located there; and it is likely true that high success, at least in certain of the arts, is more dependent upon a good quality of early training than is the case in other fields of endeavor. Most important of all, surely, is the presence in the cities of appreciative groups of individuals who can give the capable young person the encouragement and the criticism that may spur him on his way. The great artists themselves are there, at least a part of the time; and they are but the nucleus of a much larger number of individuals who have the leisure and the inclination and the ability to make themselves useful somewhere in the wide field of the fine arts.

LANDSMAAL-RIKSMAAL:  
THE FEUD BETWEEN THE DIALECTS AND THE  
OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF NORWAY

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OTTAR TINGLUM  
Decorah, Iowa

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ABSTRACT

The struggle in Norway between the *Landsmaal*, the "new Norwegian tongue," and the *Riksmaal*, or older official language, has lasted for many decades and is still alive, but is less acute than formerly. The central motive for the promotion of the *Landsmaal* is the sentiment of nationalism, as the official language was considered an imposition from Denmark. The difficulty in making *Riksmaal* successful is accentuated by the multiplicity of dialects and the difficulty in selecting the words and forms to be incorporated. The struggle has assumed the aspect of class conflict, the city people and educated classes being arrayed against the rural population. The contest assumed a political form when the *Landsmaal* was introduced into the schools, official textbooks were issued, and the official correspondence of the government was made a matter of legislation. The resulting solution is at present a compromise, neither party being entirely satisfied. An interesting effect has been the heightened prestige of the farmers and fishermen, now that the *Riksmaal* has legal and influential support. The Norwegian Americans have been uninfluenced by the *Landsmaal* movement and are arrayed on the conservative side of the controversy. The ultimate conclusion of the struggle will be a new uniform language which will be neither *Landsmaal* nor *Riksmaal*, but the one Norwegian tongue.

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It is not my intention to write about what we in Norway call the *Landsmaal* feud from an exclusively linguistic viewpoint. My aim is merely to make the American reader acquainted with this controversy, its object, its expiration, and its results. This feud, which has lasted for many decades, is still alive, but during the last years has lost much of its passion and actuality. It may be that the contending parties have realized that the struggle has raised enough dust and that the words uttered and things done were worthy of a better cause.

Now, what is *Landsmaal* and what is *Riksmaal*? The *Landsmaal* is the result of an attempt to create one uniform language out of many more or less different Norwegian dialects. The intention was not to create a new language, but to give us the pure Norwegian tongue as it was spoken in the country districts, in daily talk

and by common people. And last but not least, our official language, the *Riksmåal*, was said to be Danish, forced upon us during the union with Denmark (until 1814), and as such it constituted an alien element in the nation's daily life of which every Norwegian ought to be ashamed. Therefore nationally minded men took up the study of our dialects in order to select from them words and expressions of pure Norwegian origin and, as far as possible, in common use all over the country. Out of this material they hoped to create a language which would replace the *Riksmåal*, become our official language, be spoken and written by everybody as the "new Norwegian tongue." But the able linguists, among them the well-known author Ivar Aasen, made a great mistake in fixing upon a few dialects spoken on the West coast of Norway as the standard of this new tongue. Instead of a new Norwegian tongue reflecting the daily talk of our folk, we got a mixed dialect and grammar. It was an artificial product without the original dialects' freshness and phonetic quality.

The geographical conditions in Norway, the high inclosing mountains, the fiords cutting deeply into the country, large unoccupied regions, the difficulties in traveling over land—all these together tied the people to that small spot where they were born and where most of them also were bound to live and die. Such conditions create and form dialects. In every fiord, every valley, and in many of the cities, too, the people have each their own dialect, and the dialect is a true picture of the geographical and natural conditions under which these people live. To a certain extent you can read the peoples' story in their dialects.

There is scarcely any other country in the world that has as many dialects as Norway, and this just on account of its many fiords and mountains which divide and tear the whole country into relatively independent pieces.

The individual dialects in Norway are so peculiar and different that when you hear a Norwegian speak, not only can you tell whether he comes from the north, south, east, or west of Norway, but you are able to locate him to a certain city, valley, fiord, or county. The accent acquired in childhood remains for life. One may hide his dialect for years, but in moments of excitement he

speaks it again, and mostly without knowing it. I have met Norwegians in America who came to this country thirty or forty years ago and who speak English fluently, but with an accent that instantly tells me that they are or were Norwegians, and tells me also from what province they came.

There is a wonderful thing about the dialects: people speaking the same dialect are a priori friends! They do not need to be cautious nor to watch each other; they are of the same kind, all good men and the best people of their country.

A single example will illustrate how differently people in a dialect-speaking country name one and the same thing, viz., their own ego: *ä, üg, e, eg, ei, eig, je, jei*—eight different forms, and probably there are more!

The *Riksmåal*, on the other hand, was our official language, used by government and Storting, by the officials and business people, in the churches and in the army. All instruction in the schools was given in that language; almost everybody in the cities spoke it; and it was the idiom of the educated man and the upper class. The written *Riksmåal* is much like Danish, but in *Riksmåal* hard and double consonants are used more frequently than in Danish. This in connection with quite a different pronunciation makes the difference between *Riksmåal* and Danish greater than that, for instance, between *Riksmåal* and Swedish. One may say about the *Riksmåal* that it is and will continue to be a better and more pliable instrument for thought than the word-poor *Landsmåal*. The *Riksmåal* has been cultivated and refined through centuries by our greatest poets, scientists, and our press, and it has developed in close connection with our time, while the *Landsmåal* in many ways reflects the quiet, rural life before railroads and automobiles, before aeroplanes and radio. This is shown most clearly in the fact that it is almost impossible to translate technical or scientific expressions into *Landsmåal*.

The reader may ask: Why did not the feud cease when the fellows of the *Landsmåal* perceived that the attempt to create one common tongue out of the many dialects had failed? There were many reasons. One of them was that the *Landsmåal* party did not see that the *Landsmåal* was a failure; or at least if they did, they

would not admit it. Besides that, the struggle was not a mere linguistic quarrel. The nationalism that awoke after the separation from Denmark in 1814 and from Sweden in 1905, sought a release, a field of action. The reminiscence of the union with Denmark and the Danish officials in Norway at that time was and is still alive in the hearts of the Norwegians. That black union, those cloudy days, brought among other things the Danish language into our government, our churches, and schools. The Danes brought the written Danish language, the printed word, and as such it had a mighty influence on the language used by our people in daily conversation. The *Landsmaal* followers said that our *Riksmåal* was a direct descendent of Danish and was Danish through and through, and the *Riksmåal* party said that it was our original Norwegian language, developed under Danish influence.

An important thing to the understanding of this feud is: the officials of the state, the business people, the officers of navy and army, the people in the cities, the educated—in short, the “fine” man, the upper class—talked the *Riksmåal*, while the farmers, the fishermen, a great many of the public school teachers, the students at the folk high schools talked their dialects. With some modification we may say: on one side were the rural, on the other the urban, populations. It is therefore natural that behind the fight for the *Landsmaal* were other motives besides the wish to get a pure national language. The feud involved certain classes’ social aspirations. It was an attempt to break the power and influence of the upper class—at least in the linguistic field.

This fact that certain groups or classes were fighting for the *Landsmaal* and certain classes for the *Riksmåal* brought the struggle into politics. The voters demanded to know their representatives’ standpoint on this question, and *Landsmaal-Riksmåal* became for many years the main political issue. The “Links,” for a long time the strongest political party in Norway, soon perceived the advantage of putting *Landsmaal* on their program, and under their hands this question grew to a political shiboleth of their representatives’ fitness for almost every political position, especially as members of our Storting. The national ideal became in this way a means instead of an end, a mere political catchword following the

rule that when idealism and altruism are old enough they decline into materialism and selfishness. But from that moment the thing itself was safe. As a political issue the *Landsmaal* gained step by step. The *Landsmaal* party established its own press, which, besides doing business in *Landsmaal*, had only one single purpose: to force the *Landsmaal* through! And so it did. The new laws issued under the pressure of the *Landsmaal* party and its political leaders decreed that children in the public schools and students in the high schools must have a sufficient knowledge of the *Landsmaal* to read and write it with tolerable correctness; that the state officials must answer correspondence in the tongue used by the writer; that the publications of the government were to be issued in both *Landsmaal* and *Riksmaal*; that henceforth the local boards of education were to have the right to determine whether *Landsmaal* or *Riksmaal* should be used by the instructors in the schools; that *Landsmaal* and *Riksmaal* should in public life enjoy the same rights.

The first result of these laws was general confusion. A little story may illustrate. A follower of the *Landsmaal* party, a captain in the army, sent an application written in *Landsmaal* to the department of war. In this department, however, there was no one who could or would answer, and as the department knew only one officer competent for this work, viz., the captain himself, the military officials called him to the capital in order to write the answer to his own letter. I admit that I never had the opportunity to verify this story, but it is probably true.

The new laws did not satisfy either one party or the other. The one had lost too much and the other had won too little, and the feud now moved out into the country. The followers of the *Landsmaal* tried eagerly to get the majority in the rural boards of education, and where they succeeded, they at once threw out the *Riksmaal* or degraded it to the rank of a "foreign" language. At the same time the followers of the *Riksmaal* worked diligently in order to exhibit their opponents' mistakes and show the public how foolish and uneconomic it was for a poor country to have two official languages. The practice of the new language became an expensive experiment: the school authorities had to prepare new books for the children; the government, new sets of blanks, books, papers, and documents;

public institutions, new notices; and so on *ad finitum*. And what did the people get in exchange for all their efforts and money? When we, the followers of the *Riksmaal*, for instance, saw the new notices in the trains, we had to ask ourselves: Is that in earnest or is it a joke? Is that the new way of saying "No Smoking"? Was it really necessary to pay so much and fight so hard for this? The worst of it—no, the best of it—is that the followers of the *Landsmaal* did not seem to feel very well when they faced their own products.

But the feud also brought something good. Before the *Landsmaal* came and won, the young people in the cities used to scoff at the farmers and fishermen when they spoke their dialects; and in general it was at that time very difficult to believe that a person speaking dialect could be one of intelligence and education. The dialects were not modern, not in style, and they were a handicap to their supporters. The result of this was that when the young people from the country came to the cities they hastened to hide and forget their mother-tongue, and in trying to be up to date they aped the *Riksmaal* and imitated habits and customs of the born city man. They lost the earth under their feet and became intellectual and cultural half-breeds. In this the *Landsmaal* feud brought a change. It convinced the country people that they, and not the people in the cities, were the bearers of the pure and unadulterated Norwegian culture; it raised their self-esteem and self-respect; it showed how foolish it was to judge a man's intellectual and social qualifications by his more or less euphonious dialect. Besides that, the feud increased the mutual respect between the parties and it opened our eyes to the cultural values concealed in our folk songs, traditions, and customs. We learned to see and love everything of real and pure Norwegian origin.

In America are about three million Norwegians and descendants of Norwegians. That means one-half million more Norwegians here than in the home country. The Norwegians in America have a well-developed press, vigilant for all questions of any importance both here and in Norway, and it keeps one eye on America and the other on the Old Country. The Norwegian schools, academies, high schools, and colleges are many and of high standing. Scattered

all over America you will find Norwegian clubs, societies, and churches.

How did the Norwegian-Americans look upon the *Landsmaal-Riksmaal* feud, and how did they participate? Their attitude to this feud is told in a few words. There is no school teaching *Landsmaal*, no Norwegian-American newspaper printed in *Landsmaal*, and no churches where *Landsmaal* is used in the sermons! What is the reason? Indifference? Not at all! They have eagerly watched the feud on this side of the ocean and they have used every opportunity to tell their brethren in Norway their opinion about the matter. The Norwegian-Americans called the attempt to replace the *Riksmaal* by the *Landsmaal* a mere linguistic vandalism. They could not agree with the home people in wasting time and money on such a luxury as two official languages, especially when there were other problems of greater importance to the welfare of the country to be solved. And they let the folk at home understand that the *Landsmaal* would help to tear down the bridges between the old and the new country.

The *Landsmaal-Riksmaal* feud is not yet at an end. Both *Landsmaal* and *Riksmaal* are going through a process of evolution. The *Riksmaal* has, during the last years, thrown out many Danish elements and in exchange absorbed corresponding words and expressions of undoubted Norwegian origin, and the *Landsmaal* is going to don modern clothes. Both are slowly but surely going into the melting-pot, and out of it will come a new uniform language which will neither be *Landsmaal* nor *Riksmaal*, but the one Norwegian tongue.

## GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, 1849-1928

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ARTHUR JAMES TODD  
Northwestern University

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American sociology has been extremely fortunate from the beginning in attracting to its ranks a group of men whose scholarship was first rate and whose integrity of character was beyond cavil. If we of this second generation can hold up our heads with a certain corporate self-respect, and continue to labor with some sense of growth and achievement, it is because those men laid deep and well the foundations upon which we build.

George Elliott Howard was one of those great foundation stones of American social science, of the same large caliber as Sumner, Ward, Patten, and Small. Although he founded no new school, contributed no new system of sociology, did no heaven-storming stunts to gain the ears of men, nevertheless his work was so sound that it lends an unobtrusive dignity to the whole structure of social science, including sociology.

The annals of his life are easily told. They are as simple and modest as he was himself. Born at Saratoga, New York, in 1849, he emigrated with his brothers to Nebraska via the prairie schooner route in 1868; was a member of the first graduating class at the Peru State Normal School; entered the University of Nebraska in 1872, just a year after its opening, worked his way as private secretary to the state superintendent of education, and was graduated in 1876. One of the first fruits of pioneer Western higher education, he continued his pioneering by joining that vanguard of American students at European universities, like Sumner, Ely, Patten, and Small. These young men were not only gaining the larger knowledge which would fit them for university teaching, but were also being touched by the fire of research whose methods and spirit would confer a new status upon the social sciences in America.

Howard's two years, chiefly in Munich and Paris, gave him a solid grasp on modern languages and profound knowledge, par-

ticularly in the fields of history, political science, and Roman law. More valuable than any of these special knowledges was the sense of perspective and a more or less organic concept of social history. I say social history because Howard inherited, through his European exposure, the tradition of institutional history, at that time in its very heyday, as against mere anecdotal chronicles, dynastic or military annals.

On his return to America in 1879 Howard became the first professor of history in the University of Nebraska. It was not long before his teaching gripped the students. And his ideals of research fired them also, with the result that he was early able to plant a notable milepost in the history of American social science through organizing the first graduate seminar in the University of Nebraska. Equally significant was his service in bringing the Nebraska State Historical Society into being. Western universities in the eighties were not notable for their libraries or laboratory equipment for research. Nevertheless Howard transcended the meager facilities which Lincoln offered in those days and succeeded in producing a solid piece of scholarship in the shape of his *Introduction to the Local Constitutional History of the United States*, published in 1889 by Johns Hopkins University. The proof of its author's sound work lies in the fact that this book still remains a standard in its field and has not needed re-working.

The publication of this work and his *Development of the King's Peace* in 1891 mark the climax of the first period of Howard the scholar and teacher. For in 1891 he was carried off to the Pacific coast by President Jordan as one of the stars in the new Stanford University constellation. There for the next ten years he did notable work, building up a strong history department and emphasizing the elements of methodology and creative research. Under his leadership students like Hutton Webster, Lucile Eaves, and Susan Kingsbury were propelled along their scholarly careers. And his kindly wisdom and scholar's ideals reinforced the whole social science group. For his students testify, not only to his learning and to his power of communicating enthusiasm for learning, but also to the inspiration for real social service which he radiated. As Professor Hutton Webster recalls this period, Howard "was al-

ways anxious to show how knowledge of the past might be brought to bear on the problems of the present and even of the future, how it might help us to understand the life of today and fit us for the life of tomorrow." Howard, apparently, never became a victim of the enervating and paralyzing belief that learning is an end in itself. Oscar Wilde's doctrine of art for art's sake was flourishing just at this time. So far as I am aware, Howard did not overtly attack that sterile formula. Nevertheless he never allowed it to fasten itself upon his own thinking, teaching, or research. Perhaps this is one of the chief reasons why, although wearing the official label of historian, he was always essentially the sociologist.

This was a fruitful decade at Stanford. For it not only laid the foundations of a great center of learning, but in a very real sense revived the University of California and virtually kicked it along its career of marvellous growth during the next twenty-five years. Research facilities grew; graduate students were attracted; publications multiplied; prestige mounted. Every prospect pleased. Suddenly came the explosion, known in academic history as the "Ross Case." Howard saw the issue as a threat against academic freedom. Nothing else in his whole career reveals so clearly his courage, his sense of social values, his integrity, and his exalted concept of the scholar's function. For he promptly sacrificed his academic career, resigned his professorship as a public protest on a matter of principle, and really led what has become known as the first "faculty walk-out" in American history. The American professorate took on a new dignity and a new self-respect as the result of this noble protest. But it was a costly sacrifice. Remember that Howard was over fifty at the time, had struck deep roots in California, enjoyed the confidence of colleagues and students, and from the human standpoint was entitled to look forward to an increasing easement from financial concern. But none of these considerations held him back.

Nor did he apparently indulge in vain regrets, in spite of the fact that he was without a permanent university connection for five years. I recall the efforts of former students and colleagues to create a research center for him and to secure funds to finance it. But the time was not yet ripe for such plans. The age of founda-

tions and national research organizations had not yet opened. Nevertheless with calmness and serenity both Howard and his devoted wife lived actively, for the most part in the preparation of his greatest and best-known work, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions*. Approximately twenty years of his own most intensive research, plus help from graduate students, colleagues, and his wife, a considerable investment of money, and a large special library went into those three packed volumes of somewhat near two thousand pages issued under imprint of the University of Chicago in 1904. This work not only gave Howard personally an international reputation, but served to raise the whole level of American scholarship. Its proof of broad and intensive reading, but without parade, its caution, reserve, and judicious temper, its frankness and candor without truculence, its illuminating perspectives, its essential liberalism, and its focusing of historical experience upon vital present-day problems, all these meant more and mean more now than a mere new high record of scholarly performance—knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Too frequently such a *magnum opus* becomes a rather stark and futile monument to years of wasted effort, measurable only by cubic content of library space occupied by it. Nearly three decades of academic social scientists, legislators, and private citizens interested in a juster, more rational system of domestic relations are indebted to Howard's work. The whole family of social sciences was enriched by it. Its practical effects leaped the Atlantic, for he was invited as an expert on the history of domestic relations to testify before a British parliamentary commission.

This high-water mark of Howard's scholarly production did not by any means end his services to sociology. During the period from 1901 to 1904 he divided his time between writing and part-time teaching, acting as a professorial lecturer at Cornell and Chicago. In 1904 he returned to his alma mater as professor of institutional history. In 1906 he became head of its newly organized department of political science and sociology. He threw himself into his new work with all the energy of a master-builder. For by this time his center of interest had shifted from history, and even social history, to out-and-out sociology in both its theoretical and

practical aspects. Increasing contacts with foreign as well as American sociologists came to him through travel and summer school teaching as well as by his books. His various sociological course syllabi and his private library of over three thousand volumes of history and social science reveal how carefully he cultivated his field. The inevitable result was a stream of students, many of them children of those whom he had stirred back in the eighties.

His last distinctly historical writing on a large scale was the volume on *Preliminaries of the American Revolution* in A. B. Hart's series. But he also contributed articles on modern English history and biography to the *New International Encyclopedia*. His briefer sociological writings include his paper on "Social Control and the Function of the Family" at the St. Louis Congress of Arts and Science in 1904; articles on marriage and divorce for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Bliss's *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, and the Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*; "The Social Psychology of the Spectator," "The Social Control of Domestic Relations," "The Social Cost of Southern Race Prejudice," and "Alcohol and Crime" in the *American Journal of Sociology*; "Changed Ideals and Status of Family and Public Activities of Women" in the *Annals of the American Academy*. Certain popular magazines catering to a domestic clientèle secured from him concise articles on the problem of divorce. His interest in sociological curriculum building appeared in the article "What Courses in Sociology Should Be Included in College Departments of Household Science?" in the *Journal of Home Economics*. I am not pretending here to give a complete bibliography of Howard's writings, but only to illustrate the breadth and genuineness of his sociological interest.

During these years also he found time to take part in the work of the American Sociological Society. It is to the everlasting credit of the Society that we had the wit to do overt honor to this shy, modest, courtly scholar by electing him president in 1917. He was also made an honorary vice-president of the Institut International de Sociologie of Paris. For the last ten years of his active academic life he gave only part time to university teaching, concentrating on his seminar. In 1924 he was retired and gave up all teaching.

Impaired eyesight had long hindered his research and finally terminated scholarly output. But he bore this trial cheerfully. Just before Christmas last year I was fortunate enough to be able to make a little pilgrimage to his modest home on the outskirts of Lincoln. Not the slightest hint of handicap or deprivation came from him or his devoted wife. He had done his work and done it well; that was enough. The essential calm and modesty which had marked him even in the stormiest academic days had now become so touched with age that it evoked spontaneous reverence. His friends, ever solicitous about his fragile health, were not surprised at the news of his passing on June 9 in Lincoln after a winter in Florida.

What does Howard stand for to the sociologist? Of his powers in creative research there can be no question; and two generations of students testify to his mastery in the classroom. As one of them recently wrote me:

Professor Howard's scholarship commands respect in all centers of learning; but those who knew him in life will remember him chiefly as a great teacher. Thousands of pupils have profited by his earnestness and fine integrity. He never spared himself in efforts to assist and inspire his pupils. When he found someone willing to do genuinely scholarly work, he gave generously, if not extravagantly, of his teaching services.

For example, when I attended Stanford University he conducted a research seminar of which I was the sole member. He happened to have no other pupils at that time of my maturity and scholarship. He gave me a special course on the family, a subject in which he was doing research at the time. We met at intervals for reports and discussions of assigned readings. Other graduate students interested in special research projects have received similar personal supervision.

During my years of association with him as a student and fellow-teacher I found him critical and discriminating but extremely generous in appreciation of all sincere, scholarly work. His women pupils were grateful for the justice and complete lack of sex bias with which they were treated. He was an enthusiastic supporter of all efforts to promote equality between the sexes in opportunities and recognition. His women associates were inspired by his faith in their capacity to do scholarly work, or to assist in dealing with important issues of our social or political life. Men and women who were privileged to catch glimpses of his vision of a social order permeated with justice, intelligence, and human sympathy will continue in many communities the fine influence of the long life of this great teacher.

But in our days both these qualities of scholarship and teaching ability are, by lip service at least, taken for granted in the academic sociologist. Howard's abiding contribution therefore was his own life, outlook, and spirit. He achieved in his own experience the unity and solidarity of social science. He was a master of learning, and not its victim. Vast as was his range of reading and his command of historic facts, he could always communicate sound perspective to them; hence one always senses the presence of an orderly mind, and not a mere person with an overwhelming bibliography. In him was no arrogance of superior knowledge, but the humility of the true scholar who aims to share his stores for the world's betterment. This generosity led him to go out of his way, as Charles Richmond Henderson was wont to do, to encourage younger scholars and to help them on their way. His courage led him to stand up without bombast for principle, as in the Stanford episode, or for truth as against mere tradition in laying bare the ineptitude of the church in domestic relations. He knew how to criticize without dropping into noisy, vulgar controversy. His unflinching dignity and good taste marked the true gentleman. He was a genuine liberal, lent encouragement to social welfare measures, spoke out boldly for the enfranchisement of women, and demonstrated that social theory need not atrophy one's humanity or sense of concrete social reality. May his integrity, his courage, and his sober good sense continue to invest all our research projects, our teaching, our community work in the name of sociological science.

## STUDENTS' DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY SUPPLEMENTAL LIST FROM COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The doctoral dissertations and Master's theses in progress in the department of sociology at Columbia University were not included in the September issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*. The following lists do not include a number of additional titles determined upon since May, 1928, when the call for data was issued by the editors. The dates given indicate the probable year in which the degrees will be conferred.

### DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

- Theodore Abel, A.B. Posnai, 1923. "Recent Sociological Developments in Germany." 1928. *Columbia*.
- Helen Olive Belknap, A.B. Oberlin, 1913; M.A. Columbia, 1917. "Neighborhood Trends." 1929.
- Leroy E. Bowman, A. B. Chicago, 1911. "Neighborhood Organization in New York City." 1929.
- Jane Perry Clark, A.B. Vassar, 1920; M.A. Columbia, 1922. "Social Aspects of American Deportation Procedure." 1929.
- H. C. Coffman, A.B. Kansas, 1915; M.A. Michigan, 1922. "Conflict in Local Communities." 1929.
- Dean Dutcher, A.B., M.A. Denver, 1914, 1915; B.D. Auburn, 1917. "Changes in Distribution of Negro Population in the United States." 1929.
- Christine Galitzi, A.B. Sorbonne, 1922; M.A. Columbia, 1924. "The Roumanians in the United States." 1928.
- S. Colum. GilFillan, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1910; M.A. Columbia, 1920. "Invention in the History of the Ship." 1928.
- Marius Hansome, B.Ed. Washington, 1920. "World Workers Education." 1928.
- Douglas G. Haring, B.S. Colgate, 1914; M.A. Columbia, 1923; B.D. Rochester Theological, 1923. Diploma, Japanese Language School, Tokyo, 1924 (3-year course). "A Study of the Position of the Ruler in pre-Taikwa Japan." 1929.
- Sara Buchanan Huff, A.B. Teachers College, Columbia, 1919; M.A. Columbia, 1920; Social Science Diploma, University of London, 1923. "Training for Social Leadership in Rural Communities." 1930.
- Mary E. Johnson, A.B. Syracuse; M.A. Columbia. "A Study of Interest Tension in Casual Groups." 1929.
- Elsa Peverly Kimball, A.B. Cincinnati, 1919; A.M. Columbia, 1923. "The Place of Invention in Social Theory." 1930.

- Christanthos Loukapoulos, A.B. Pacific University, 1923; M.A. Columbia, 1928; B.S. Oregon, 1926. "The Incidence of Population Doctrines upon the Public Mind." 1930.
- W. C. Lehman, A.B. Mission House College; M.A. Vanderbilt. "Contributions of Adam Ferguson to Sociological Theory." 1929.
- Charles F. Marden, A.B. Dartmouth, 1923; M.A. Columbia, 1926. "The French-Canadian in New England: A Study in Assimilation." 1929.
- Henry Miller, B.A. City College of New York, 1921; M.A. New York University, 1924. "Theories of Social Conflict." 1929.
- Jerry A. Neprash, A.B. Coe, 1925; M.A. Columbia, 1926. "The Measurement of Public Opinion in the Iowa Senatorial Election, 1920-26." 1930.
- Dimitry T. Pitt, B.S. Agriculture, Vermont, 1926; M.S. Rutgers, 1927. "The Growth of Population in New Jersey." 1929.
- Claude E. Robinson, A.B. Oregon; M.A. Columbia, 1926. "The History of the National Child Labor Committee." 1929.
- Jacob Saposnekow, B.S. College of City of New York, 1916; M.A. Columbia, 1917. "The Sociological Theories of Jacques Novikow." 1929.
- Barkev Sanders, B.S. State Normal School, 1926; M.A. Columbia, 1927. "A Statistical Study of Patents in the United States." 1929.
- Elizabeth Scherer, A.B. Wilson College, 1917; M.A. Columbia, 1928. "Social Origins of Some Concepts of Freedom Held by Modern Youth." 1929.
- Elbridge Sibley, A.B. Amherst, 1924; M.A. Columbia, 1925. "A Statistical Study of Negro Health in Tennessee." 1929.
- Helen Stuart, B.S. Teachers College, 1926; M.S. Columbia, 1927. "The Library and Public Opinion." 1928.
- Andrew G. Truxal, A.B. and M.A. Franklin and Marshall, 1920; B.D. Theological Seminary of Reformed Church, 1923. "Outdoor Recreation Legislation and Its Effectiveness." 1928.
- Russell Smith, A.B. Richmond College, 1911; M.A. Columbia, 1914. "Culture Areas and Demographic Districts." 1929.
- W. C. Waterman, A.B. Syracuse, 1915; A.M. Columbia, 1918. "Social Hygiene Work in New York City since 1900." 1929.
- R. Clyde White, A.B. Texas, 1917; B.D. Union Theological Seminary, 1922; M.A. Columbia, 1922. "The Ecclesiastical Basis and the Effects of Denominationalism in Rural Texas." 1928.
- Julian L. Woodward, M.E. Cornell, 1922; M.A. Columbia, 1926. "News from Abroad: A Statistical Study of American Newspaper Content." 1929.
- Wen Tsao Wu, A.B. Dartmouth; M.A. Columbia. "The Chinese Opium Question in British Opinion and Action." 1928.

## MASTER'S THESES

- Genevieve Olcott Anderson, A.B. Wellesley, 1918. "The Professional Character, Training and Equipment of More Than Two Hundred Social Workers Placed during 1927 by Joint Vocational Service Inc." 1928.

- Dorothy Day, B.S. Skidmore, 1927. "International Labor Standards Regulating the Employment of Women and Children." 1928.
- K. Chawdry, A.B. Columbia, 1927. "Principles of Inter-group Conciliation." 1928.
- Eleanor E. Coleman, A.B. Fisk. "The Maladjusted Child in the Public Schools of New York City." 1928.
- Anna Frankle, A.B. Hunter, 1923. "Consumers Co-operatives in New York City." 1928.
- Bessie Hart, A.B. Meredith, 1922. "A German Community in Virginia." 1928.
- Michiji Ishikawa, A.B. Pomona, 1927. "Japanese in California." 1928.
- Louis W. Ingram, A.B. Dartmouth, 1926. "Some Mechanisms of Public Opinion." 1928.
- Sadie Klein, A.B. Cornell. "The Sheppard-Towner Act: A Study in Humane Legislation." 1928.
- Asa Matsuoka, B.S. Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927. "Social Relations of Married Women under Present Marriage Laws in the United States and Japan." 1928.
- Earl C. McMahon, B.S. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1926. "Administration of Workmen's Compensation Laws in New Jersey." 1928.
- Viola Nuzum, B.A. Indianola, 1922. "Weekly Rest Day in Industry." 1928.
- Venola R. Ridley, A.B. Washburn, 1927. "Public Opinion and the Negro Press." 1928.
- W. Elizabeth Scherer, A.B. Wilson College, 1917. "Student Opinion Regarding the Curriculum." 1928.
- Erie Hidefumi Sawada, Bachelor of Commerce, Waseda University, 1925. "Recreation Problems of Factory Workers." 1928.
- Noborn Takahashi, B.A. Wabash College, 1927. "The Use of Leisure Time by Japanese Students in New York City." 1928.
- Margaret Wilkerson, B.A. Goucher, 1925. "Old Brighton: A Community Study." 1928.
- Milton S. J. Wright, A.B. Wilberforce, 1926. "The Historical Development of the Negro Press." 1928.

## NEWS AND NOTES

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Notes of interest to readers of the *Journal* should be in the hands of the editor of "News and Notes" not later than the tenth of the month preceding publication.

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*The American Sociological Society.*—The Twenty-third Annual Meeting was held in Chicago, at the Congress Hotel, December 26–29, 1928. An account of the division and section meetings will appear in the March issue of the *Journal*.

The new members received into the Society since our last issue and up to November 27, are as follows:

Anderson, C. Arnold, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

Armstrong, Dr. Clairette P., Psychologist, Children's Court, 9 E. 97th St., New York

Beck, F. O., 2000 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Ill.

Bickley, Donald, 53 Hitchcock Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago

Block, Irwin Stuart, Hitchcock Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago

Brewer, Ralph McKendree, Warrenton, Mo.

Carlson, John E., Apt. 43, 29 Waverly Place, New York

Cherry, Thomas Ewing, Jr., 3 East 112th St., New York

Clayton, Bovard, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill.

Cope, Persis M., 1236 Washtenaw Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.

Corson, John J., III, News Setter Office, University, Va.

Croake, Thomas E., 127 Carroll Ave., Mamaroneck, N. Y.

Domanski, Teresa B., 2548 Richmond St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dressler, Jonas H., 942 Nineteenth Ave., N.E., Minneapolis, Minn.

Duncan, Otis Durant, L. S. U. Station, Baton Rouge, La.

Ensign, Inez, 133 W. First St., Oklahoma City, Okla.

Ettinger, Clayton James, 564 W. Greendale Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Field, Erlund, Old Boston Post Road, Weston, Mass.

GilFillan, Louise W., Rosenwald Industrial Museum, 300 W. Adams St., Chicago

Gosline, Harold Inman, 16 Maple Place, Ossining, N. Y.

Gustafson, Elton T., 8 W. 87th St., New York

Haenzel, William M., 151 W. Utica St., Buffalo, N. Y.

Hausler, Edith, 7348 Paxton Ave., Chicago

- Hendry, Charles Eric, Boys' Club Study, School of Education, New York University, New York
- Henry, Edward A., Director of Libraries, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
- Hunt, Joseph M., 1548 S. Lincoln, Neb.
- Hursh, Martha Elizabeth, 606 W. Ohio St., Urbana, Ill.
- Ireland, Roberta W., 1120 N. Clark St., Chicago
- Jandy, Edward C., 423 Cross St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Johnson, Vivian, 306 S. Lincoln Ave., Urbana, Ill.
- Kendrick, Mary Alice, 621 W. Elm St., Evanston, Ill.
- Kennedy, James Boyd, Presbyterian College, Clinton, S. C.
- King, John Lawrence, Camas, Wash.
- Kistler, Ernest, Union Grove, Wis.
- Kinney, John M., 7727 Latona Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
- Kirkpatrick, Blaine E., 740 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.
- Kline, Bordeen, 2150 W. North Ave., Chicago
- Lanagan, C. A., 11 E. Davenport St., Iowa City, Iowa
- Levy, Marshall H., 412 Camden Court, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Loomis, Charles P., 3205 Hillsboro St., R. 4, Raleigh, N. C.
- McConnell, J. Paul, Box 491, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Malone, Tennessee, West Texas State Teachers College, Canyon, Tex.
- Mautone, Ralph A., 3520 Fulton Blvd., Chicago
- Mekeel, Scudder, 1320 E. 57th St., Chicago
- Merrill, Miss Julia W., 701 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago
- Milo, Martha L., 54 Wall St., Staten Island, N. Y.
- Mook, Maurice A., Sugertown, Pa.
- Nash, Miss Dorothy L., 1103 W. Oregon St., Urbana, Ill.
- O'Connor, Thomas, Niagara University, Niagara, N. Y.
- O'Dell, De Forest, 3630 N. Meridian St., Apt. 3, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Palmer, William B., 404 S. Fifth Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Panunzio, Lenore, 627 Terrace Place, Whittier, Calif.
- Pattillo, Manning M., Box 46, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Petersen, Eugen H., 236 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Prochaska, Bernice Alma, 6704 Lexington Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
- Raper, Arthur, Box 229, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Reis, Adelaide L., Chapin Hall, Evanston, Ill.
- Richardson, Anna E., American Home Economics Association, 617 Mills Bldg., Washington, D. C.
- Richman, Leon Harry, 1800 Selden St., Chicago
- Riggio, Luisella, 407 E. 114th St., New York

- Rugen, Mabel E., 57 W. 75th St., New York  
Sellin, Thorsten, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Shaw, Miss Jack, 801 S. Wright Ave., Champaign, Ill.  
Shove, Clare, P. O. Box 139, Iowa City, Iowa  
Smith, Richard Bertrand, 2017 S. 26th St., Lincoln, Neb.  
Smyth, Margaret Lorraine, 586 Oxford Ave., Montreal, Quebec, Canada  
Spiker, Dorothy L., 2150 W. North Ave., Chicago  
Standing, Theodore G., College of Commerce, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa  
Stevens, Frances, 830 N. Austin Blvd., Oak Park, Ill.  
Stevens, Raymond B., 517 W. 3d St., Elmira, N. Y.  
Taeuber, Conrad F., Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Talbot, Nell Snow, 801 Cass St., Chicago  
Thomson, Charles A., 5708 Maryland Ave., Chicago  
Tingley, Mrs. Helen Eloise, 2146 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill.  
Van Schaeck, Miss Mary-Morris, 5757 Kenwood Ave., Chicago  
Vold, Mrs. George B., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Waldman, Lester J., 745 Riverside Drive, New York  
William, John Henry, Box 217, Chapel Hill, N. C.

*Social Science Abstracts.*—At the Hanover Conference of the Social Science Research Council it was decided that the first issue of *Social Science Abstracts* should appear in March, 1929. Only articles in periodicals will be abstracted in 1928, and books, monographs and serials will not be included until the second year. It is estimated, therefore, that about 15,000 articles will be abstracted the first year. From these beginnings *Social Science Abstracts* will work toward inclusiveness. The yearly subscription rate is \$6.00, including annual indexes. Subscriptions and other communications may be sent to the editor, F. Stuart Chapin, 611 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

*Alpha Kappa Delta.*—Alpha Kappa Delta, honorary sociology fraternity, now has nineteen active chapters in various colleges and universities of the United States. The state universities represented are Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin. The privately endowed institutions are Baylor, Cornell, Hamline, Loyola, Miami, Morningside, Northwestern, Ohio University, Omaha, Pomona, Southern California, and Stanford.

The national officers are elected at the biennial meetings of the af-

filiated chapters of Alpha Kappa Delta. The officers for the past two years were: Professor Emory S. Bogardus, Southern California, president; Professor Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas, vice-president; Professor Kimball Young, Wisconsin, secretary and treasurer; Mrs. Merle L. Schmidt, Lake Mills, Wisconsin, corresponding secretary.

The purpose of this organization is to foster the growth of sociology in this country, and particularly to stimulate research among its members and in the various institutions with which it is connected. The local chapters are relatively autonomous. The national organization is a coordinating organization whose purpose is to stimulate the spread of the organization and to assist in the maintenance of its common purposes.

Each institution mentioned has its own chapter, its own constitution and officers, and carries out its own program. There is no membership in Alpha Kappa Delta independent of the membership in particular chapters. As a matter of common practice any sociology club in a particular university or college, through its department, may apply for a charter for a local chapter from the national organization. This application is then submitted to all the chapters of the organization and a three-fourths majority of the chapters is sufficient for the granting of a charter. The installation of officers in the new chapter rests upon the national officers in connection with the newly founded chapter. Each chapter has a faculty representative who co-operates with the local chapter officers in laying out a policy for the particular chapter. Very frequently a chapter sponsors discussion groups on contemporary social problems, or brings speakers to the institution for lectures, and in a number of cases stimulates research by granting prizes or providing a stipend for research projects. Any sociology club or department interested in this organization should address letters of inquiry to the national secretary and treasurer.

*American Council of Learned Societies.*—The American Council of Learned Societies announces that it is able to offer, in each of the three years 1929–31, a limited number of small grants to individual scholars to assist them in carrying on definite projects of research in the humanistic sciences (philosophy, philology and literature, linguistics, art and archaeology, and history).

The grants are designed to facilitate and encourage research by mature scholars who are engaged in constructive projects of research, and who are in actual need of such aid and unable to obtain it from other sources. The grants are available for specific purposes, such as travel,

personal and secretarial assistance, the preparation or purchase of equipment, material, etc.

The grants are restricted to scholars who are citizens of the United States or who are permanently domiciled or employed therein. They will not be awarded for the purpose of aiding in the fulfilment of the requirements for any academic degree, and as a rule, preference in their award will be given to scholars who lack access to other funds maintained for similar purposes.

The maximum amount of these grants is \$300. Applications for grants to be awarded in 1929 must be made not later than January 31. Information respecting mode of application, etc., will be furnished upon request to Waldo G. Leland, permanent secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

*Dictionary of American Biography.*—The American Council of Learned Societies held a dinner on Tuesday, November 13, in Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, on the occasion of the publication of the first volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

*Chinese National Research Institute.*—Dr. Tsi C. Wang, author of *The Youth Movement in China*, is now connected with the National Research Institute, in Shanghai, China. The sociological division of the Institute is planning to develop a social research laboratory and to make continuous social studies in Shanghai.

*Fourth Pan-Pacific Science Congress.*—The Fourth Pan-Pacific Science Congress will be held in Batavia, Java, May 16 to May 25, 1929, under the auspices of the Netherlands Indies Pacific Research Committee and supported by the patronage of the Netherlands Indies government. In the program of the forthcoming conference special emphasis will be laid on agriculture, which is a dominating interest in the Netherlands East Indies. All branches of the physical and biological sciences bearing on tropical life and conditions will be discussed at the congress. The first meeting of the before-mentioned congress was inaugurated at Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1920, and subsequent meetings have been held in Australia and in Japan.

*American Country Life Association.*—The directors of the Association have selected as a general topic for the 1929 national conference the subject "Rural Organization." Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, has been selected as the place of meeting.

*Russell Sage Foundation.*—The October, 1928, *Bulletin of the Library of the Foundation* is devoted to a selected bibliography on "Legal Aid," compiled with the assistance of Sarah C. Currell.

*American Country Life Association.*—President J. M. Gillette appointed Dr. Edward T. Devine, dean of the American University, to represent the American Sociological Society at a council meeting of the American Country Life Association and other organizations at Washington on December 23.

*American Field Service Fellowships in French Universities.*—The *Journal* has received the ninth annual report of the executive secretary of the American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities, Inc., covering the year 1927, and including the award of fellowships for 1928-29. With the completion of a decade of its work, 147 Americans will have been sent to France for advanced study, as follows: The number of candidates for fellowships for the academic year 1928-29 was 91, of which 3 were in sociology. For the year 1928-29, 9 awards of fellowships were made to new candidates and 3 fellowships were renewed for the second year. Fellowships carry a stipend of \$1,200. Full information may be obtained from Archie M. Palmer, Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York.

*National Bureau of Economic Research.*—The Bureau announces the publication of *Trends in Philanthropy*, a report which shows how giving for religious work, health and recreational activities, hospitals, poor relief, and "character building" efforts compare, year by year, over a twenty-five year period. It also compares amount of giving with total wealth.

*Foundation for Mental Health.*—The establishment of a new philanthropic foundation known as the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene, Incorporated, was announced at the nineteenth annual meeting of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene held in November in New York City.

Unlike most foundations created by persons of wealth interested in specific charities or other philanthropic projects which benefit from endowments immediately available, the new foundation comes into existence without an endowment of its own but with the confident hope of securing the funds necessary to carry out its purposes. The foundation has already been made the beneficiary of a gift of \$50,000 from the executors of the estate of the late Mrs. John I. Kane, and has also a conditional pledge of \$100,000 toward its first million dollars of endowment.

*First International Congress of Mental Hygiene.*—Plans for the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene to be held at Washington, D.C., in May, 1930, were adopted at the nineteenth annual meeting of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene held November 8 at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City. Funds sufficient to guarantee the basic expenses of the Congress have been made available through the newly organized American Foundation for Mental Hygiene.

*Child Guidance Clinics.*—The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, New York City, announces the publication of a completely revised and much enlarged edition of *The Directory of Psychiatric Clinics for Children in the United States*, first published in 1925. This directory shows that more than three hundred of these clinics have come into existence since 1922.

*The Commonwealth Fund.*—*The Problem Child at Home* is a new book by Mary Buell Sayles which has grown out of the Commonwealth Fund program for the development of child guidance.

*Chicago Theological Seminary.*—Under the auspices of the Seminary, and in co-operation with the Chicago Forum, the Chicago Church Federation, and the Federal Council of Churches, a "Rural-Urban Relations Week" was observed in Chicago, October 28 to November 3. Topics discussed included "The Responsibility of the City Church for Rural Church Improvement," "Rural Urban Conflict National and Local," and "Dairymen versus Chicago."

*Columbia University.*—Professor F. H. Allport, of Syracuse University, gave a graduate course on "The Psychology of Legal Institutions" in the law school.

*Columbia University.*—The Bureau of Publications of Teachers College announces the publication of *Foundations of Curricula: Sociological Analyses*, by Professor David Snedden. The Macmillan Company announces the publication of *Educational Sociology for Beginners*, by Professor Snedden.

*Connecticut Agricultural College.*—Professor J. L. Hypes spent last summer in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Holland, and Denmark, making observations on the agricultural methods employed by farmers, co-operative marketing, and vocational education for agriculture and home economics.

*Connecticut Experiment Station, Storrs, Connecticut.*—Early last spring the board of trustees of the College and Experiment Station created at the Storrs Station a separate Department of Sociological Research; prior to this, sociological research had been departmentalized with Economic research. This new division financed by Purnell Funds was placed in charge of J. L. Hypes (Ph.D. Columbia University), assisted by John F. Markey (Ph.D. University of Minnesota) and Miss Eileen Kennedy (B.S. Connecticut Agricultural College).

Two studies based upon field investigation are now being prepared for publication: "Vocational Genesis to Farming Occupations in Connecticut," and "Population Mobility in Rural Connecticut."

A study of *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town*, by Professor Hypes, published by the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, appeared in the latter part of 1927. A study in social psychology, *The Symbolic Process and Its Integration in Children*, by Professor Markey, recently appeared as a volume of the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method, published by Harcourt, Brace & Company.

*Little Rock Junior College.*—Miss Laura M. Pedersen is teaching courses in sociology and social problems.

*Ohio Wesleyan University.*—Mr. E. M. Banzet, who has been a graduate assistant in Michigan State College during the past two years, will teach courses in rural sociology.

*University of Oklahoma.*—Dean Paul L. Vogt, as chairman of the standing committee on research of the National University Extension Association, has compiled a preliminary list of research projects in university extension.

*University of Pennsylvania.*—A sociology club has recently been formed at the University of Pennsylvania, composed of the faculty of the department and selected graduate students, for the consideration of formal and informal presentation of sociological topics. At the first meeting Mr. W. W. Waller presented a statement of "The Sociological Theory of Crime," and Dr. James H. S. Bossard gave a study of Robert Ellis Thompson, pioneer in the teaching of the social sciences at Pennsylvania. On the completion of his twenty-fifth year as head of the Department of Sociology at Pennsylvania, Dr. Carl Kelsey was tendered an anniversary dinner at which were present numerous colleagues, associates in the field, and former students.

During the summer Dr. James P. Lichtenberger taught at the Uni-

versity of Oregon, Dr. Hugh Carter at Bates College, and Dr. Clifford Kirkpatrick at the University of Virginia. Dr. Stuart A. Rice returns after an absence of one year devoted to a "case study" of method in social science for the Committee on Scientific Method of the Social Science Research Council. Mr. Howard Becker, who has completed his work in residence for the Doctor's degree, is a new instructor this year.

*Rockford College.*—C. Walker Hayes, Jane Addams Professor of Sociology and Social Service, was on leave of absence during the fall semester to complete his project, the adjustment of the Swedish nationality in Rockford. It is his plan to spend the month of January at the University of Chicago. His courses are being given by A. V. Wood.

*Southern Methodist University.*—During the past year Professor H. L. Pritchett, head of the department of sociology, was on leave of absence and completed his graduate work at New York University, from which he received his Doctor's degree. This reprint of an item appearing in the September issue of the *Journal* corrects a misstatement in regard to the institution from which Professor Pritchett received the Doctor's degree.

*Washington University.*—The residue of the estate of George Warren Brown, amounting potentially to \$630,000 or more, has been given by its trustees to the University to endow the George Warren Brown Department of Social Work in the School of Business and Public Administration. The department of social work was established three years ago, with Professor Frank J. Bruno as its head. Last fall, before receiving the endowment, two full-time members were added to the staff: Leah Feder, of the New York School of Social Work, to direct field practice; and Grace Ferguson, formerly director of the School of Medical Social Work of Indiana University, to inaugurate training of medical social workers. Among the local social workers who have given part-time service in the department are Edith Baker, Geraldine Johnson, Caroline Bedford, Elwood Street, E. G. Steger, Bertha B. Howell, and Albert Wyman.

The department of social work has had about 225 students in its three years' existence, with an average yearly enrolment of one hundred, in the regular, extension, and summer courses. About half of the students came from the St. Louis metropolitan area. The present plans are to increase the staff gradually during the next five years, to develop adequate training for candidates for social work, and to test the effectiveness of social work processes.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Our Cuban Colony. A Study in Sugar.* By LELAND HAMILTON JENKS. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xxii+341. \$1.00.

*The Americans in Santo Domingo.* By MELVIN M. KNIGHT. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xx+189. \$1.00.

*The Bankers in Bolivia. A Study in American Foreign Investments.* By MARGARET ALEXANDER MARSH. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xvi+233. \$1.00.

International relations have been written too exclusively from the records of foreign offices and the memoirs of statesmen. Historians have lamented the inaccessibility of much of this material, especially for recent occurrences, and the demand for the publication of archives has had a result. Such material is indispensable, but these books illustrate the abundance of fundamental data which can be found in commercial reports, financial chronicles, trade journals, geographic handbooks, conversations with bankers, business men, and politicians, and by careful observation.

These books are all written from the standpoint of the backward rather than the advanced country. The writers ask what has been the effect on the general life of the people in Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Bolivia of the penetration of American enterprise and capital. Incidentally they consider the question, "Does this activity manifest 'imperialism' on the part of the United States?" This attempt to go beyond the mere statement of events and processes to evaluation, an attempt apparently called for by the subtitle of the series "Studies in American Imperialism," may create an unjustifiable prejudice against the volumes in some quarters. In fact, the authors are sparing in praise and blame, in the main letting facts speak for themselves.

The situation in the three countries has differed materially, and the reader emerges wary of facile generalizations of the process of "imperialism" even if he has not read the warning by Harry Elmer Barnes in his general introduction to the volumes.

In Cuba, where American influence has been the greatest, Professor Jenks finds evidence of progress. A stronger national sentiment and

greater administrative capacity, he thinks, has developed among the Cubans since the United States, contrary to the general belief of Europe and the desires of many Americans, withdrew its occupation. He thinks Roosevelt and Root honestly carried out the self-denying ordinance from a sense of duty in spite of their skepticism of Cuba's capacity for self-government. The Magoon administration, after the second intervention, paid too much attention to spoils, and General Crowder's third intervention meddled too much with details, of internal administration. The latter tendency, which developed with the ostensible object of preventing crises during the Taft and Wilson administrations, he criticizes as destructive of Cuban self-reliance and likely to be directed toward American more than Cuban interests. He favors the Roosevelt-Root interpretation of the Platt amendment permitting intervention only after government in Cuba has entirely broken down, and believes the Coolidge administration returned to it.

Bolivia Mrs. Marsh finds outside the orbit of American imperialism. The advance of American capital and the bankers' control of tax collecting attached to the exorbitant Nicolaus loan of 1922 have not yet given the United States government any powers beyond those incident to the general right of states under international law to protect the interests of their citizens abroad. Though American interests now dominate in Bolivia, they are by no means exclusive. The railroads are British controlled, and French and Chilian capital is important.

In Santo Domingo the United States comes in for the most severe criticism, especially for the Grant efforts at annexation and the rule of the marines in the Wilson administration. The ruthlessness of the latter is expanded upon, especially their imprisonment of the poet Fabio Fiallo, which is compared to the execution of Edith Cavell by the Germans and of Mata Hari by the French. Fiallo's trial in 1920, writes Professor Knight, "made the Yankees about as loathsome as possible to the Latin peoples of the two hemispheres." The fact that Fiallo's three-year sentence was later shortened to one, which apparently was never served because of his release incident to the presidential campaign in the United States, is mentioned after detailing this atrocity.

The interest in all the books centers around the development of the internal economy of the countries. The governments of all suffer from a lack of diversified economy and consequent dependence for revenue upon the fluctuations of the world-market for a single crop—in Cuba and Santo Domingo, sugar; in Bolivia, tin. The need of capital to develop an improved standard of living is recognized in all, but loans and invest-

ments have usually gone to the development of the single export crop, which, while yielding the foreign bankers a good return, has mined the country of its major resource, with little benefit to its people. This is especially true of Bolivia, the profits of whose tin mines benefit the Indians and Cholos, who constitute over 80 per cent of the population, practically none at all. Their condition seems little improved, materially or culturally, from what it was in the days of the Incas. Sugar-cane culture, with the competition of the beet, tends to run by imported capital and imported contract labor, thus yielding very little to the local populations in Cuba and Santo Domingo.

The problem of organizing enterprise in these countries so as to give a sufficiently attractive return to foreign capital and at the same time benefit the local population is a baffling one, not likely to be solved by foreign entrepreneurs interested in quick money for themselves, by local notables interested in politics and spoils, or by the illiterate and poverty-stricken workers. European governments have established protectorate or colonies and instructed their own officials to find the solution, and since the war international supervision of these officials has been established in the mandated areas. More studies of the results of these different methods of solving the problem are necessary before judgment will be possible. The studies before us indicate the merits and defects of both *laissez faire* and sporadic intervention.

The writers all show a grasp of the literature as well as personal acquaintance with the countries of which they write. Professor Jenks writes much the best English. His pages abound with pertinent anecdotes and good-humored cynicism. He notes that it is fashionable for investigators to assume "an Eden-like innocence" and "cry aloud" upon "discovering that there are politicians in Guatemala, that men can be bribed in the Fiji Islands, that there are criminals who go unhung in Patagonia. Cuba is not a paradise of political virtues. And people from Cook County, Illinois, and other summits of civic righteousness have not failed to fling their stones at Cuban politics" (p. 304).

Especially interesting is Professor Jenks's explanation of the Spanish-American war, which he thinks sprang from the demand of "the people of the United States as distinguished from their political and business leaders" (p. 57). Though mentioning the lack of free land, the industrial development, the yellow press and the jingoistic politician of the Roosevelt type as factors which differentiated the United States of 1898 from that of a quarter-century earlier when the Cuban situation was similar, he neglects to mention the most obvious difference. The men

who fought in the Civil War were less anxious to fight Spain than were their sons, to whom war was not a reality.

It is to be hoped that the "American fund for public service" will support further studies of this kind. An index would add to the value of the book for the investigator, as would insertion of the footnotes at the bottom of the pages instead of at the end of the book.

QUINCY WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Catholic Spirit in America.* By GEORGE N. SHUSTER. New York: Dial Press, 1927. \$3.00.

*Catholicism and the American Mind.* By WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON. Chicago: Willett, Clark & Colby, 1928.

To review two books like the above together is not easy, and the review will probably do justice to neither, but if it succeeds in convincing people that it would be well to read the two together, the review will not be without profit.

Mr. Shuster is the associate editor of the *Commonweal*, a Catholic paper, and he has given with good literary style an interesting and friendly interpretation of the career of the Catholic church in America. The treatment covers practically the same field as Professor Garrison's *Catholicism and the American Mind*. Professor Garrison's is the more thoroughly documented. Both attempt to assess the reported conflict of a religion confessedly based on authority and a political order based on democracy. Mr. Shuster is inclined to say that the conflict is greatly exaggerated. The church deals with spiritual authority, and the political world is of an entirely different order. Catholics, he says, are "simply citizens; and until that unimaginable, hypothetical day when God and country will no longer be associated in the United States, they will ask to be judged only by the loyalty and integrity of their citizenship." "All the Protestant creeds now in existence would tremble in their boots if Rome even so much as went on a vacation."

In answer to the question "Would the Catholic church be intolerant?" he gives three reasons for saying that it would not, even if it had the power, in America:

1. The right to teach and exact moral obedience does not imply right to physical coercion.
2. Catholic theologians agree that wherever religious freedom is guaran-

teed by the civil constitution, there is an obligation in conscience to respect the provision.

3. We have all learned from bitter experience that the greatest of virtues is charity, and that the noblest of creatures is the human person.

Furthermore, he says: "The great majority of Catholics in the United States have only the vaguest notion of the Syllabus of Pius IX; and I wager that none of those who do understand it has ever fancied, with certain zealous 100 per cent pamphleteers, that it condemned democratic government, freedom of inquiry or comment, and genuine modern progress. Dealing as it did with the historical phenomenon known as "nineteenth-century European liberalism"—flogged by Nietzsche and Carlyle, scoffed at by Ibsen and Max Scheler, and lately anathematized by the generation which followed the war—it may not be a model of clear phrasing or even of tact, but it proved that the church had not altogether gone daft. Similarly, the statement of Pope Leo XIII that the situation in which Catholicism found itself in the United States was not an ideal situation must also be properly understood." Here is a reliance on the fact that American Catholics do not take the Pope too seriously. Similarly, to all this Professor Garrison shows a strong inclination to believe that American Catholicism is more liberal than some of the declarations of policy which have been issued from Rome would seem to indicate.

Nevertheless Professor Garrison calls attention to no less liberal an authority than Dr. John A. Ryan, of Washington. He says:

The *principle* of union between Church and State is not necessarily dependent upon *any particular form of union* that has actually been in operation. . . . All that is essentially comprised in the union of Church and State can be thus formulated: *The State should officially recognize the Catholic religion as the religion of the commonwealth*; accordingly it should invite the blessing and ceremonial participation of the Church for certain important public functions, and delegate its officials to attend certain of the more important festival celebrations of the Church; it should recognize and sanction the laws of the Church; and it should protect the rights of the Church and the religious as well as the other rights of the Church's members. . . . Superficial champions of religious liberty will promptly and indignantly denounce the foregoing propositions as the essence of intolerance. They are intolerant, but not therefore unreasonable. Error has not the same rights as truth. Since the profession and practice of error are contrary to human welfare, how can error have rights? *How can the voluntary toleration of error be justified?* As we have already pointed out, the men who defend the principle of toleration for all varieties of religious opinion, assume either that all religions are equally true or that the true cannot be distinguished from the false. On no other ground is it logically possible to accept the theory of indiscriminate and universal toleration.

This seems, from the standpoint of the reviewer, a rather hard nut for a man of Mr. Shuster's liberal tendency to crack.

Mr. Shuster has another chapter on current contrasts in which he discusses the Catholic point of view with reference to our public school system. Here he voices his evident disappointment that the government has been unwilling to subsidize Catholic schools:

Had it not been for the grotesque stupidity of Protestants, we would long since have built up in this country a system of *denominational schools subsidized and to some extent supervised by the state*. This idea of education is really the only one normal to the general American religious outlook, which does not accept any creed as official but which does quite emphatically claim the adjective "Christian" for itself. But the average citizen was so dead sure that the "public school" would stay Christian, that any admission to the contrary would be a concession to despicable Catholics, that the hopeless blunder got never ending salvos of applause. Today people are beginning to discard their filmy spectacles. Voters are frantically outlawing evolution, and a good many Doctors of Divinity are trying to append some form of religious instruction to the regular school curriculum. Protestant committees are coming to varied interesting conclusions about the problem, but so far I have read of no resolution upbraiding the educational blindness of the past one hundred years.

In the chapter of the "Literary Rotary," Mr. Shuster devotes a good deal of time to the discussion of Mencken, who he thinks represents the bad end of an irreligious Protestant. He is probably right when he says that Mencken has become the impassioned spokesman of all that culture which has finally taken up its residence in American urban life. Mr. Shuster's statement that the New England clergyman has become a professor in a New England college is not altogether overdrawn. One can sympathize with his emphasis on the need of a new church-consciousness as central for a sound religious life without believing that the Catholic church constitutes the infallible and only example of a Christian church.

Mr. Shuster hopes that the time may come in the far-off future when the Protestant and Catholic streams may once more flow together. One would like to share this anticipation, and certainly no greater contribution can be made to the ultimate accomplishment of this than a frank facing of issues as raised in Professor Garrison's book. The Catholic's doctrine of an infallible church is in need of considerable revision, and the further clarifying of the issues involved in the building of a free church in a free society must come before this can be accomplished. On the other hand, may it not be true that we are just approaching the time when we are ready to have free and profitable discussions of these issues? The old point of view that the Protestants are going to supplant the

Catholic church in America is just about as futile as the point of view of the Catholics that the Catholic church will supplant the Protestant church. The supplanting theory must go, and in its place there must come a theory of mutual education based on fellowship.

ARTHUR E. HOLT

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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*The White Harvest. A Symposium on Methods of Convert-Making.* Edited by REV. JOHN A. O'BRIEN, chaplain of the Catholic students at the University of Illinois. With a Preface by RT. REV. FRANCIS C. KELLEY. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1927. Pp. xv+358. \$3.50.

*Maryknoll Mission Letters, China* (Extracts from the Letters and Diaries of the Pioneer Missioners of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America). New York: Macmillan Co., Vol. I, 1923; Vol. II, 1927. Vol. I, pp. xvi+364; Vol. II, pp. xvi+442. \$3.00 each.

*The Missionary and His Work. An Evaluation.* By REV. LEFFERD M. A. HAUGHWOUT, sometime Missionary in Mexico and Porto Rico. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1927. Pp. xii+292. \$2.50.

It is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to classify books on missions under categories accepted in academic parlance. They may deal at the same time with the reinvigoration of ancient cultural features—customs, mores, institutions—with deliberate advertising procedure, teaching, and manipulation of various kinds of natural and artificial environment; with familial, economic, educational, and political complications; with the nature, contact, clash, and modification of differing culture traits and patterns; with psychological processes of most varied sorts. And yet, instead of presenting comprehensive descriptions of any special social situations, they each treat of some segment; and instead of being objective in their descriptions, they are couched in the terminology of their movement and dominated by its attitudes. All this is to be taken for granted. Until we have made adequate sociological and psychological orientations in these general fields it is from such materials that we shall have to get our bearings and formulate tentative hypotheses.

The most specialized of these books is the symposium of methods of

convert-making by Roman Catholic priests and laymen in the United States. The enthusiasm of the advertiser and the challenge of competition, which have been increasing the membership of her strayed children in 270-odd sects and isms, have at last brought an echo from the mother-church. Into the maelstrom of modern propaganda she is plunging with press notices and advertisements, placards, personnel organization, lectures to non-Catholics, forums, question boxes, street preaching, and follow-up classes. Already one worker with his supporting organizations is credited with five thousand converts. Through the general application of such "technique" the gross misconceptions of Catholicism are to be dispelled, and a movement set in motion which will bring back the strayed Protestants and non-churched into the fold. Progress in educational psychology is mentioned in the first line of the book; but it certainly is not used to alter in any way the traditional and administrative categories of propagandic "technique."

In *The Missionary and His Work* the entire range of foreign propagandic effort—preaching, community house, medical and literary activity, education—is taken into consideration, and with it the administrative organization at "home" and on the foreign "field." Each is subjected to the test of bringing accessions to the church (this time the Episcopalian). Some rather sweeping changes are advocated. A little information is given upon the reaction of various impressionable constituencies to the methods discussed, particularly those of South America, where the author worked. On the whole we still follow the campaign manager's model blue print and on the side are noting his psychology.

It is only in the *Maryknoll Mission Letters, China*, that we get the sights and sounds and smells of actual people who are the objects of all such elaborate efforts, and see them behave under its influence. The propagandic and administrative side of the story is stressed in lieu of urgently needed records and reports made by convert and non-convert. But here we have at least direct descriptive accounts, from 1918 to 1924, written by some thirty missionaries of the Roman Catholic church while they are establishing themselves in a dozen stations in south China. We hear of tables rattling upon wooden horses for altars, and see obeisance done before the sacraments; we are told the difficulties of the catechist in inculcating alien ideas and the satisfaction of the priests at ceremonial conformity; we note the gradual modification in the behavior of individual Chinese, for twenty cents each, the emphasis upon family units in alien and native alike, the development of churches, orphanages, schools, and hospitals; we hear the cry of discarded infants brought to the or-

phanage, and see the countrysides laid waste by murderous bandits despoiled by "Nationalist" armies. Currents of new influence radiate from these transplanted centers of culture called missions.

With apparently little fear that their writings will get back to their constituencies, they write with a frankness on many topics which is in sharp contrast to the profuse writings of many Protestant workers. Obviously, they have inhibitions of their own which affect their narrative also. However, at the present stage of sociological analysis, on the basis of such materials one dares not venture very far in generalizing upon the psychology of the Christian religion, of Christian propaganda, or of the actual nature of culture-contact in the Far East.

MAURICE T. PRICE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

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*The Criminal and His Allies.* By MARCUS KAVANAGH. With an introduction by WADE H. ELLIS. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1928. Pp. xxvi+433.

Theories of criminality may be classified roughly as follows: first, those that interpret criminality as an expression of inherited characteristics of the individual offender; second, those that interpret criminality as a product of defects in the administrative system by reason of which those who commit crime are not punished sufficiently; third, those that interpret criminality as a product of the conflicts in the social organization and culture.

Judge Kavanagh is one of the principal spokesmen of the group which holds the second theory. His book is a eulogy of punishment. The author states, "A good whipping or two given Leopold and Loeb when children would have saved Bobby Frank's life and made of the two arch-criminals respectable and useful citizens." His explanation of the excess of crime in the United States is the inefficiency in enforcing the penalties provided in the laws. This is the classical theory of criminal law, with its basis in hedonistic psychology and its confidence in the efficacy of punishment. The author's purpose is to develop "an angry realization of the situation" which will produce changes in the administrative system. His method is exhortation.

The author fails to harmonize some of his views with his general thesis. He asserts that the juvenile court has produced a great decrease in juvenile delinquency, but he is opposed to the extension of juvenile-court methods to the adult courts. He states that, aside from crimes com-

mitted by Negroes, two-thirds of the crimes in the United States are committed by persons born in Europe or by their immediate descendents. But why should the failure to punish make immigrants, or especially their descendants, criminal more frequently than native born? He states that he has no interest in this book in the reformation of criminals; he is interested in the victims of criminals. But he states also that much of the serious crime is the work of professional criminals, and it is well known that many of these professional criminals have been imprisoned again and again for terms considerably longer than they would have secured in England for similar offenses. Why does not punishment produce the same results in the United States as in England?

The fundamental difficulty with an interpretation in terms of defects in the formal administrative systems is that both the crimes and the defects in that administrative system may be the product of fundamental culture and social organization which are not likely to be modified greatly by exhortation. He realizes that the present policies cause great distress and that the public weakens rather than enforces them; he testifies that he himself has often found it difficult to do his duty when confronted with the human being. The enforcement of penalties broke down in England a century ago because the public was reluctant to carry them out. Have we not reached that stage in this country?

The author makes considerable use of statistical materials, but gets into difficulties in his interpretation of these materials. He measures the increase of rape without taking into account the changes in definition of rape due to raising the age of consent. His treatment of the statistics of Negro crime is especially fallacious. His generalization is that when Negroes are scattered they are seldom criminals; as proof he submits a table which shows by states the comparative ratios of Negroes and whites in prison and in the general population. He does not take into account the fact that the ratio of Negroes to whites in prison is affected by the ratio in the general population. A table which takes this into account will show that the states which have the smallest proportion of their Negro population in prison are South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Arkansas; the states which have the largest proportion of their Negro population in prison are North Dakota, Wyoming, Virginia, Idaho, and Nevada. Out of 10,000 male Negroes in North Dakota, 543 are in prison, while out of 10,000 male Negroes in South Carolina only 5 are in prison. His generalization seems to be exactly the reverse of the truth if the statistics are handled properly.

The author makes many dogmatic statements. The following illus-

trate this tendency: "No state in the union is so free from crime as the state of Delaware"; "The crime was as clearly proved against Sacco as if a photographer with his camera stood at the scene of the crime and took Sacco's picture while shooting." These statements should be interpreted in connection with the author's general purpose.

E. H. SUTHERLAND

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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*Krieg und Kriminalität in Oesterreich.* By FRANZ EXNER. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Economic and Social History of the World War. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927. Pp. xiii+219.

This is a comparison of the statistics of criminal convictions in Austria in the periods preceding, during, and following the World War, and an explanation of the relation between war and crime based on these statistics and on sixty other studies of the relation of war and crime. The material for Austria is presented for crimes in general, for the principal classes of crimes, and for three classes of persons, namely, women, juveniles, and military persons. The principal statistical conclusions are as follows: (a) Crimes in general decreased in Austria in the early part of the war, increased slightly in the later part, and increased enormously in the post-war years, reaching the highest point in 1920. (b) Crimes against property increased, crimes of violence and sex crimes decreased, in the war and post-war years. Using 100 as the rate prior to the war, crimes against property rose to 682 in the four years after the war, while crimes of violence decreased to about 10 during the war and had barely reached the pre-war level in 1923. (c) Crimes by women increased greatly in number and changed radically in character. In the war and post-war years women were convicted of crimes against property more frequently than men had been in the pre-war years, and they committed more crimes of violence than before the war. (d) Crimes by juveniles and young adults increased greatly and became more serious in character. (e) Recidivists constituted a smaller proportion of convictions in the war and post-war periods than previously.

The author's explanation of these changes in crimes is that war produced economic hardship and that economic hardship was the direct cause of the increase in crimes against property and the indirect cause,

by reduction of consumption of alcohol, of the decrease in crimes of violence and sex crimes. He offers, among other things, the following as evidences: a high negative correlation between real wages and crimes against property, a great reduction in crimes against property when money units became stabilized, and the absence of the characteristic crime patterns in the countries which were not blockaded. He insists, however, that this relation is not so simple as the case of a hungry man stealing a loaf of bread. The economic need may be felt by others than the criminal; the whole public may be affected; and various other factors, such as avoidance of war dangers by the criminalistic, and changes in the composition of the population, may complicate the process.

Two questions are likely to be raised in regard to this research: Are the statistics reliable? Is the explanation justified? One of the difficulties in the study of crime is the difficulty of securing either an adequate enumeration of crimes or an index that will have a constant ratio to crimes committed. When times are fairly normal and no abrupt changes of importance occur, convictions probably serve adequately as an index of crimes. But when, as in periods of war or revolution, laws, procedures, interpretations, and attitudes change violently, the ratio of convictions to crimes is likely to be decidedly different from what it is in normal times. A smaller proportion of crimes probably result in convictions in such periods. If this is correct, the curve of crimes should be raised throughout the entire war and post-war period. This would tend to reduce or eliminate entirely the difference between the pre-war years and the early war years in respect to crimes in general, crimes of violence, and sex crimes, and to increase the difference between the pre-war years and the post-war years in respect to all crimes and to crimes against property. This, however, would not alter greatly the fundamental pattern of war crimes.

The sufficiency of an economic explanation of the relation between war and crime is open to question. The author admits other factors as of secondary importance but contends for the fundamental significance of economic necessity produced by war. This may be regarded as still unproved. The correlations in peace times between crime rates and business cycles have been found to be so variable and small that skepticism regarding the importance of economic necessity regarded as an isolated factor has been justified. At any rate Exner has produced a piece of research of first-rate value, regardless of his explanation. One of the most significant findings from the sociological point of view was

that when women in time of war occupied substantially the same position that men had occupied in time of peace their crime rates became nearly identical with the crime rates of men in times of peace.

E. H. SUTHERLAND

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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*The Children of the Unskilled. An Economic and Social Study.* By E. LLEWELYN LEWIS, M.A., PH.D. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 1924. Pp. xxii+109. 5s.

This small volume presents the substance of a Ph.D. thesis accepted by the University of Glasgow. Unlike published theses in this country, it is confined to the general outline and conclusions of the study, making no attempt to include the entire body of data gathered. This results in a book of readable size, interestingly written. Workers in related fields, however, may well wish for access to the basic mass of detail.

Living conditions were studied among 450 unskilled families with children of working age. All available sources of fact seem to have been utilized, the investigator finally dwelling for several months in the home of an unskilled laborer. The districts covered were Glasgow, Middlesbrough, and the Welsh quarrying area; the years, 1919-21, a time of considerable fluctuation in the standard of living. Comparisons are made with pre-war standards. The aim of the study was to discover how much skilled labor might be recruited from among the children of the unskilled, as well as the factors determining the industrial advancement of such children.

The families studied fell into three classes according to the regularity and amount of their income. It is difficult to present the author's conclusions fairly without quotation. In general, the outstanding result was to show the interdependence of factors at work. He states repeatedly, however:

The important factor was the economic one. . . . The families in the soundest economic position were, as a rule, able to apprentice a greater number of children than those in poorer circumstances. . . . The economic condition of the families mainly determined their standard of living. . . . The industrial organization, moreover, practically forced this class outside the main movements of industry owing to the relatively small amount of power it had in industrial control, and increased the instability of its position by making it subject to frequent changes brought about by machinery and invention. . . . There was a tendency for the children to acquire the same habits and customs of living as their parents, to have a very similar outlook on life, and in partic-

ular to be content with the immediate and present state of things, adapting themselves to their sordid surroundings as best they could. . . . It was evident that for the normal child a certain amount of material comfort, the maintenance of a fair standard of living by the parents, was necessary in order that it might benefit from the educational facilities at its disposal, and thereby form a fairly efficient personality able to visualize and realize a definite purpose. . . . The result of the inquiries served to show that the industrial progress of the children, or their prospects of becoming skilled, depended upon a definite and clear increase in the standard of living, i.e., an increasing sense of their rights as individuals . . . a consciousness of their rights to participate in the control of their industry, and in particular the enjoyment of all means which would enable them to develop to the full the powers they had . . . (pp. 99-104).

The majority of the unskilled families were found to be existing on "less than the minimum requirement for maintaining physical efficiency," a finding comparable to that of a similar study of unskilled workers made in Chicago during the same year.<sup>1</sup>

Among the most interesting chapters is that entitled "The Social Relations of the Unskilled." Here we see the power of personal influence, accidental contact, etc., and their limitations as well. Sex and age, again, are discovered to be of importance: "The proportion of apprenticed daughters to sons was one to four. . . . The family relations here again disclosed the tendency for the younger children to stand better prospects of becoming skilled than the elder ones; and for the eldest daughters to enter unskilled occupations, especially if . . . firstborn" (p. 90).

Works such as this command attention as much for the avenues of thought they open up, the hypotheses foreshadowed, as for concrete results obtained. The field is certainly as important as any open to a research worker.

RUTH R. PEARSON

CHICAGO

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*Gesellschaftslehre*. By ALFRED VIERKANDT. 2d completely revised ed. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1928. Pp. xii+484. Geh., M. 22.50; geb., M. 25.00.

Professor Vierkandt's *Gesellschaftslehre* (*Theory of Society*) may be characterized as the typical kind of book that German university professors write when they set out to prepare general treatises dealing with

<sup>1</sup>Leila Houghteling, *The Income and Standard of Living of Unskilled Laborers in Chicago*, 1927.

particular sciences or disciplines. To some American readers such a characterization will imply a multitude of sins; and the book is in fact metaphysical in tone, relatively lacking in concrete illustrations of the generalizations made, and savors of the armchair rather than the field or the laboratory. The topics handled are, however, treated with characteristic German thoroughness, and the volume becomes, partly owing to this thoroughness of logical analysis, a significant contribution to the definition of fundamental concepts which may be useful in the description and explanation of social phenomena.

The author indicates that he has used the phenomenological method, which was first proposed by Husserl and demonstrated by Theodor Litt in *Individuum und Gemeinschaft*. Vierkandt describes this method as one having the following three peculiarities: (1) it deals with final concepts—those which cannot be derived from any others; (2) it assumes that knowledge and logical systematization of these concepts can only be had through the subjective (*innere*) scrutiny of real or imagined examples; and (3) insight into the nature (*Wesen*) of such concepts is not to be had by induction—that is, the comparison of a great number of cases—but only by the consideration of single cases, by ideational abstraction.

All this is manifestly quite out of harmony with prevalent American notions concerning the methods likely to prove fruitful in scientific research. Whether or not Vierkandt has correctly described the method he has actually used, however, a careful reading of this book will reveal to any open-minded sociologist a number of valuable clues to the interpretation of sociological data. The volume is divided into four long chapters, entitled respectively, "The Social Impulses of Human Beings and the Nature of Society," "The Gradations of Society (Community and 'Society')," "The Group," and "The Most Important Historical Forms of the Group." As its title suggests, chapter I is based in part on the instinct theory of William James and William McDougall, and consequently embodies a view of human nature now largely abandoned by American sociologists. It may be questioned, however, whether the ideas he has taken over from James and McDougall have been essential to the line of thought developed by the author in this chapter, which really deals primarily with human motives entering into social interaction as they present themselves for introspective scrutiny, rather than with their innate character. Other phases of Vierkandt's argument have been suggested in part by the work of Simmel and by Tönnies' distinction between "community" and "society," which the author elaborates and refines.

The fundamental thesis of the entire volume is that human groups and social relations of all kinds, save the most external and mechanical, have their being in an inner connection which exists, in the last analysis, in the "minds" or imaginations of the individuals concerned. It is just this, the author holds, which distinguishes human society from animal society. It may be remarked that this approach to the study of society has some resemblance to certain features of the work of Professor Cooley on the one hand, and to some features of the social psychology of W. I. Thomas on the other.

The real meat of the book consists in the many provocative and suggestive analyses of particular forms of social grouping and social relationship which it contains and which serve, in a measure, to validate the viewpoint and method of the author. It is a worth-while contribution to the literature of social theory.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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*Social Work and the Training of Social Workers.* By SYDNOR H. WALKER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928. Pp. xiii+241. \$2.00.

*City Planning for Girls.* By HENRIETTA ADDITON. Social Service Monographs, No. 5. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. 150. \$1.25.

*The Lance of Justice. A Semi-Centennial History of the Legal Aid Society, 1876-1926.* By JOHN MACARTHUR MAGUIRE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xi+305. \$3.00.

Here are three books which deal with three different aspects of social work. The first is an outsider's analysis of the field as a whole. The second is a professional worker's interpretation of a special type of social work. The third is a history of one agency whose work overlaps the two fields of social work and law.

Miss Walker offers a thought-provoking discussion of the present status of social work. She regards the social worker primarily as "a consultant upon community resources," whose advisory work is usually associated with "the giving of a certain kind of relief." Otherwise the field is not well defined, for "the responsibility of directing social change is shared with a number of vocations," and even "social case work is not conceded to have any unique quality." Utter lack of uniformity in the

preparation of social workers and great diversity in the training schools are further grounds for denying them the status of a profession. The reviewer agrees with many of Miss Walker's conclusions, but feels that she has failed to distinguish adequately between the heterogeneous mass of 40,000 persons in the social work field and the nucleus of 5,000 who constitute at least a near-professional group.

Miss Additon is reporting the findings of a survey of case-working agencies that deal with girls in Philadelphia. She describes types of cases handled and methods employed, attempts to evaluate results obtained, and offers recommendations for further development. While there is some analysis as well as description, the reviewer finds little to supplement our all too limited knowledge of causes or of treatment processes. Nevertheless this monograph deserves the attention of social workers and students of the field.

Mr. Maguire presents an interesting narrative telling the history of the New York Legal Aid Society. Here we see clearly depicted a typical humanitarian movement. Cases are described "where deserving poor have been afforded, under legal aid, the blessing of impartial and equal justice." While the book is essentially a eulogy of this one society, prepared for its fiftieth anniversary, it does give a vivid picture of the legal disabilities of persons without money and the spirit of the movement which was designed to relieve them. However, those who seek a more objective appraisal of legal aid work will do well to return to Mr. Smith's *Justice and the Poor* or to the *Report of the Joint Committee of the Bar Association and the Welfare Council of New York City*.

STUART A. QUEEN

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

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*Coming of Age in Samoa. A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization.* By MARGARET MEAD, Assistant Curator of Ethnology, American Museum of Natural History. Foreword by FRANZ BOAS. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1928. Pp. xv+297. \$3.00.

Ethnologists tend to become attentive to the autobiographic accounts primitive people give of their own experiences, and no longer limit themselves to the collection of formal statements as to customs elicited from informants. This book represents that tendency. Such personal experiences have long been the materials which have interested psycho-

analysts and students of problem children. So it is no wonder that an ethnologist with a second interest in the behavior problems of American adolescents should study Samoan life, not at second hand from texts dictated by some obliging expositor of native life, but from nine months of intimate living in a Samoan community, sharing the confidence and hearkening to the memories and emotions of Samoan youths.

The book is not, however, so much an ethnological monograph as a laboratory exercise. The cultural milieu is hardly sketched. There is a problem to solve and only so much of Samoan culture is described as is necessary to solve the problem: Is G. Stanley Hall (and others) right in regarding adolescence "as a period of mental and emotional distress for the growing girl as inevitably as teething is a period of misery for the small baby?" And the answer given is, No; the problems of American adolescents are due to growing up in America, not simply to growing up. For the Samoan girl passes puberty without special strain. The reason, then, is cultural.

The description of Samoan adolescence therefore leads to an analysis of those cultural differences which make adolescence different from what it is in America. They are "the general casualness of the whole society," and the absence of conflict situations for the growing girl. There is but one thing for her to do, one attitude to take; and all the other girls are doing and taking just that. Further, she is largely spared the hazards of having a father or a mother, so diffuse is parental authority and affection; and she is always a child in the middle of the series, for she is but one of many sisters and cousins.

From this Q.E.D. Miss Mead passes to a consideration of "any conclusions which might bear fruit in the training of our adolescents." And here the limitations of her viewpoint become apparent. The home "must cease to plead an ethical cause . . . the children must be taught how to think, not what to think." The family is evidently to relinquish any lingering claims to being a cultural group and is to become a seminar in ethics. This looks, we are told, to a happy time "when no one group claims ethical sanction for its customs."

For all the intimate association with Samoans the book is somehow disappointing. There are exceedingly interesting pages. Why do the Samoans, with whom love is merely one of a hundred unstressed values, and who are cynical of fidelity, follow romantic conventions of courtship in speech and song? How is it that in spite of extreme license in word and conduct there nevertheless remains a residue, apparently quite like our own, of what is salacious and obscene? But Miss Mead is interested,

one feels, in problems and cases, not in human nature. There is no warmth in her account. A little Malinowski, stirred in, would have helped, perhaps.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The History of European Liberalism.* By GUIDO DE RUGGIERO.

Translated by R. G. COLLINGWOOD. London: Oxford University Press, 1927. Pp. xii+476. 16s.

With respect for original sources indicative of the competent historian, with powers of analysis for which the social scientist longs, with fertility of expression inseparable from the artist, and with sureness of judgment characteristic of one at ease among philosophical fundamentals, Ruggiero has made a brilliant addition to the library of modern political history.

The plan of treatment is to etch in the eighteenth-century background and to throw against it in order the individual developments of English, French, German, and Italian liberalism. There follows an interpretation of the nature of liberalism and a critical examination of its relation to democracy, socialism, the church, and nationality. The study is brought to a close after a telling presentation of the elements of the present crisis.

The varied polemical connotations of liberalism are, of course, presented, but they are taken as but part of the data necessary for a fundamental interpretation of the attitude as it developed. Liberalism is examined in its varied manifestations as a method, a party, an art of government, and a form of state organization. Pains are taken to avoid gross oversimplification of the many-sided character of the phenomenon.

Liberalism has as one fundamental element the conviction that the distinctive function of politics and the state is to provide a non-coercive synthesis of social values. The present crisis in modern states where liberalism is on the wane or in eclipse is due to the assumption of historical materialism that a synthesis is contrary to the nature of things. Nothing but a mechanical balancing of forces is felt to be possible. This conception of politics as nothing but the driving of sharp bargains or the coercive pressure of rivalrous interests upon one another is the very negation of politics—only business and war remain. The nature of politics is integration and not compromise, victory, nor extinction. At one point (p. 365) the author pungently remarks: "The hostility to

parliaments that is visible in our days is only the mark of a political obtuseness due to excessive love of technique: generations educated by industrialism, positivistic philosophy, and historical materialism were naturally unable to grasp the ideal and spiritual character of a synthesis like that of politics, and could not help disintegrating it into the materiality of its various elements."

Not the least penetrating of Ruggiero's paragraphs are those devoted to an analysis of those elements in modern society which lie dispersed throughout the body politic, as yet unable to mobilize themselves for effective liberal expression. He accepts the disintegration of the middle class in the old sense as accomplished, but discerns the emergence of other groups capable of performing a mediatory function between the heavy industrialist and the wage worker. Of the specialized manufacturer he makes (p. 423) a provocative if fragmentary analysis. His estimate of Fascism will be found on page 386.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Principles of Sociology.* By FREDERICK E. LUMLEY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1928. Pp. xii+562. \$4.00.

*An Introduction to Sociology.* By ERNEST R. GROVES. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. Pp. viii+568. \$3.00.

*Introductory Sociology.* By ALBERT MUNTSCH, S. J., and HENRY S. SPAULDING, S. J. Boston and New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1928. Pp. xiv+466. \$2.48.

The flood of new textbooks for use in introductory courses in sociology continues at an undiminished rate. Possibly it will decline when every American publisher of college textbooks is provided with at least one book of recent composition on elementary sociology. Meanwhile it frequently happens that a new book contains little to distinguish it from others which have preceded it. One is tempted to say as much, for example, of Professor Groves' *An Introduction to Sociology*. This text follows the now familiar plan of combining a presentation of some of the fundamental ideas of theoretic sociology with a consideration of selected contemporary social problems. It is a very elementary book which could be used in senior high schools or perhaps in normal schools.

*Principles of Sociology*, by Professor Lumley, of Ohio State University, is, however, a book of somewhat different and more substantial type. Although the author devotes a portion of his space to the discus-

sion of concrete and practical problems, this volume is, as its title suggests, primarily concerned with fundamental problems of sociological theory. Professor Lumley has followed the interesting plan of basing his own treatment of social theory mainly on the ideas found in two earlier works, namely, Sumner's *Folkways*, and Park and Burgess' *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. This scheme of synthesizing the most valuable and generally accepted contributions that have already been made is worth further use. Questions for study and discussion are provided at the ends of the chapters, and there is a general bibliography of moderate length, arranged simply in alphabetical order as a whole, without comment on the various references cited. The substantial and attractive binding, uniform with that of other McGraw-Hill books in the field of physical science and engineering, merits special mention. This book is the first volume of a projected series to appear under the consulting editorship of Professor E. B. Reuter.

Muntsch and Spalding's *Introductory Sociology* is a textbook designed especially for use in Catholic schools. It should prove useful to such institutions, but will probably be adopted only by them. The present reviewer is unable, however, to discover anything in the book which is seriously out of harmony with the teachings which might be expected to find favor in any conservative denominational college, except the damning fact that it cites Roman Catholic authorities freely and attempts to show that the principles of social reform and social service which are presented are in keeping with the traditional position of the mother-church.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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*Oriental Exclusion. The Effect of American Immigration Laws, Regulations, and Judicial Decisions upon the Chinese and Japanese on the American Pacific Coast.* By R. D. MCKENZIE, PH.D. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. 200. \$2.00.

*Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast. Their Legal and Economic Status.* By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. 545. \$3.00.

These two volumes embody the results of investigations of our Oriental immigration problem which were carried out under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu. In the varied discussions of this problem during the past twenty-five years there has been too little

attention paid to the actual operation of immigration laws and other laws and regulations affecting the Orientals on the Pacific coast. These studies by Professor McKenzie of the University of Washington and Professor Mears of Stanford University have been expressly designed to throw light on this phase of the Oriental problem and present an interesting picture of the difficulties that have arisen in attempting to put a strict exclusion policy into effect.

In Professor McKenzie's volume are discussed such questions as the reactions of the Chinese and Japanese to the Exclusion Act of 1924, ineligibility to citizenship as a basis for exclusion, re-entry from temporary visits abroad, and illegal entry and deportations. This study shows clearly the problems that confront America in this experiment in exclusion. No matter how strong may be the barriers, there are always excepted classes which make necessary constant interpretation of the law so as to determine its application to doubtful cases. The history of our exclusion laws reveals the gradual growth of ways and means of circumventing them. In Professor McKenzie's opinion, arbitrary exclusion of races living on a lower economic level is not a satisfactory method of dealing with this problem. The control of human migration, he suggests, should be accomplished by international machinery based upon principles having international acceptance.

The more elaborate volume by Professor Mears is especially valuable in its discussion of the bearing of treaty rights and constitutional guaranties upon our relations with China and Japan, the operation of the alien land laws in the Pacific Coast states, and the problem of naturalization of Orientals in America. Careful consideration is also given to the struggle of the Orientals to find a place for themselves in American economic life. The book closes with a particularly vivid discussion of segregation and community contacts in which is pointed out the dwindling nature of the Chinatowns and Japtowns characteristic of Pacific Coast cities. With radical exclusion laws now an accomplished fact, signs of race conflict are not so much in evidence. The Oriental is being less and less forced to live apart in segregated districts and the growing friendly feeling is seen in the marked decrease in efforts to enforce the alien land laws.

Students of Oriental immigration are deeply indebted to the authors of these volumes for a judicious and entirely objective discussion of this controversial problem, and especially for their emphasis on its legal and administrative aspects, which have hitherto been too much neglected.

*Le Socialisme.* By ÉMILE DURKHEIM. Edited by M. MAUSS. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1928. Pp. xi+253. Fr. 50.

French sociology in its beginnings is a byproduct of the search for the consensus lost in the French revolution. Even so, Durkheim's contributions to sociology are originally due to the interest in the social question. To Durkheim's paramount interest in that question we owe the inception between 1884-86 of his *Division du travail social*; to the conviction at which he arrived in those years that a solution of the social question was sociology's main burden, we owe his contributions to its technique as a social science. The present edition by M. Mauss of a course of lectures given by Durkheim at Bordeaux in 1895-96 demonstrates that technique at the end of the century. The book has the usual limitations of one based on lecture notes, but then those notes have the grace of conveying the illusion of a face-to-face contact with at least two great classes of sociology: Saint-Simon and Durkheim himself. For Durkheim's style is characteristically French in these courses in the clarity of his logic, the simplicity of his language, while as an expression of the startling verve of Saint-Simon's personality, the revolutionary daring of his projection of a new social synthesis, the chapters v-ix are unexcelled. Durkheim's definition of Socialism—his distinction between Socialism and Communism in chapters i-iii, his sketch of the articulation of modern over against utopian socialism under the influence of eighteenth-century rationalism, of positivism as a corollary of the law of nature concept—furnishes an excellent introduction to French sociological thinking. It is also a document illustrating the influence of Saint-Simon and Comte, and especially Durkheim himself, upon the orientation of French Socialists such as Guesde and Jaurès, upon the attitudes of French socialism toward the state and government, their belief in consensus through contractual interest representation, co-operative interaction between the classes, in organic solidarity and their bias against communism.

The chapters in Saint-Simon are well worth reading at a time when Saint-Simon is coming back. An axiom of early sociology, his basic assumption of laws governing the continuous evolution of human society has stimulated ever since Stein, the German historical brain. In German sociology and political science Saint-Simon's thesis which attributes to force, to war and conquest, the origin of the modern state, has done as much to damn as it has to whitewash the Marxian bugbear of competition. It may be worth recalling that he bequeathed to nineteenth-century social thought the very dynamite of a revolutionary attitude in the prop-

osition that "a society which rests concurrently on manifestly contradictory principles can neither hold together nor long endure." In Lincoln's "house divided" form that *idée force* did considerable damage in American history. Enough to prove Durkheim's point in his criticism of Saint-Simonism: that it underestimates the importance of moral forces, the importance of ideas as objective facts.

H. H. MAURER

LEWIS INSTITUTE

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*Propaganda Technique in the World War.* By HAROLD D. LASSWELL. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. Pp. 233.

The very wide interest in propaganda since the World War is the condition used by the author to justify the appearance of this book. But this would not justify any book—only an excellent book, which this is. After defining propaganda—and I will speak of this again—the author notes that this device is one of three possible types of aggression: military pressure, economic pressure, and propaganda; and this is a very illuminating classification.

Being concerned with the latter alone, he then describes the possible forms of organization. These are three in number: a single executive, such as we had in the United States; a committee of experts in several directions, as in Great Britain; and a combination of a number of separate agencies, the foreign office, general headquarters, press, etc., such as in Germany.

Then follow some excellent chapters on the subject matter of propaganda, such as war guilt and war aims, depravity of the enemy, the illusion of victory, the preserving of international friendships, demoralizing the enemy. The closing chapters deal respectively with conditions and methods, objectives, and results.

The book is well written; indeed, it is almost too well written in places, fine literary form sometimes getting in the way of clearness of meaning. It is well documented, more completely documented than any work I have seen, and this shows an enormous amount of reading and investigation. It is logical and forceful.

If there is any criticism to be lodged against the work it would seem to have reference to the definition of propaganda which is adopted and about which the whole argument revolves. The author says: "It refers solely to the control of opinion by significant symbols, or, to speak more concretely and less accurately, by stories, rumors, reports, pictures, and

other forms of social communication" (p. 9). This, of course, is the popularly accepted view of propaganda, although the conception may be phrased differently by as many different writers; it is the way in which I conceived the matter before I gained more light. But it now seems to me that this is a rather shallow view. It does not penetrate to the real nature of propaganda, and it does not reveal the differences between propaganda and education, nor does it disclose the essential viciousness of this influence in human society. But upon the basis of the usual meaning of the term, the book is well reasoned, the illustrative material is well selected, and the whole is a most creditable piece of work.

FREDERICK E. LUMLEY

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

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*The Story of Human Progress. A Coherent View of the Main Forces or Factors in Living Together in Society.* By LEON C. MARSHALL. New York: Macmillan. Pp. 445. \$3.50.

Ever since H. G. Wells attempted "to tell, truly and clearly, in one continuous narrative, the whole story of life and mankind so far as it is known today" (Introduction to 1920 edition of *The Outline of History*, p. v.), we have had a procession of paintings of mankind's affairs on huge canvases. Readers by the thousands and tens of thousands have flocked to purchase them. For the first time in the history of bookshops, publications on history, religion, and philosophy have been "best sellers." The first book of this general kind designed for the use of high-school pupils was Marshall's *Story of Human Progress*. Now comes this revised edition carefully reprinted and re-worded to meet the demands of discriminating adults.

*The Story of Human Progress* is divided into five parts. The first deals with Neanderthal and Neolithic man. It furnishes the dark background against which later developments are portrayed in bright colors. Part II tells how man has learned to increase his control over nature through a growing knowledge of science. Part III deals with man the communicator. It shows how man has gained increasing control over his environment by the use of spoken, written, and printed language, and by the development of trade and commerce. Part IV shows how man multiplies his power by social organization and social control. Part V deals with the development of ideals as the directors of human effort.

From several viewpoints this book is an interesting experiment. It is one of the first books for the general reader to grow out of a high-school

text. If we are entering an age in which high-school texts are to be rewritten for general adult reading, we may look for better understanding between the youth of tomorrow and their parents. Possibly this may be one of the techniques we shall use to keep our adult population abreast of the new reaches of knowledge which come to our youth in school. Under these conditions the texts of the future will have to manage somehow to humanize their materials. As James Harvey Robinson suggests, they will have to deal with "some phase of human interest rather than some field of scientific investigation" (*The Humanizing of Knowledge*, p. 88). Otherwise the free adult will pass them by. For those who have embarked in the field of adult education know that adult groups readily express their disapproval of conventional textbooks. However, Mr. Marshall's unconventional text dressed in its new format may easily find a place on America's bookshelves beside *The Outline of History*, *The Story of Philosophy*, and *This Believing World*.

FRANCES K. HEPNER

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

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*Negro Problems in Cities.* A study made under the direction of T. J. WOOFER, JR. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc. Pp. xiii+284. \$2.50.

It is not to be expected that four investigators with the uncertain assistance of volunteer field workers, during a period of nine months, would go very deeply into all the problems of Negroes in sixteen cities. Yet there are sufficient examples of social studies which make interesting reading to leave no excuse for a book as dull as the one under review. Throughout its 284 pages the monotony of statistical tables is broken only by the monotony of vague generalities concerning the inequalities in the physical equipment of neighborhoods, houses, schools, and recreational facilities for whites and Negroes. Here and there we catch a sparkle of human life; but it is immediately smothered by an avalanche of for the most part meaningless statistics.

Because of the division of the work of the book among four investigators whose findings are published under the headings of the four sections, "Neighborhoods," "Housing," "Schools," and "Recreation," it is not surprising that the materials in the book have not been integrated so that their significance stands out. The director of the study who wrote the section on "Neighborhoods" indicated in his introduction that the survey is not concerned with what would be considered social factors but

with the relation of the "city environment" to disease, crime, and irregularities of family life. But in the book one fails to find any systematic attempt to investigate this problem. When the correlation coefficient between infant mortality and density according to the Pearsonian formula is found to be only  $+.323$ , the author of this section takes consolation in the fact that it is positive. The conclusion reached by such reasoning is that "overcrowding saps the vitality and moral vigor of those in dense neighborhoods." The other three sections of the book are written on the whole in the manner of the first. The fourth section, which deals with recreation, while not burdened with tables, is naïve moralizing where it is not making simple statements of facts concerning Y. M. C. A.'s, etc.

While this volume fails to give any insight into the problems of Negroes in cities, beyond general observations, it is amply supplied with maps showing the distribution of the Negro population in the cities studied and with statistics from the federal census and other sources which afford a ready reference for those desiring such facts.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Adventures of an African Slaver. Being a True Account of the Life of Capt. Theodore Canot, Trader in Gold, Ivory, and Slaves on the Coast of Guinea, etc.* Edited by MALCOLM COWLEY. New York: A. and C. Boni. Pp. 376. \$4.00.

This somewhat abridged account of the adventures of Theodore Canot as a slave trader on the west coast of Africa was originally published in 1854 at Baltimore, where the slaver, then a derelict about the wharves, ran into an old acquaintance who had met him in Liberia. Canot was introduced to Brantz Mayer, a journalist, who undertook the task of recording from the slaver's journals, memoranda, and conversations the fascinating incidents in the career of one of the most famous slavers on the West Coast—not, we are told by Mayer, "for the mere gratification of scandalous curiosity," but to inform philanthropists and others "as to the nature of the race itself."

Canot, who was born in Italy, came from a family which had served in the Napoleonic Wars. When around twelve years of age he went to sea on an American ship as a cabin boy, and later drifted by accident into the slave trade. During the time that Canot was engaged in slaving the trade was outlawed, and he was therefore constantly forced to devise means for outwitting the watchful cruisers of Great Britain, especially.

Later in his career he became a lieutenant of the famous slaver, Don Pedro Blanco, who amassed a fabulous fortune and retired from the trade in 1839 to spend the remainder of his life in ease on the Italian Riviera. Although the hardships of the slave trade are minimized and the "middle passage" made to appear like an excursion for the blacks, the reader is able to get a vivid and authentic picture of the commerce in slaves on the African coast in which the natives participated as well as the whites. The personalities with whom the hero came into contact during the course of his adventures stand out as thoroughly human. It was not, however, until a visit to Liberia that the author was convinced "that there was, in truth, something more in these ebony frames than an article of commerce and labour." Canot was not so fortunate as Blanco, and instead of retiring with a fortune, he was arrested and charged by the United States Government with shipping a cargo of slaves.

This reprint will make accessible to those who have the disposition to seek the adventures of a bygone age among musty volumes an entertaining and informing narrative of the contact of the whites with an uncivilized people who had nothing but their bodies to give in exchange for gunpowder, tobacco, and beads.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Unique Status of Man.* By HERBERT WILDON CARR. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. 216. \$1.75.

Herbert Wildon Carr is professor of philosophy in the University of London, but is at present acting as visiting professor in the University of Southern California. He holds the honorary degree of D.Litt. from the University of Durham and of LL.D. from the University of Southern California, and is a fellow of the University of London and the Royal Society of Literature. Dr. Carr has been connected with the Aristotelian Society almost since its foundation, having served as president and as editor of the proceedings of that society. He is widely known as an exponent of the philosophy of Henry Bergson. His chief writings are: *Changing Backgrounds in Religion and Ethics*, *The Philosophy of Change*, *The Philosophy of Benedetto Groce*, *The General Principle of Relativity*, *A Theory of Monads*, and *The Scientific Approach to Philosophy*. He is the translator of Gentile's *Theory of Mind as Pure Act* and Bergson's *Mind-Energy*.

In this book Professor Carr discusses: the theological form of the free-will problem, the metaphysical form of the free-will problem, empiricism and the rise of the idea of natural religion, mechanism and sci-

entific materialism, mind and nature and the principle of relativity, the positive conception of freedom implied in living activity.

The most interesting chapters are the last two, in which he discusses the doctrine of human freedom in its relation to the theory of relativity, emergent and creative evolution giving room for free will and individuality. The book is a contribution to a point of view very precious to the religious person.

ARTHUR E. HOLT

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

*Folklore of the Teeth.* By LEO KANNER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. xiii+316. \$4.00.

*Paganism in Roumanian Folklore.* By MARCU BEZA. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1928. Pp. 161. \$5.50.

Folklore, in process of detaching itself from antiquarianism, finds various justifications for its existence. Thus, Dr. Kanner, in making his extensive research into traditional practices, superstitions, and usages connected with the teeth, is establishing, so he hopes, a new branch of dental science. Marcu Beza, on the other hand, has as his avowed purpose the tracing of the origins of Roumanian myths and customs to ancient Greek sources. To the sociologist, however, the contribution of both these volumes will lie in the further insight they give into the action of the "pre-logical," the so-called "folk mind." Dr. Kanner's materials have been well arranged and many of them are suggestive. Teeth have always been the subject of much interest and attention and, through the effort to control their growth and decay, of magical practices. Dr. Kanner's bibliography covers a wide area. Mr. Beza's contribution, on the other hand, might have been that of first-hand reports of folk practices. As a child he heard the old tales from his grandmother and practiced the ancient rites of the peasantry. But unfortunately a number of, it appears ill-founded, preconceptions as to the origin of these tales and customs renders his volume less profitable reading. Rather striking, however, are the tales of the creation and the flood as interpreted by the Roumanian folk. It is interesting to find, for example, our ever present triangle of the divorce courts even in the Ark, for Noah's wife took the devil for her lover and all the bad people in the world are descended from this branch of the family. One would like more tales of this sort, which really express the folk spirit.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

CHICAGO

*Don't Tread on Me. A Study of Aggressive Legal Tactics for Labor.*

By CLEMENT WOOD, MCALISTER COLEMAN, and A. G. HAYES.

New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. viii+135. \$0.50.

*Soviet Trade Unions.* By ROBERT W. DUNN. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xx+238. \$0.50.

*The Remedy for Overproduction and Unemployment.* New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. vi+113. \$0.50.

The collaborators in *Don't Tread on Me* have produced one of the most realistic and admirable handbooks that has fallen into the reviewer's hands for a long time. It is avowedly an attempt to indicate how labor might make more effective use of the weapons at hand. "Haters of censorship, enemies of oppression, foes of intolerance," all may find here suggestive techniques that will further their separate causes. In brief, it advises labor unions and other targets of oppression to use the employers' own tactics, to utilize the newspapers and professional publicity men, to be aggressive, to resort to injunctions, damage suits, mandamus, and mass passive resistance. It urges labor lawyers to be alert and to throw over hampering precedents. Typical of the whole book is the recommendation to go to law, not to win, but to get publicity.

If any American believes that the Soviet régime destroyed trade unionism in Russia, Dunn's book will give him a considerable jolt. For the total membership of twenty-three unions on July 1, 1927, ran up to the enormous figure of over ten million, constituting about 94 per cent of all the wage-working population. Moreover, the revenues from membership dues alone mount up to fifty million dollars a year. While the unions enjoy a certain legal status they are captained by the communists. A good deal of shop democracy exists, and this includes active participation of women. The cultural and educational work of the unions sounds quite imposing; but on the whole the description of Soviet trade unions is keyed so high that the realistically minded reader, accustomed to human, mortal frailties, suspects that the colors have been forced. It is not reasonable to believe that a labor movement less than thirty years old could have reached such heavenly perfection during the last ten tumultuous years.

Bilgram's book is an elaboration of an essay submitted to the Pollak Foundation as a criticism of Foster and Catchings' book, *Profits*. It is a

thesis to the effect that high interest is the cause of depressions. Hence the author attacks the quantity theory of money, does not fear inflation; advocates more currency against smaller gold reserves to reduce pure interest from the discount rate, and higher taxation of land values. The appendix on "Apologists for Interest" is the best part of the book.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*The Racial Elements of European History.* By HANS F. K. GÜNTHER. Translated from the second German edition by G. C. WHEELER. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., no date. Pp. vii+279. \$4.60.

There is little to be said about this book that has not been said about many others. It is a racial interpretation of European history that is more erudite and less interesting than that of Madison Grant, but otherwise not very different. It is unusual only in that it is recent; it first appeared in Germany no more than a few years ago, and in the present translation only last year. The controversy with the racial determinists has long passed its height; the tumult and the shouting dies; and still one untroubled voice raises the ancient myths of Gobineau.

All differences in group behavior, and particularly in military achievement, are interpreted as the result of varying proportions of racial blood. Each race has its "mental" traits. The courage and leadership of the Nordic, the laziness and profligacy of the Mediterranean, are familiar, but we learn also what to expect—and that is mostly bad—of the "East Baltic," the "Dinaric," the "Hither Asiatic," and the "Oriental" races. Germans can best enjoy the *Iliad* because its spirit is akin to their own Nordic instincts.

This quaint nonsense is illustrated with many excellent photographs of racial types, and with maps, interesting to physical anthropologists, showing the distribution of various somatic traits in Europe. The last chapter is interesting because, in giving an account of the policies and institutions in which the "Nordic Ideal" has found a structure, it presents a short history of a social movement.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Community and Vocational Civics*. By HOWARD COPELAND HILL, Assistant Professor of the Teaching of Social Science, the College of Education, and Head of the Department of Social Science of the University High School, the University of Chicago. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1928. Pp. xvi+750. \$1.92.

*Community and Vocational Civics* is the author's fourth basic textbook in social science for junior high school pupils. His first book, *Community Life and Civic Problems*, was published in 1922.

The chief strength of this book is identical with the best feature of the author's other texts, namely, the reading lists. These have been improved by the omission of numbers of books for adults. Also, there is now provision for a classroom library of twelve books, one of which is an encyclopedia while the other eleven are source books of poems, stories, biographies, and sketches.

In this fourth text the author frankly recognizes the strength of the trends in community civics toward more abundant project materials and toward greater emphasis on vocations. In order to meet the demand for project materials he has added to each chapter a section called "Things to Do." However, this new material is largely thought-provoking suggestions. It makes almost no use of the community survey technique. Consequently the focus of the learner's attention is on the text as a stimulator of thought rather than as an open door to the exploration of our social institutions. The new chapters on vocations cover the last two hundred pages. Their presence indicates that the author recognizes the principles laid down by the Committee on the Social Studies of the National Education Association, to the effect that the course in vocations should develop an understanding of the economic, social, and civic aspects of work. In line with this criterion, recent texts on vocational civics closely correlate community health with the physician's work, collection and distribution of news with journalism, and the establishment and structure of our government with politics and public service as careers. But this author separates discussions of this kind by three to five hundred pages. If he could have placed his vocational materials in their natural social setting, he would have come nearer to attaining one of his avowed purposes.

FRANCES K. HEPNER

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

*Urbanization: Its Effect on Government and Society.* By JOHN GRIFFIN THOMPSON. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927. Pp. xiv+683. \$6.00.

This is one of those ambitious books upon a topic of first-rate importance which for one reason or another doesn't come off. No one will deny that a single treatise on the history of various types of urban communities, and an appraisal of their differential functions, would be of the greatest moment, even though one may seriously question whether existing research is able to support so pretentious an enterprise.

Mr. Thompson begins very badly. The opening chapter gives a miscellany of quotations which are supposed to illustrate the bias in favor of the open country. This is followed by a chapter of quotations supposed to display the glorification of the city. The only excuse for such an employment of space would be that the quotations chosen might be indicative of the attitudes of certain groups about which the writer wanted to make generalizations. None of the various possible schemes of analytic organization are adopted, and the net impression is chaotic. This is a foretaste of the plan throughout the book.

The urbanization concept is itself taken whole. The author has compiled enough hit-and-miss evidence to suggest that there isn't much that's true about "urbanization" in toto, but that a great deal can be said of various types of life-situations, were they competently disentangled. Is physical contiguity in the performance of certain activities the essence of urbanization, or is mental contact of certain intensity the crux? Issues of this kind have apparently left the author undisturbed.

He is especially interested in the effect of urbanization upon politics, asking about its effect upon political knowledge or intelligence, upon initiative and enterprise, upon forms and principles of government, upon political activity, political leadership, public spirit, political purity, and efficiency of government. He also considers the relation of urbanization to preparation for war, prosecution of war, and general political stability. His chapters upon these subjects show no superiority in analysis of method to the others.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Grain Growers' Co-operation in Western Canada.* By HARALD S. PATTON, PH. D. Harvard Economic Studies, published under the direction of the Department of Economics, Vol. XXXII. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. xix+471. \$5.00.

*Grain Growers' Co-operation in Western Canada* presents an economic history of the rise of co-operative marketing among the grain growers of Western Canada, from early beginnings in 1900 due to grievances with the middlemen, to recent culmination in the interprovincial Canadian Co-operative Wheat Producers, Ltd., the world's largest wheat exporting agency. The chief forms of organization have been the farmers' stock company and the grain pool. There have been almost no failures, retiring concerns being invariably taken over by other farmers' companies. The spread between the selling price of wheat and the price received by the grower has been reduced to a minimum, but the price of wheat has not been affected by the movement. The farmers' status has been raised. Some of the progress made by the growers' co-operatives was obtained through government action, but most of it has been the result of co-operative business organization and experience. Co-operative buying has been much less successful than co-operative selling. The agricultural depression after the World War furnished motive for the most vigorous co-operative efforts by the growers. A reaction and severe testing seem to lie ahead, but the growers are well prepared. Further economic improvement depends upon lowering production costs.

The whole development of co-operative marketing among Canadian grain growers appears as a movement which has not always foreseen where it was going but which represents a continuous assumption of broader functions and a series of improved adjustments to the existing economic situation.

Dr. Patton has made a scholarly addition to the economic history of farmers' co-operation. His tracing of the trends in the development is especially well done. He also draws inferences regarding the results, policies, and outlook of the Canadian co-operative movement which are full of practical significance both for that movement and for others. Moreover, his historical material is so complete and so carefully treated that it may eventually be used with that of similar studies as data for testing theories of economics, organization, and collective action.

For many readers the chief weakness of the book will be the narrowness of its practical and economic point of view. They will feel the lack of theoretical analysis, and of efforts to go below economic events for human motives.

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Federal Health Administration in the United States.* By ROBERT D. LEIGH, A. Barton Hepburn Professor of Government, Williams College. Harper & Brothers, 1927. Pp. 687. \$5.00.

This book, of interest to students of political science and of public health, is "an attempt to bring into closer contact some of the special knowledge in these two important fields." "Federal" Professor Leigh uses, "not only . . . as the equivalent of 'national,' but also in its stricter meaning as signifying a central superstructure organically dependent upon, and having carefully defined relations to, smaller units of government." He employs the concept "health" as inclusive of "all government activities having to do with the care, cure, and prevention of disease, and the positive promotion of public health." "'Administration' as employed in the title is practically synonymous with 'function' or 'service.'"

Three-fifths of the volume is devoted to past federal experience, both good and bad, in public health administration, with a thorough study of its constitutional bases. The remainder of the book, namely, chapters xv, xvi, xvii, and xviii, is concerned with the author's rationale of federal control, a review of attempts at the reorganization of the federal health functions, Professor Leigh's own recommendation for the effective reorganization of the public health service, and a critical study of the problem of personnel.

Though the book contains perhaps more than enough of detailed story of the evolution of the federal health functions, it does chart thoroughly the general progress made in this particular aspect of curative and preventive medicine in the United States. It gives the impetus of political science to the further effectiveness of the public health service. The study is scholarly and amenable to use as a textbook in the field of public health administration. Each chapter closes with a summary, and the book contains an excellent topical bibliography, annotated.

EARL S. JOHNSON

CHICAGO

*Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day. An Economic and Social Survey.* By C. R. FAY. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. Pp. xii+458.

This is an intimate and fascinating survey of the interplay of theory, policy, and cultural change upon the economic and social evolution of England during her period of transition from a local insular economy to a center of dominance in a world-web of regional interdependence. Economic theory and political policy are discussed in the historical setting in which they took root, and the outcome is noted in the light of subsequent trends. The first part of the book is organized around conspicuous leaders in thought and policy such as Adam Smith, Walpole, Pitt, Huskisson, Peel, Gladstone, and Chamberlain. Subsequent chapters deal with trade, transport, agriculture, industry, life, and labor. Each line of thought or course of events is traced from the beginning to the end of the 150-year period under review and comparisons are made with analogous trends in other countries, notably in the United States.

Throughout this interesting transition period the author gives as much attention to the effect of inventions and changes in technique as to human personality and political policy. He gives a detailed account of each important invention and shows its significance in changing the course of human affairs. Changes in technical culture effect changes in social theory and political policy.

Professor Fay skilfully surveys the factors and forces involved in the changing rôle of England from that of a passive participant in European trade to an active center of world-commerce. He shows the effect of expansion upon the people and institutions of the country itself. He points out how the specialized industries moved one by one to the north, effecting a redistribution of population; how London changed from a local market and industrial town into a world-metropolis; and how the nation gradually passed into a condition of vital interdependence with regions scattered throughout the world. He traces the steady rise of better conditions among the masses, showing the struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, and improved working conditions.

The author believes that England has entered a new era of history since the war, that she is "now within sight of a stationary population." The lead which she maintained throughout the nineteenth century is passing as a result of the ever widening scope of scientific knowledge. Science tends to equalize conditions everywhere.

The book is the work of a mature scholar. The style "is nervous,

racy, and finished," a description which Mr. Fay imputes to the writings of Adam Smith. The student of sociology will find much of value in this meritorious study.

R. D. MCKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

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*The Bunkhouse Man.* By E. W. BRADWIN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928. Pp. xiii+306. \$5.00.

The subtitle reads, "A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada, 1903-14," which means that the theme has lain fallow for fourteen years. Its present appearance seems to be in the rôle of a Doctor's thesis. The author has been for nearly three decades an instructor or director of instructors in the Frontier College, Toronto, an institution that spreads learning in the remote corners of the Dominion. His work threw him into intimate contact with the workers in the railroad, mining, and lumber camps of the Canadian backlands. The conditions that he witnessed during years he has recorded in this little volume.

The book has a double value. It is a history of the migratory worker on the frontier and of the heartless exploitation he submitted to. It reminds one of the stories of the levee days in this country where oft-times men worked a month before they got even with the bills stacked against them. There is the old company doctor, the labor agent, the handcuffing of men en route to the job, the belly-robbing cooks, and a lot about camp life. That is a life that is more or less dead even in Canada; and since it is so, one feels that the book would have been vastly improved if the author had added some of the Paul Bunyan stories, the songs, and other bits of social life that would give us some of the human side of those bunkhouse days.

The author justifies the lateness of the study by pointing out that Canada is still a land of camps, that while the old conditions do not maintain, there are many new problems. In other words, his heart goes out to the man who lives in the bunkhouse who usually comes out the little end of the horn when justice is passed around.

NELS ANDERSON

SETH LOW COLLEGE

*Professional Codes.* By BENSON Y. LANDIS. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927. Pp. xii+108.

This study is offered to educators who are considering the problems involved in the development of professional ethics. It is a sociological analysis of code-making in the various professional organizations, and aims to reveal how the experiences of these groups may be applied to education.

In this sociological analysis the professional code is regarded as an aspect of the life of an organization. Study is made of the social situations out of which codes have grown, the methods of defining these situations, the structure of the organization, and the type of code that has been evolved.

The author believes that a study of this nature will be a useful supplement to the usual literature on professional ethics which is available for educators. Most of the current literature may be grouped under two heads: (1) articles, addresses, and books by experienced educators as to what are or should be ethical standards; (2) descriptions of codes which have been adopted by organizations among educators. The author submits that the introduction of sociological technique, such as is attempted in this work, will assist in an understanding of the tasks involved in the development of professional ethics and in the adoption of methods which will enable educators better to cope with the situations that confront them.

Those who have been interested in the achievement of a democratically imposed code of conduct will find here a technique for analysis of these codes which is invaluable. All teachers of social ethics are indebted to Mr. Landis for the contribution which he has made.

A. E. HOLT

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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*Bibliography on Censorship and Propaganda.* By KIMBALL YOUNG and RAMOND D. LAWRENCE. Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Publication, Journalism Series, 1928. Pp. 133.

This bibliography is a timely one. The part played by censorship and propaganda during the World War brought these problems into the focus of our consciousness. Enough time has now elapsed since war-time pressures were in force to permit dispassionate, analytical studies of

these factors as means of social control. Such studies are now being undertaken by social scientists in several different fields, and much critical attention is being paid by other writers to the experience of censorship and propaganda during the war crisis. All students who are interested in these problems will find this bibliography invaluable.

The relationship between propaganda and censorship is pointed out in the introduction: "Propaganda in one form is simply the reverse side of censorship. . . . Where censorship leaves gaps in the individual's mind about events, situations, and matters of opinion, propaganda is often employed to fill in these gaps. . . . We must look upon propaganda as a positive rather than as a negative device in the control of opinion and conduct. Censorship is essentially repressive and negative . . . ." (p. 12).

On the whole, the bibliography on censorship is more complete than that on propaganda, and titles are most numerous on the political and war-time phases. The least adequate section is that devoted to the propaganda of economic groups and interests.

CARROLL D. CLARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Liberia—Old and New. A Study of Its Social and Economic Background, with Possibilities of Development.* By JAMES L. SIBLEY and D. WESTERMANN. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928. Pp. xvi+313.

This book is one response to the interest in Liberia aroused by the Firestone rubber concession. The point of view is that of an intelligent missionary who is confident of the social benefits to be conferred on a backward people by benevolent capitalism. Mr. Sibley was sent to Liberia to investigate conditions for the American Advisory Committee on Education. Six chapters constitute a popular restatement of his report; they are a sort of handbook of Liberia with special reference to the problems of the educator. The most obviously interesting point here is the picture of the re-creation of southern aristocratic society by the American Negro colonizers. The other five chapters, by Professor Westermann, are, in the main, a simple summary of his book, published in German in 1921, on the Kpelle, a typical Liberian tribe. This makes available to the English reader in a hundred short pages a competent well-balanced ethnological account of a Sudanese people. There is in particular a good

chapter on the educative functions of the men's and women's secret societies, and also some material on the development of polygyny into a form of capitalistic enterprise.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Golden Stool. Some Aspects of the Conflict of Cultures in Modern Africa.* By EDWIN W. SMITH. With a foreword by the RIGHT HON. SIR F. D. LUGARD, G.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928. Pp. xvi+328.

This volume speaks that collaboration of missionary, administrator, and ethnologist that now distinguishes enlightened British interest in Africa and that has recently found expression in the new journal, *Africa*. Edwin W. Smith, missionary and ethnologist, was co-author with Andrew Dale, ethnologist and administrator, in that excellent account, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*. In this present book the interest is in questions of policy, and particularly in the problems of the missionary. The author recognizes and fairly describes the dilemma of the Christianizer: to make Africa Christian without disorganizing native culture and destroying native "ethos."

Taken in connection with the many up-to-date footnote references, this book suggests, but is not quite, a syllabus on race relations in Africa. It is rather a short introduction to the subject, with suggestions for further reading. It is directed toward the average reader, but if the experience of the reviewer is typical, it will be useful as a compendium of references to social scientists largely ignorant of this particular field.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Economics and Human Behavior. A Reply to Social Psychologists.*

By P. SARGENT FLORENCE, PH.D., Lecturer in Economics, Magdalene College, Cambridge; formerly member of the Bureau of Industrial Research, New York. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1927. Pp. 95. \$1.00.

This witty, even smart, piece of writing finds it necessary to make some verbal alterations in the statement of economic theory, thanks to the critical work of the social psychologists; but further than that its au-

thor doesn't budge. It is to be deplored that anyone should undertake to discuss the relation between economics and social psychology at this late date who labors under the misapprehension that only Mr. McDougall and Mr. Ellwood and Mr. Carleton Parker speak for social psychology in America. Mr. Florence has divined the sterility of the instinct school in interpreting social data, for where they are on sound ground they are tautologous. Mr. Florence prescribes for economics, therefore, liberal inhalations of comparative institutional studies, and "Cycle-Analysis, not Psycho-Analysis." By taking "the terms of exchange" as the subject matter of economics, he has left out of account various aspects of economic life which will, if his definition be accepted literally, have to be studied by men who name themselves something else. The net effect of polemics of this kind is to sacrifice richness of substance for sterile clearness of definition.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Employment Statistics for the United States.* Edited by RALPH G. HURLIN and WILLIAM A. BERRIDGE. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1926. Pp. xvi+215.

This volume, though edited by a subcommittee, represents the work of the Committee on Governmental Labor Statistics of the American Statistical Association, and as such constitutes a notable achievement in committee work. Not content with simply making recommendations with regard to policy, the Committee has gathered considerable data upon the problem and made specific suggestions covering the collection and preparation for publication of such comparable data as would result from the adoption of the plan proposed. This plan is, in brief, that of co-operation between the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics and state bureaus, following a standardized procedure of collecting pay-roll statistics.

Since much of our statistical analysis of social conditions is dependent upon the comparability of data collected by groups having divergent interests, any attempt at standardization seems particularly pertinent. From this point of view this report should serve as a guide wherever the need for standardization is felt. As such it merits the attention of social statisticians in general.

ERNEST R. MOWRER

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

*Business the Civilizer.* By EARNEST ELMO CALKINS. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1928. Pp. viii+309. \$3.00.

The title of this book is rather misleading. In it Mr. Calkins is talking neither of business nor of civilization in general, but of the business of advertising and its relation to civilization as we find it in America to-day. Few would dispute his main thesis—that it is large-scale production combined with national advertising that serves to lower prices and raise material standards of living. We have here an excellent expression of the attitudes of an intelligent member of the machine age. "Beauty the New Business Tool," "Selling the Art of Reading," "Truth Is a Mighty Advertising Technique" are a few section heads. But in spite of the author's shrewd commentary toward the specific problems of advertising, his attitude toward the machine reveals what may be either naïveté or an extreme optimism. He says: "Suppose he [an artist] was able to paint a motor car with the same discrimination with which John Sargent was able to paint faces. . . . Suppose there was an artist who could put the soul of a motor car in a picture—not merely the body, but the spirit." The animism of primitive peoples is often perhaps no more than this.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

CHICAGO

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*The Lure of Superiority: A Study in the Psychology of Motives.*  
By WAYLAND F. VAUGHAN. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928. Pp. 307. \$3.00.

Nothing short of a compensatory urge or the lure of superiority could thoroughly account for this book. It is incredibly platitudinous, abounds in sweeping generalizations, is superficial in many places. At best it is simply a summary of the new psychology of inferiority compensation. Its analysis of Schopenhauer is the best thing in the book, but the concluding chapter, which attempts to "psych" Abraham Lincoln, is feeble to a degree. This study contributes nothing to the sociologist beyond restating William G. Sumner's "vanity" motive.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

*The Mexican Side of the Texan Revolution.* By the chief Mexican participants (GENERAL ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA, D. RAMON MARTINEZ CARO, GENERAL MARIA TOMAL). Translated with Notes by CARLOS E. CASTANEDA. Dallas, Texas: P. L. Turner Co. Pp. 390. \$5.00.

The interest of this book is chiefly for students of Mexican-United States political relations. General Tomal's account shows that as early as 1830 Mexican patriots mistrusted North American expansion and predicted the loss of Texas. The other documents illustrate the welter of personal abuse and excuse into which Mexican war and politics tend always to fall.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Roman Catholic Church as a Factor in the Political and Social History of Mexico.* By ERNEST GALARZA. Sacramento, California: Capital Press, 1928. Pp. 188.

This reasonably clear and dispassionate history of the church in Mexican politics is drawn largely from standard Mexican works on the subject. It is a useful summary of the more formal events, although not so vivid nor so up to date an account as that of about equal length contained in Ernest Gruening's recent book on Mexico.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina.* By JOHN G. VAN DEUSEN, PH.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928. Pp. 360. \$5.00.

This volume is a study of disunion sentiment in South Carolina as influenced by economic conditions. The study is based on original documentary material. The treatment of the material is topical rather than chronological. It is a systematic and competent piece of historical research done in the modern manner. It is well documented and provided with an adequate index.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

*How to Succeed in College.* By WILLIAM F. BOOK, Head of Department of Psychology, Indiana University. Baltimore: Warwick & York, 1927. Pp. 192.

This book is the result of an investigation carried on at the University of Indiana. The problem of the author is the study of student capacities and methods of work. His findings will not rejoice the heart of the optimist. According to his study, college students waste their time, studying little, but loafing, dating, and playing much. They seem to lack fundamental intellectual interests. Their methods of work are often slipshod, without plan or reason. To make matters worse—for, in spite of their "leisure," they do not take care of their bodies—their sleep, exercise, and dietary habits are very bad. The author thinks that this state of affairs is not due to lack of ability on the part of the student, but to the character of college life.

*United Churches.* By ELIZABETH R. HOOKER. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926. Pp. xvi+306. \$2.75.

"The material upon which this volume is based was gathered as part of the comprehensive study of American agricultural villages conducted by the Institute of Social and Religious Research between January, 1922, and December, 1925."

This is the best assembling of material setting forth the experience of the various attempts toward a united Protestantism which has yet been provided for those who have a conscience which is troubled about the present divisions of Protestantism.

*Direccion de Arqueologia. Ruinas de Tizatlan, Tlaxcala. Antecedentes Historicos de Tlaxcala.* By AGUSTIN GARCIA VEGA. *Los Altares de Sacrificios de Tizatlan, Tlaxcala.* By EDUARDO NOGUERA. Mexico: Talleres Graficos de la Nacion, 1927.

This bulletin contains a brief description of Tlaxcalan ruins recently excavated by Mexican governmental archeologists and a preliminary description and interpretation of symbolic murals ornamenting two low rectangular altars. Besides these murals, the ruins present an interesting feature in that certain walls are constructed of baked brick, suggesting either that this technique was known to the pre-Columbian Indians or that this large edifice was actually erected after the Conquest.

*Probation for Juveniles and Adults: A Study of Principles and Methods.* By FRED R. JOHNSON. The Social Workers' Library. New York: Century Co., 1928. Pp. xiii+242. \$2.25.

This is a brief manual of about ninety pages, supplemented by ten case records. It covers somewhat the same ground that Flexner and Baldwin covered, but does not contain the exhaustive analysis of laws made by Lou or the intensive study of cases made by Cooley. The case records describe the modifications in the behavior of probationers, but do not go into sufficient detail to show how the modifications were produced.

*Old Deadwood Days.* By ESTELLINE BENNETT. New York: J. H. Sears & Co., 1928. Pp. 300. \$3.00.

This is another contribution to the literature of the frontier. Miss Bennett gives an impression of life in a gold town, as seen from the vantage point of "the Judge's family." The story, which includes ladies' aids and church socials as well as gamblers, bull whackers, and the ladies of the bad lands, gives a more convincing picture of the Wild West than is ordinarily encountered.

*Handbook of Rural Social Resources 1928.* By BENSON Y. LANDIS (editor). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. xi+226. \$2.00.

The *Handbook* contains brief articles by various specialists dealing with some fifteen topics of interest to rural social workers. The print is small, and a surprising amount of information is condensed within a few pages. The contents for the most part are identical with those of the 1926 edition, prepared by Israel and Landis, except that the material is brought up to date, and in Part II, on the Programs of National Agencies Engaged in Rural Social Work, there is considerable expansion.

*Mexico before the World. Public Documents and Addresses of Plutarco Elias Calles.* Translated from the Spanish and edited by ROBERT HAMMOND MURRAY. 112 Fourth Avenue, New York: Academy Press, 1927. Pp. x+244. \$1.00.

This is an indifferent translation of various public utterances of Calles from 1923 to 1927. They are no more outspoken than the average presidential statements in this country. Nevertheless this compilation is probably a serviceable source for recent Mexican political history. The text of the decree which precipitated the recent church controversy is included.

*Protestant Europe.* By ADOLF KELLER and GEORGE STEWART. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927. Pp. 385. \$3.50.

This book is an interesting picture of the ongoing Protestant life of Europe with all its pathetic weakness and its promise of the future. It is an appeal for sympathy and for financial assistance.

*Sources of Information concerning the Operation of the Eighteenth Amendment. A Report of the Special Advisory Committee of the Social Science Research Council.* 50 East Forty-second Street, New York, April, 1928. Mimeographed. Pp. 70.

This report "does not pretend to be an exhaustive inquiry into the sources of information available to those seeking to conduct research into the operation of the Eighteenth Amendment. It is . . . intended to fertilize the thinking of the Council and its committees as regards the research possibilities that cluster about this general problem. . . ." The character, availability, and value of various classes of administrative records are especially emphasized.

*Emergent Evolution and the Development of Societies.* By WILLIAM MORTON WHEELER. New Science Series. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1928. Pp. 80. \$1.00.

The text of a public address delivered before the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy at Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 14, 1926, amplified by the addition of a critical review of some of the literature dealing with the same subject. The author, who is known for his studies of insect societies, defends the thesis formulated by J. E. Boodin in *Cosmic Evolution*—that societies are the outcome of the "emergence" of co-ordinated units or entities on a new level, distinct from the level of individual organisms.

*The Classified Property Tax in the United States.* By SIMEON ELDRIDGE LELAND. Hart, Schaffner and Marx Prize Essay in Economics. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1928. Pp. xiv+492. \$3.50.

A factual and technical study of a movement in tax administration which has been prominent in recent years. For sociologists this book will be of interest chiefly as a measurement of the modification undergone by a particular institution in the course of its adaptation to the actualities of political life.

*Secretaria de Hacienda y Credito Publico. Boletin de Informaciones.* Ano de 1927, diciembre; ano de 1928, enero. Mexico.

This note acknowledges the receipt of two numbers (150 and 151) of this Mexican governmental monthly publication which prints the texts of those decrees and other public documents having to do with tariffs, taxes, state expenditures, and other aspects of Mexican public finance.

*Ministerial Ethics and Etiquette.* By NOLAN B. HARMON, JR. Nashville, Tennessee: Cokesbury Press, 1928. Pp. 180. \$1.50.

This volume deals with the minutiae of ministerial conduct. It contains valuable suggestions for the minister in the discharge of his professional duties, but aside from the Appendix, in which are published the professional codes adopted by various denominational associations, it is of slight interest to the sociologist.

## CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

For several years past it has been the practice of the Committee on Social Research of the American Sociological Society to conduct a census of current research projects, primarily as an aid to the chairmen of divisions in making up their programs for the annual meeting. It has long seemed desirable to make the returns of this census more promptly and more completely available. With the initiation of the new *Journal of Social Science Abstracts*, the abstracting service hitherto conducted by the *American Journal of Sociology* is made unnecessary, and it therefore seems feasible to substitute a monthly report on research projects undertaken and on those completed. As an initiation of this service, a list of projects reported in the 1928 census is published below.

Because of the large number of projects to be listed at this time it seems best to print only the title, enough of the purpose of the project to make its scope clear, and the name and address of the author. It is desired, however, that the future reports of research projects submitted to the *Journal* should furnish more complete information. The following items should be included on all reports sent in:

1. Date of making the report.
2. Subject or title of the project.
3. Scope and purpose, stated in less than one hundred words.
4. Methods of research employed.
5. Stage which the project has reached at the date of reporting, i.e., problem selected, research plan formulated, data collected, analysis completed, report drafted, publication arranged for.
6. Periodical or firm (if any) which has agreed to publish the report, and probable date of publication.
7. Section of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society at which the project, if selected for presentation, could be most profitably discussed.
8. Auspices under which work is being done.
9. Name and address of author.

It is suggested that heads of sociology departments and directors of research agencies, as well as individual research workers, take an inventory of projects now under way and send in data about them for publication in this department.

The projects reported in the 1928 census of research are given below, as submitted by Professor Hornell Hart, Chairman of the Committee on Research. The method of classification is not based upon any theoretical system of categories: rather, it attempts merely to enable the reader to find readily the accounts of the pieces of research in which he is interested.

PROJECTS REPORTED FROM MARCH TO OCTOBER, 1928

*Attitudes*, see *Social Psychology*.

*Birth Control*, see *Population*.

*Child Welfare*, see also *Delinquency*, *Family*, *Social Psychology of Childhood*.

Trends in the number of children under care and cost per child in child welfare work in New York State, 1915-25. Ralph G. Hurlin, Russell Sage Foundation.

Sociological intensive case study of ten instances of neglected children. William Harvey Faust, East Central State Teachers College, Ada, Oklahoma.

*Community Problems*, see *Human Ecology*, *Races and Peoples*, *Religion*, *Rural Community*, *Social Work*.

*Crime*, see *Delinquency*.

*Culture*, see *Human Ecology*, *Races and Peoples*, *Social Change*.

*Delinquency*, see also *Social Psychology of Childhood*.

Factors in juvenile delinquency, based on records of institutional delinquents in Rhode Island. Harold A. Phelps, Brown University.

Delinquent boys with correctional school experience: a study of 700 boys who were in St. Charles School and 700 who had been in the Lyman or Shirley Schools for Boys in Massachusetts, to determine what part the schools played in determining their conduct during the five years following their detention. William F. Byron, Northwestern University.

A study in juvenile delinquency, based on cases handled by the Grand Forks Juvenile Court. James M. Rembarth, University of North Dakota.

Social situations and girl delinquency, based on 252 consecutive commitments to the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls. Katharine D. Lumpkin, Mount Holyoke College.

Correctional education: a study, ten years after release, of 110 girls who had spent eighteen months at Sleighton Farm in 1913-17, seeking to show the effects of life at the farm and parole upon subsequent adjustment in the community. Mable Elliott and Susan M. Kingsbury, Bryn Mawr College.

Study of the feeble-minded girls at Sleighton Farm and State Industrial Home at Muncy. Florentine Hackbusch, Department of Welfare, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Study of inmates of the Pennsylvania Industrial Reformatory whose I.Q.'s fall below 75 on the Terman Group Test, correlating these ratings with subsequent achievements. *Ibid*.

Survey of all available studies of delinquents by mental tests. E. H. Sutherland, University of Minnesota.

A study of homicides in South Carolina, 1920-26. H. C. Brearley, Clemson College, South Carolina.

A survey of criminal justice in Virginia. Armistead Dobie, University of Virginia.

Canadian justice, with special reference to the treatment of sentenced persons. C. W. Topping, College of Puget Sound, Tacoma.

Arrests for all causes in Worcester for 1927, and their social significance. D. W. Willard, Clark University.

A sociological and psychological approach to the problem of prostitution. Leslie L. Lewis, 558 Jefferson St., Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Punishment as a means of social control. Paul Baker, 3029 South Adams St., Fort Worth, Texas.

*Dependency.*

Analysis of trends and fluctuations in poor relief in the state of Pennsylvania, 1875-1925. Hugh Carter, University of Pennsylvania.

A social survey of the almshouse in Cincinnati. Helen S. Trounstone Foundation.

*Divorce, see Family.*

*Economic Problems, see Home Economics, Industrial, Rural Social Economics.*

*Educational Sociology, see Social Psychology, Teaching of Social Sciences.*

*Ethnology, see Immigration, Primitive.*

*Family Personal Relations, see also Home Economics, Immigration, Population, Rural Family, Social Case Work, Social Psychology.*

A study of the problems and practices of a selected group of homemakers as regards home management and child development. Ruth M. Lindquist, University of North Carolina.

Factors which make for success in family life: a study of the family background of 250 successful men and women. Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

A study of successful families, in which the husband and wife have worked out a satisfactory all-round adjustment to each other, to the children, and to the community. *Ibid.*

Successful marriage: a study to discover the problems of normal marriage and how they are met with success. E. R. Groves, University of North Carolina.

An introduction to the sociological treatment of domestic discord: an experiment in the diagnosis and treatment of such cases in a family case-work agency. Harriet R. Mowrer, 5851 Blackstone Ave., Chicago.

Domestic discord: its analysis and treatment as shown in 2,000 case-work records. Ernest R. Mowrer, Northwestern University.

Family disorganization and mobility: a comparison of the mobility of

1,000 families in which divorces were obtained subsequently, with a control group of the same size. *Ibid.*

Change of residence in Minneapolis of persons who marry or divorce. E. H. Sutherland, University of Minnesota.

Study of the broken family in Denver: a statistical analysis of data collected from children's homes, asylums, etc. Denver Community Chest and University of Denver.

The development of new attitudes toward marriage and divorce as revealed in Soviet Russia, and in the rise and revolt of modern youth in Germany, England, and the United States. V. F. Calverton, 2110 E. Pratt St., Baltimore.

Adoption practice in the Massachusetts Church Home Society, 41 Mount Vernon St., Boston.

*Feeble-mindedness*, see also *Delinquency*.

A study of the patients discharged from the Rome State School for the Feeble-minded for a period of 20 years ending with 1924. Roy William Foley, Colgate University.

*History of Social Thought*, see also *Social Psychology, History, Teaching*.

History of sociology in the United States. L. L. Bernard, University of North Carolina.

A study of the history and literature of sociological theories of religion. E. W. Gregory, Jr., University of Alabama.

Political and social philosophy of Confucianism. Leonard S. Hsu, Yen-ching University, Peking.

*Home*, see *Family, Home Economics, Social Case Work*.

*Home Economics*, see also *Rural Social Economics*.

The cost of babies: a study of 500 cases taken from consecutive birth certificates in Columbus. Mary Louise Mark, Ohio State University.

The pecuniary valuation of housewives' services. Hildegard Kneeland, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Use of time by homemakers, a study from time records kept for a typical week by over 1,000 farm village and urban homemakers in various parts of the United States. *Ibid.*

Study of family budgets in Peking: 12 months of income and expenditure of 300 families at different income levels. Sidney D. Gamble, 347 Madison ave., New York.

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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

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VOLUME XXXIV

MARCH 1929

NUMBER 5

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## P. J. PROUDHON: A PROPHET OF 1848 PART I: LIFE AND WORKS

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DOROTHY W. DOUGLAS  
Smith College

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### ABSTRACT

Though not a pure anarchist, Proudhon was the forerunner of anarchism. Though not a militant trade unionist, he was the forerunner of syndicalism. Human relationships, he held, must be built on free individual initiative and mutual justice and respect—impossible in the present social order based on exploitation. The new social order demands special interest groups, which, on the economic side, would facilitate the direct exchange of goods and eliminate most of the credit system, and, on the political side, would supply the minimum degree of federal sovereignty necessary for social balance. Proudhon's life was busy and dramatic; his writings were prolific and influential out of all proportion to their coherence. His influence was felt in the Paris Commune; in the establishment of mutualistic banks in Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany; in the anarchism of Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Herzen; in the social theory of DeGreef; and in the present-day syndicalist movement, which looks to Proudhon as its prophet, in spite of wide divergence from his doctrines.

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Proudhon occupies an interesting position in the history of social thought. He is at the headwaters of a divide, practically alone. Behind him lies the rather inchoate stream of "utopian" socialism, and before him the sharply separated currents of Marxian communism and pure anarchism. Syndicalism is yet to come. He himself is the chief force in separating off the anarchistic current and channeling out a deep bed for it. Yet his anarchism even at the outset is not pure. He foresees some of the factors that are going pres-

ently to form Syndicalism with a life of its own. He wants some of the best of both worlds, the individualistic and the group centered. And his search for specific means goes on to the end of his life.

With the growth of syndicalist theory in France and, since the war, with the threat of Bolshevism, a considerable Proudhon-cult has sprung up. This is the more easy since Proudhon wrote with extraordinary loquacity, great fertility of mind, and no order whatsoever. Hence in his forty-odd volumes one is always coming across something new. Thus of late a good deal of space and some doctoral erudition has been spent in French and German reviews debating whether Proudhon really was a revolutionary or only a *revolté*. Was Marx at all justified in calling him "a petty bourgeois" with "the sentiments of a tallow chandler"? Then, too, his parallelisms to Syndicalist theory have been gone into at some length. Are they accidental or did they cradle the theory?<sup>1</sup>

More recently yet Proudhon's friends in very various camps of opinion ("Le Cercle des Amis de Proudhon") have issued a little book of essays trying to show the timeliness of his thought for contemporary France.<sup>2</sup> And his complete works have gone into a new and revised edition.

Meanwhile in this country two of his most characteristic works have lately been translated.<sup>3</sup> The more recent of them is out only a few months. It deals with his plans for a reorganization of society through mutual banking and is preceded by a long introduction and exposition by American admirers.

So nearly as Proudhon's philosophy can be reduced to any sort of formula, it would be that at the bottom of every social relation-

<sup>1</sup> See the following among others: A. Berthod, *P. J. Proudhon et la propriété; un socialisme pour les paysans*, Paris, 1910; C. Bouglé, *La Sociologie de Proudhon*, Paris, 1911; A.-G. Boulén, *Les idées solidaristes de Proudhon*, Paris, 1912; M. Lair, "Proudhon père de l'anarchie," *Annales des Sciences Politiques* (1909), pp. 588-613; R. Mattfeldt, *P. J. Proudhon's Theorie des Kapitals*, Zurich, 1920; G. Pirou, *Proudhonisme et syndicalisme révolutionnaire*, Paris, 1910; M. Ralea, *Proudhon, sa conception du progrès*, Paris, 1922; G. du Rostu, *Proudhon et les socialistes de son temps*, Paris, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> *Proudhon et notre temps*, Paris, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century*. Translated by John Beverly Robinson, London, 1923. *Proudhon's Solution of the Social Problem*, edited by Henry Cohen. New York, 1927.

ship must be mutual "justice," that every man owes his fellows complete respect; that the present social order does not admit of this, rather that it is based upon exploitation; that the new order requires a growth, not exactly of equality, but of "equivalence" in social function and status;<sup>4</sup> and that this is best secured by a free "mutualistic" organization of exchange in the economic sphere and by a free "federalistic" organization of government in the political sphere.

By "mutualism" Proudhon meant a practice of voluntary association for strictly specified and limited purposes, primarily for exchange of all sorts. He constantly contrasted it in his mind with the all-absorbing "association" of the Utopians. This he considered bad for human dignity and impossible for human impulses. Let man's interests remain individual, and let him pool only so much of them as it is within the power of some special group to satisfy. In other words, although Proudhon does not use the phrase, let all groups become interest groups. (Once furnish these, he thought, and all men would soon find their own natural level of earnings, which would surely prove to be far more nearly equal than at present.)

The most unsatisfied human need today, Proudhon held, was the need for safe and free initiative. And the requisite instrument was, not a communistic pooling of all the means of production, but a regrouping of the individual producers in their rôle of *exchangers* of products. Let them organize circulation. Let them become their own bankers. Let exchange take place directly within each "mutualist" association, by means of purely representative notes—really validated commercial paper,—and the "deadweight" of heavy discount charges would no longer be necessary. The producers and consumers, moreover, would be drawn into closer contacts and would have opportunity to foretell market demand. Outside agencies would be forced to revise their interest rates and their price-levels, the prices of houses and land would fall, and soon all society would be "keeping pace to a different music."<sup>4a</sup> This would indeed be "the solution of the social problem."

<sup>4</sup> "Progressive equivalence of functions and capacities," Proudhon calls it in the *Contradictions Economiques*. See *Oeuvres Complètes*, IV, 228.

<sup>4a</sup> Carlyle's phrase, not Proudhon's.

On the political side the complement of the new order would be "federalism."<sup>6</sup> The many kinds of different interest-groupings that would spring up under the new régime would exercise each a certain degree of sovereignty. This was what Proudhon meant by saying<sup>6</sup> *L'atelier fera disparaître le gouvernement*, government was to be swallowed up in industry. Thus the workshop groups would run and control one kind of schools, the parents' associations, if they wished, another; while instead of the existing French system of centralized government ownership of railways, the railroad and canal operators—meaning by this workmen as well as management—would administer the transportation system of the country in a sort of Plumb Plan. The individual citizens meanwhile, entrenched each in his own bit of property, would offer the final resistance to any all-absorbing state.<sup>7</sup>

In the legislative branch of government, if government it should continue to be called, the representatives would be chosen as express delegates of their particular interest groups. There would be as many categories as possible, some occupational, some local. Asked how such a heterogenous assemblage of interests, as such, would come to any agreement, Proudhon replied, "By their *mutual weighing*."<sup>8</sup> In other words, it was social balance that was to take away the need for direct social control.

The impression that Proudhon made upon his contemporaries was out of all proportion to the coherence of his teachings. He never had a school, still less a political party, but he had a group of friends,<sup>9</sup> and he made new ones to the end of his life, who were ready

<sup>6</sup> Or "anarchism." Proudhon uses the two terms indifferently, though it is "federalism," implying a more elaborated conception, that predominates toward the end of his life.

<sup>7</sup> Letter to Pierre Leroux, December 14, 1849, quoted in Desjardins, *P. J. Proudhon*, II, 183.

<sup>8</sup> "Property in land is a dismemberment of sovereignty." *Theorie nouvelle de la propriété* (1862), *Oeuvres Posthumes*, p. 226.

<sup>9</sup> *De la justice*, Vol. II, O.C., XXII, 126.

<sup>9</sup> "No rich man of the country has been so rich in friends as I." Correspondence (1840), I, 210. Many of the most devoted were drawn to him long before he became prominent. See especially the extraordinary letter (1831) from Gustave Fal-lot, the literary critic, written when Proudhon was still a proofreader of twenty-three. ". . . What interest could I have in flattering a poor printer? . . . But

to give themselves up completely to what they thought he stood for. "One must either love me or hate me,"<sup>10</sup> he once wrote, and certainly he gave the haters every opportunity, for few men have wielded a bitterer pen in political dispute. Yet throughout his life we find even the constituted authorities who were supposed to be imprisoning, banishing, or at least silencing him, treating him with restraint and surreptitious respect. As to the young men of the day, "He has done an enormous amount of harm," writes Marx the year after his death, "he has seduced and corrupted (i.e., away from the class struggle) the *jeunesse brillante*, the students, then the workers." Of the workers Proudhon himself acknowledged: "They do not read me, but they understand me."<sup>11</sup> And Émile de Lavelaye, later a leader of the very different school of Christian Socialists, writes from Belgium at the height of the excitement of '48, "As for me, I would fain come to live in Paris, live on bread and water and work under Proudhon!"<sup>12</sup>

Proudhon was born at Besançon in 1809 of a poor peasant family. His father was a cooper; his mother had been a farm maid. A cousin of the family was professor of law at Dijon and corresponding member of the Besançon Academy, but we do not find any dealings between him and his obscure relatives.<sup>13</sup> Proudhon worked in

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listen: I know not whether I should have divined the author of *Émile* when he was twenty years of age. . . . But I have known you, I have loved you. . . . Keep this letter. . . . This is my prediction: you will be, Proudhon, in spite of yourself, inevitably . . . , a writer, an author; you will be a philosopher; you will be one of the lights of the century. . . . Do now what you will, set type in a printing office, . . . bury yourself in . . . obscure and lonely villages, it is all one to me . . . your place in the world has been appointed and it cannot remain empty . . ." (*Corr.*, I, xv-xviii). Cf. also Proudhon's eulogy of Fallot upon the latter's untimely death a few years later. (Letter to M. Weiss, 1836. *Corr.*, I, 17-23).

<sup>10</sup> *Corr.*, I, 210.

<sup>11</sup> How many readers must one have, he asks, to be sure that one's ideas shall pass on? "A few dozen; not more. The rest will catch what they can. . . . The people do not read me, and yet without reading me they listen to me. Their heart swears by the Revolution" (letter of May 21, 1853, *Corr.*, III, 46-47).

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Louis Bertrand, *Histoire de la démocratie et du socialisme en Belgique* (Brussels, 1907), II, 117.

<sup>13</sup> In fact, at the time Proudhon was competing for the Suard fellowship the cousin was backing another candidate (*Corr.*, I, 52). Interestingly enough, the cousin

the fields, and at the age of twelve was already serving as cellar boy in the village inn when a former employer of his parents' secured a scholarship for him at the local academy.

Here he carried off many prizes, but felt the bitterness of his poverty. He had no hat, no shoes, no books. He had to make excuses to copy his companions' lessons, came home sometimes to find only bread on the table, and had to miss many classes to do his work.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless he found time to frequent the town library as well as the school, and read beyond his years.<sup>15</sup>

In after years Proudhon recalls how deeply beneath the surface his consciousness of poverty pierced. He remembers blushing at the word of an old peasant woman, "Poverty is no crime; but it is something worse!" and how he carried the words with him until he found their equivalent in the Latin: *Paupertas hoc habet durius in se, quod ridiculos homines facit . . .* "Poverty and derision! That thought fell upon my cheek like a blow. . . ." "But what good is it to me to make money," he goes on to say, "when the bulk of the people are still poor?"<sup>16</sup>

His father's business habits did not conduce to a happier view. The elder Proudhon was painfully honest, none too efficient, and had a contempt for the vagaries of the market. "He added up his costs, adding so and so much for his own labor, and said: 'There is my price.' He would listen to no arguments and ruined himself. I was but twelve at the time."<sup>17</sup>

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had himself written widely on property rights, but from a purely technical standpoint (J. B. V. Proudhon, 1758-1838. Cf. his *Traité du domaine de propriété, ou de la distinction des biens . . .*). His funeral oration was pronounced at Besançon in 1839.

<sup>14</sup> See his autobiographical sketch addressed to the Academy of Besançon when he was applying for their fellowship in 1837 (*Corr.*, I, 33).

<sup>15</sup> The old librarian recalls a day when he tried to engage the boy in talk: "But what do you want with so many books all at once, my little man?" For answer the boy only glowered at him: "What is that to you?" *De la justice*, Vol. I, XXI, 238, 291.

<sup>16</sup> *Corr.*, VIII, 47.

<sup>17</sup> *De la justice*, Vol. I, O.C., XXI, 241. "What, I afterward said to myself," Proudhon goes on to say, "if producers and consumers could be brought together so as always to have price at cost? There would be fewer rich men and fewer bankrupts, and the consumer would get his due." Obviously the germ of Proudhon's mutualist theory was at work here.

For his mother Proudhon always had the warmest respect. She was said to be "a truly noble woman,"<sup>18</sup> of austere principles and great strength. It was she who charged herself with the duty of seeing to her oldest boy's education and admonishing him. "Never speak of love to a young girl, even when you are proposing marriage to her,"<sup>19</sup> is one of her astonishing sayings that he accepted literally.

Before his school days Proudhon had spent much of his time running wild in the fields, and to the end of his life he shared the peasant's inexpressive love of the soil: a true union, a marriage, he calls it. When as a young man he first settles in Paris he finds himself lost, "dépaycé."

At nineteen he finally had to leave the Academy and entered a printing establishment. He continued to read widely and steeped himself especially in the utopian socialists, with whom, he tells us later, he found far more points of difference than of agreement. However, he did not regret his trade. He learned it thoroughly, loved its technique, and was always proud of it.<sup>20</sup>

As a journeyman printer he made his "tour de France" during a period of widespread unemployment.<sup>21</sup> Tramping penniless from Paris to Toulon—he was now twenty-three and somewhat of a philosopher—he finally presented himself before the mayor of Toulon, "in the name of order and justice," demanding any sort of work.<sup>22</sup> Needless to say, he did not get it.

After his return to Besançon, he found himself, as a proof-reader, handling various ecclesiastical works, and, with apparent gusto, took the occasion to teach himself Hebrew. Then, having the Hebrew (after a fashion), he began to compare it with Greek and with the Latin he had learned at school, and presently had worked out for himself what he considered a scholarly theory of

<sup>18</sup> Sainte-Beuve, *P. J. Proudhon*, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> *Contradictions économiques*, Vol. II, O.C., V, 234, 235.

<sup>20</sup> In fact he gave up some early opportunities to become a journalist in order to "stick to his last."

<sup>21</sup> I.e., following the July Revolution of 1830.

<sup>22</sup> His point was that he had a passport entitling him to "the full protection and aid" of the city. He pointed out that he was in danger of becoming a public charge, and that it *should be* the function of government to prevent this! *De la justice*, Vol. II, O.C., XXII, 349, 351.

the development of language. This *Essai de grammaire général* stood him in good stead: it won him the Pension Suard, a 1,500-franc three-year fellowship from the Besançon Academy.

Armed with this, Proudhon was soon ready to face the world, in Paris. But he went with many misgivings. He was now nearly thirty; he had his old parents to support; he had made an unfortunate business venture, the purchase of a small printing plant which he could neither sell nor make pay for itself; and everyone, townspeople and academicians alike, expected him to become a credit to the established order. In accepting the fellowship, to be sure, he had vowed to devote it to "the cause of the working class,"<sup>23</sup> but no one seemed to take that seriously. "What do you think is the burden of their congratulations? That it is almost certain now that, if I will, I can make my fortune! . . . I am oppressed by these shameful exhortations. . . . What a lust for material well-being!"<sup>24</sup>

Once established in Paris, Proudhon found himself, as I have said, "without a country." The town proceeded to civilize him, but he hated it. He found its life "without color and without savor, its passions without energy and without freshness. . . . *I hate the houses of more than one story . . . ; I hate, as if they were prisons, the churches, the hospitals, the asylums.*"<sup>25</sup> In his fellows, too, he missed the *esprit du clocher*, the village patriotisms. To his mind Paris had swallowed up all that was most characteristic and most vital, all that was "indigenous" of the social groupings of the provinces.

He kept his promise to the Besançon Academy. Before he left for the capitol he had completed an essay *On the Celebration of Sunday*, in which he takes occasion to ascribe to Moses a disturbing interest, not only in the weekly rest of the laboring man, but in his rights to freedom from interest and from prescriptive property rights in the soil. The members of the committee were puzzled. His next effort, however, was unmistakable, and cost him his fellowship for the future. "I am armed to the teeth against civilization!" he

<sup>23</sup> *Corr.*, I, 52.

<sup>24</sup> Letter to Ackerman (1838), *Corr.*, I, 59-60.

<sup>25</sup> *De la justice*, Vol. II, O.C., XXII, 208, 214.

had written a friend when he first arrived,<sup>26</sup> and the title of his work implied as much. *What Is Property?* it was called—the answer being, Property is theft.

This was in 1840, eight years before Marx's Communist Manifesto, and the effect of the book was very widespread.

The general idea of economic exploitation, to be sure, was familiar enough, and even the phrase about robbery had been used before. (Cf. Brissot de Warville, *Récherches sur le droit de propriété et sur le vol*, 1780.)<sup>27</sup> But Proudhon's emphasis was fresh and he used the notion of surplus value derived from the classical economists at great length and in language that caught the eye.

Proudhon presently followed up this effort with a second and yet a third memoir on property, the third (*Lettre à M. Considérant*) being directed especially against the Fourierists. In it he emphasizes the contradiction between the "natural" tendency of labor toward equal returns, as shown by Adam Smith, and the disruptive tendency of property rights to enrich some at the expense of others, and tries to show how the Phalansterians with their bald merging of property rights had chosen the wrong way out. It is interesting to see how Proudhon's strictures against capitalist society are always followed hard by equally violent ones against the communists.

From now on his works follow in rapid succession and it will be necessary to mention only a few.

In 1846 appeared his *Système des contradictions économiques*, with the subtitle, *The Philosophy of Poverty*. In this he elaborates his theory of exploitation and also his method of showing first the good and then the intolerable side of each of the characteristic features of modern industry—the division of labor, machinery, competition, monopoly. Then, having worked the reader up to a fine pitch of uneasiness, he leaves him unappeased with the promise that he will himself furnish a solution some day. It was at this book that Marx became so incensed as to call its author a "petty bourgeois, quite in keeping with the petty chandler sentiment,"<sup>28</sup> and it

<sup>26</sup> Letter to Ackerman, 1839, *Corr.*, I, 183: "Woe to property! Curses upon it!"

<sup>27</sup> "Exclusive property is a crime against nature," was Brissot's theme.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Quelch's translation, Appendix I, pp. 198, 199.

was to this book that he presently replied with his *The Poverty of Philosophy*.

Before composing the *Contradictions*, Proudhon had steeped himself, at second hand, with the principles of Hegelianism, and, as in the case of Moses, he had absorbed of Hegel's spirit as much as suited him. Marx was enraged at the two-sidedness of the man. If a thing was robbery, let it be robbery without the mitigating circumstances. And let the solution be simple: class struggle, dictatorship, central ownership of the means of production. Why insist upon showing the affinity of man for the soil? Why dwell upon his individualistic tastes for inheritance and the solidity of family ties? The day of the small peasant and the small artisan was past, the *esprit du clocher* dead and well dead. Proudhon was confusing the issues. Away with "this insufferable prosing in the tone of a town-crier"! <sup>29</sup>

Proudhon himself was perfectly satisfied with his method. But the third stage—the Hegelian synthesis—where to find it? His overpowering conviction gave only a single clue. It was true that machinery was deadening, and yet was made to be the servant of society; that competition was merciless, and yet was the independent man's necessity; that property was oppressive, and yet was the stronghold of the family group. Only one general line of reform appeared clear. The credit system must be revised from top to bottom. The individualistic needs must be left alone and the attack concentrated upon the social bond that connected them. Not production, but exchange, must be altered. Credit must be made accessible to all and must be produced free from interest charges. There must be a people's bank where the "reign" of gold would cease, where interest would be reduced to a merely nominal amount because buyers and sellers would be exchanging their goods directly. Then artisans and small business men like Proudhon himself and his father need not struggle all their lives long against a burden of debt while *rentiers* lived for nothing. That would be the first and most far-reaching step toward the converting of property to its just uses. The government, then, must turn its attention from purposes

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

of police to purposes of economic guaranties, to assuring the freedom and security of the new "economic organism" that would form around the credit system; and thus it would presently find itself, *qua* government, practically out of a job.<sup>30</sup> But the details of possession—how were they to be arranged? How give room to each man's initiative without creating privilege once more?

Proudhon promised himself a thorough solution some day: it must lie just around the corner. But the great work that was to explain all never appeared. The *Solution of the Social Problem* that he finally published in fragments never got beyond the credit system and the outlines of a "mutualist" philosophy. Proudhon himself gave as an excuse the advent of the Revolution of 1848.

From 1843 on Proudhon had been working in a commission house for river transport which, besides earning his daily bread, had given him occasion to amass material for several books on the transportation problem in France, and on taxation and business speculation.<sup>31</sup> The *Solution of the Social Problem* meanwhile progressed slowly. Then came the February revolution, and at once, against his will, Proudhon found himself drawn into the current of events. He had mistrusted the revolution as merely a surface political phenomenon. The "economic revolution" was the true one, and had not yet been accomplished (Proudhon was enough of a Saint-Simonian never to have felt much interest in political catastrophies, even favorable ones). But now that he was forced to take sides, he took them with accustomed ardor. Let the revolution validate itself, he wrote, by becoming truly socialistic. He increased his already prodigious speed of writing, contributed to such journals as would listen to him, and presently founded one of his own, the *Représentant du Peuple*, afterward, i.e., after the Coup d'État pursuits, appearing and reappearing under successive names, as the *Peuple*, the *Voix du Peuple*, etc.

In the June elections he was chosen representative of the Seine, and at once seated himself by himself, at the left of the extreme left, i.e., beyond the "Mountain." He played a lone hand, had his resolu-

<sup>30</sup> "Government must dissolve itself in the economic organism." Cf. *Théorie de la propriété*, O.P., p. 21.

<sup>31</sup> He had also written two philosophical works. Proudhon was seldom idle.

tions voted down by heavy majorities, and presently, in the face of the tide of reaction that now set in, found himself involved in a quarrel with all the bodies of the "Mountain." The quarrel became so bitter that Proudhon finally felt it necessary to fight a duel to vindicate his cause. Emerging unhurt from this, he refused to take arms again, and, foreseeing the Coup d'État, exercised his pen with increasing violence against the new President of the Republic. He was finally (1849) arraigned and condemned to three years' imprisonment.

Meanwhile a part of his *Solution of the Social Problem* had seen the day. He had published fragments of it as pamphlets and as articles in his journal during the opening months of the Revolution. His theme was the stupidity of Louis Blanc's national workshops; (you cannot "organize" labor, he said; labor must evolve its own organization); the stupidity of workingmen in hoping for relief by a mere raising of wages, and the need for a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the economic order by a continuous reduction of all the "deadweights" of interest, profits, rent, taxes, and middlemen's salaries. The great instrument for the reduction was to be his bank of exchange. This bank, as we pointed out before, was to operate without specie. It was to pay no dividends or interest, and was to charge no discount for its services beyond the minimum necessary to cover overhead. It was to extend its credit in the form of "notes of exchange" that were to be honored by members and were to represent actual business values—transactions in process of consummation. Thus at a stroke the producer and the consumer were to be brought together, and all goods and services were, in Proudhon's phrase, to be made to "circulate." Abolish money, he thought, and you thereby abolish the need of time payment for the use of money.

While his program was being freely discussed, Proudhon lent himself to an interesting debate with the economist Bastiat in rival journals. Proudhon dwelt upon the evil social results of allowing capital to accumulate interest in the hands of the capitalist, while Bastiat stood his ground upon the productivity of the loan itself. It is present use that is being paid for, he pointed out, not merely the cash medium, not merely the "costs of circulation." To expect

to get rid of interest by abolishing specie is like expecting to drink Bordeaux wine free in Paris by abolishing freight charges.<sup>32</sup>

Proudhon of course remained unconvinced, and in a modified form had actually succeeded in founding his bank when his arrest for contempt of the President of the Republic cut his plans short. He never recovered from this blow. He had had his branch banks and provincial correspondents all ready, and a good many thousand shares of non-interest-bearing stock had safely been subscribed. In fact the bank was prepared to open within a few days. But who would be fit to carry it on during his absence? Proudhon felt it necessary to liquidate the whole, and did so at his own expense.

Proudhon always promised himself that he would re-establish this bank upon his release, but the propitious opportunity never came. So much as ten years later we find him still toying with the hope that Napoleon III, then emperor, might possibly himself establish it. And in 1855, the year of the Paris Exposition, we find him writing a long memorial on the possibility of turning the Exposition buildings into a great permanent exposition where his banking society in revised form could offer credit at cost for the goods that were on display.

The actual course of his influence, however, was destined to be different. Many little banking societies, stimulated by his theories, did spring up, some before and more after his death. Even some of those in foreign countries trace their direct descent from him.<sup>33</sup> But the general impact of his teachings upon the labor movement was to be much wider and more lasting. But this is a digression.

Once safely lodged in prison, Proudhon felt the relief of a more settled life and proceeded to marry. His wife was a young woman of the working class who henceforth followed his career with complete devotion. He in turn gave her entire loyalty and, it must be added, a firm hand. His object in marriage had been to have the solace of a family,<sup>34</sup> and his idea of a family was consistently patri-

<sup>32</sup> *Interêt et principal*, p. 59. "You think that we can secure free circulation and that therefore we can get loans for nothing. It is as if one were to say that when once the cost of transportation from Bordeaux to Paris was reduced to nothing, Bordeaux wines might be had in Paris for nothing."

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Marc Aucuy, *Les systèmes socialistes d'échange*, *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> *Corr.*, VI, 8.

archal. Woman's place was the home in the narrowest sense of the word. It is however a tribute to Proudhon's personal application of this doctrine that upon his untimely death his surviving daughter was glad to spend the best years of her youth in editing his correspondence.

Proudhon's sentence was for three years, but the authorities let him out one day a week to be with his wife, and, presently, his children. His friends too, often dined with them *en famille*, "near the cradle of *Kathe*."<sup>35</sup> He wrote three books while in prison (all with the word "revolution" in the title), and published two of them. He also continued his editorship of the *Peuple* in its successive incarnations, and some of his best literary debates date from this period: the series with Bastiat on interest that we have already referred to, and the political series with Louis Blanc, Pierre Leroux, and Girardin. So much for the severity of the prison authorities.

Much of even the best writing of the three books of this period is occasional. But besides the theme of the mutual credit bank, a more formulated view of political policy is evident. The end of government must be anarchism. Free federations of producers and consumers must ultimately take the place of centralized authority. Sovereignty must become *parcellaire*. Small-scale property will help to keep it so. Let the provisional government, or the presidency, or (after the *coup d'État*) even the Third Empire, but recognize its true mission, its heritage in the part of the Revolution already accomplished, and it can be the leader in the inevitable movement. It can grant those simple and obvious reforms in matters of taxation and local administration which will be big with future consequences—more particularly it can establish the system of mutualist banking.

Free once more, in 1852, Proudhon found the government more difficult to get along with.<sup>36</sup> He was refused editorship of any paper,

<sup>35</sup> *Corr.*, IV, 60, 123.

<sup>36</sup> Immediately upon his release he had published his *La Revolution sociale démontrée par le Coup d'État*. No publisher daring to handle it, he had secured an express authorization from the government by a personal letter to the Prince-President—which he had then published in the front of the book. After this he was warned that no more of the same kind of writing would be tolerated. Hence the smuggling in of the *Philosophie du Progrès* through Belgium.

and one of his works published in Belgium was seized. He supported his family precariously by the writing of a book on the stock exchange and one on the railroad situation. But in private he was composing what was to be his masterpiece, a whole shelf-full on the theory of social justice and on its practice—or rather malpractice—under church and state. He had it finished in 1858—it ran to seventeen hundred pages—and, unable to resist its appeal, published it. In fact he addressed it to the Archbishop of Besançon, “as representing all the clergy of France.”<sup>37</sup> With the greatest promptitude this time the government stepped in, suppressed *De la justice*, and arraigned the author. Proudhon made an excellent defense (presently published as another book), but was condemned to three more years of prison. Fortunately he had expected this, and so had already made good his escape to Belgium.

*De la justice* contains what is to the present writer the most interesting part of Proudhon’s thought. It gives the philosophic basis for his mutualism. (The first memoir on property had already sketched it in outline, but this gives it fully.) The reason why present society is intolerable to Proudhon is not because in it the common man still finds life made hard for him. (Ease, as we shall see later, is the last thing to seem desirable to Proudhon. That is another count he had against the Utopians.) It is because in it he suffers a lifelong series of affronts to his personal dignity. “Do you know what it is to be a wage-worker? It is to have no mind of your own, to *study everlastingly the thought of others*. . . .”<sup>38</sup> The condition for all decent social relationship is “justice,” which means good faith, mutual respect.<sup>39</sup>

Justice is simply “the obligation to respect one’s self under all circumstances, and to respect others as one would wish to be respected in their place.”<sup>40</sup> It is not love. On the contrary, “Respect your neighbor as yourself, even if you cannot love him.”<sup>41</sup> Once thoroughly instilled, “reciprocity of respect naturally translates it-

<sup>37</sup> O.C., XXI, 69.

<sup>38</sup> *Contrads. écon.*, O.C., V, 230-31.

<sup>39</sup> *De la justice*, Vol. I, O.C., XXI, 72-73.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, O.C., XXIII, 167.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, O.C., XXI, 243.

self into reciprocity of service,"<sup>42</sup> and the whole mutualist way of life follows.

Arrived in Belgium, Proudhon found himself very well treated. The Belgian authorities at this time were making it their business to be friendly to political exiles. Entering under a purely nominal disguise<sup>43</sup> as "M. Dufort, professor of mathematics," Proudhon soon had himself comfortably established with his family in Brussels, with his daughters entered in a good anticlerical school. "And the Mayor of Ixelles has been good enough to recommend my children specially to the principal."<sup>44</sup> He kept out of local politics, wrote prodigiously and quite without restraint, and found himself unexpectedly popular with the intellectuals of the country.<sup>45</sup> "It was he," says Bertrand, the historian of the Belgian labor movement, "who first started the habit of public lectures among us." And again, "Of all the political exiles who passed through our country from 1848 to 1870, Proudhon was unquestionably the most influential."<sup>46</sup>

It was here that Proudhon trained De Paepe,<sup>47</sup> later the Marxist leader of all Belgian socialism, and won permanently to his way of thought De Greef, Hector Denis, and other future leaders of the Occupationalist movement. Had he wished to, Proudhon could soon have returned to France, taking advantage of an amnesty extended to him, but he preferred to serve out the period of his exile which would have been over in 1863.

In his writings Proudhon's attention was now turned to external

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>43</sup> ". . . I had forgotten that it probably behooves the poor exile to keep his place of retreat secret" (*Corr.*, 10, 211).

<sup>44</sup> *Corr.*, 10, 324-25.

<sup>45</sup> "I have found here, what is a precious thing, a group of the élite, independent, well-read, and altogether at one with our principles" (*Corr.*, 10, 257); and again: "The young people read me, the public hold me in esteem" (*Corr.*, 10, 13).

<sup>46</sup> Louis Bertrand, *Histoire de la démocratie et du socialisme en Belgique* (Brussels, 1907), I, 44.

<sup>47</sup> De Paepe, then a medical student, put himself through the university by reading proof for the eminent man. For a number of years he remained an ardent Proudhonian.

politics.<sup>48</sup> The Italian war furnished him with an occasion to consider the whole principle of nationalism. In *La Guerre et la paix* he characteristically comes out with the conclusion that while war often is (or rather has been) a good thing, national unification is not. This was just when all eyes were turned to Garibaldi. As the success of *irredentism* continued, Proudhon followed up his book with specific articles condemning Garibaldi and all his works—his point of course being that annexation for one country spelled annexation for all. "Let the Italian empire come to completion, and soon you will have plenty of others. You will see the democratic press of France turn around and begin to plan how to annex Belgium."<sup>49</sup> This was displeasing enough, but Proudhon had the misfortune to end on a sarcastic note: "Have courage, Sire. . . . Belgium is waiting for you. . . . There, as with us, even more than with us, the people rules and dreams, the bourgeoisie digests and snores, the young men smoke and make love, the military bore themselves, public opinion remains empty and government is dying out."<sup>50</sup> This was too much for the Belgian patriots. A group of men and boys carrying flags and singing the *Brabançonne* marched upon Proudhon's house at night. "*Vive la Belgique!*" they shouted as they stoned it, "*A bas les annexionistes!*" Proudhon decided that the mistake was going to be awkward for the friendly Belgian government as well as for himself, and departed hastily for France.<sup>51</sup>

Arrived home in the fall of 1862, Proudhon at once published his articles on Italian federation versus Italian unity in book form, with the one that had caused the riot at the head of the list. His health was breaking and he had only two more years to live. Nevertheless his energy remained undiminished,<sup>52</sup> and he began a number

<sup>48</sup> He continued writing on many economic subjects as well of course. E.g., his *Theory of Taxation* dates from this period.

<sup>49</sup> *O.C.*, XVI, 161. He goes on to say: "You say Rome belongs to the Italians. I say that Rome belongs to the Romans, . . . as Paris to the Parisians; that the Italians, like the French, are an abstraction" (p. 162).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>51</sup> *Corr.*, XII, 191-92, 195, 199. Cf. also *Du principe féd.*, p. v. This was in September, 1862, some months before his sentence would, in any case, have expired.

<sup>52</sup> During the last months of his life, when he was very ill and sleeping but four hours a night, he complains that his day's writing is now reduced to six hours.

of books, some of them very good, which he was unable to finish. The one which he did finish, *Du Principe fédératif*, is noteworthy. It is the philosophical outgrowth of the Garibaldi controversy and sums up his political views in their ripest form.

Decentralization is to take place throughout national life. Province, metropolitan area, commune, are to regain and increase their share of sovereignty. They are to be federated frankly and explicitly, not absorbed in any mystic national entity. Their contracts of federation are to be for specific purposes only, with all residual rights in the hands of the contracting units. And this will hold true, not only for every small group, but for the individual himself. It is by express contracts that the citizen will associate with his fellows of the commune, the province, etc. He will owe no indefinite and all-absorbing loyalties.

Finally, parallel with and essential to the system of political federation will be the system of "industrial-agricultural federation." This is but the final flowering of Proudhon's mutualism. The mutualist groups of private citizens will wish to form larger protective groupings to guard their various special interests. Thus there will be associations "for the construction and maintenance of routes of commerce, roads, canals, railroads; for the organization of credit and insurance, etc.," even for mutual tariff protection. These specialized associations will want to meet together and work out systems of mutual guaranties.<sup>53</sup> And in the government itself they will have a deciding voice, for occupational groups will form an integral part of the central representative body.<sup>54</sup>

The bearing of this upon later syndicalist theory is too plain to need emphasis. Even the phrase "economic federalism" lies ready to hand. But in yet another way Proudhon in these last years of his life draws closer to the labor movement.

The best known of his posthumous works, the *Capacité politique des classes ouvrières*, was composed in '63 and '64 as a response to the question of a group of workingmen who had waited upon him asking whether in the coming election they should cast a

<sup>53</sup> *Du princ. féd.*, p. 113. Proudhon is no more specific than this.

<sup>54</sup> *Théorie de la propriété*, O.P., p. 240; *De la justice*, Vol. II, O.C., XXII, 125-26, and p. 100.

blank ballot as a protest against the imperial government. The year 1863 had seen the awakening of a good deal of labor feeling, and a "Manifesto of 60" had been circulated, demanding direct representation in the Assembly. Proudhon replies "Yes" to their inquiry,<sup>55</sup> but then goes on to say that their mere demand for labor representation will get them nowhere so long as labor itself is unorganized. Let them form "mutualist" groups. Let them multiply their mutual credit banks and co-operative associations and insurance societies. Let them transform their conspiratorial little trades-unions (Proudhon never believed in the future of collective bargaining) into organizations ready to operate as well as to criticize industry.<sup>56</sup> And then, when their "idea" of the revolution is fully ripe, let them vote for only those candidates and measures that will unequivocally support it. Then nothing will be able to withstand them.

Proudhon died without being able to see the effect of this book. Perhaps it was his death that gave it peculiar effectiveness, for none could fail to see that it was in a sense his last testament. Proudhon had plainly died a martyr to his own inner drive to establish "justice." Without this extreme urgency his physical constitution should have been good for another twenty years.

His friends now began to preach mutualism in season and out of season. None of them was very able, but all were devoted. Charles Beslay, Charles Longuet, Courbet, Pindy, Gambon—all names well known up to and through the period of the Commune. They helped establish the International Workingmen's Association and for the first three years held the upper hand over Marx and his class-war communists. ("Our Parisian gentlemen had their heads full of the emptiest phrases of Proudhon,"<sup>57</sup> writes Marx in disgust at the close of the first session.) They established mutual credit banks and co-

<sup>55</sup> They did use the blank ballot as a matter of fact and it did have very much the disconcerting effect Proudhon hoped for.

<sup>56</sup> Proudhon was to the last violently opposed to the ordinary activities of unionism. He objected to the sanction of the strike and the lockout, and he objected to the price-raising tendency of higher wages. His interest was in the consumer and against both labor and capital in so far as they might damage him.

<sup>57</sup> Marx to Kugelmann, October 9, 1866. Quoted by Jules Puech, *Le Proudhonisme dans l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* (Paris, 1907), pp. 152-53.

operative associations. They edited journals and wrote books. They closed ranks with Proudhon's Belgian disciples who were striking out a new and very profitable path for occupational representation.<sup>58</sup>

In the brief days of the Paris Commune they committed the revolutionary government to a mutualistic bank. And it was they who drew up the famous *Manifesto of the Commune*, of April 19. "The autonomy of each commune of France shall be limited only by the right to autonomy of all the other communes adhering to the contract . . . , " etc.<sup>59</sup>

Then in the days of the reaction we hear little more of them. But other countries take up the tale. Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, even Germany have mutualistic banks. The Russians have anarchists in the political field to plague them: Bakunin, Kropotkin, Herzen, hark back to Proudhon and keep his name alive. Arraigned for his doctrines at Lyons, Kropotkin turns upon the court: "Sirs, you are doing me too much honor. The father of Anarchism is the immortal Proudhon!"<sup>60</sup> The International is split upon the rocks of the communist-anarchist controversy and founders. The Belgians continue their occupationalist movement almost single-handed.<sup>61</sup>

There is a pause,<sup>62</sup> and then we see the beginnings of the Syndicalist movement in France. A new, strictly working-class group has risen to the fore. But their leaders are intellectuals, and the more powerful of them range themselves about the memory of Proudhon. They try to prove that the new movement, original though it is, is

<sup>58</sup> "What we want is the representation of labor. Let each branch of industry have its sessions. . . . Each of these great bodies of the State will organize a system of mutual credit. . . . Above all will be a general council. . . . That is how we would understand universal suffrage. . . . Federalism and Mutualism, that is our politics!" (*La Liberté*, of Brussels, issue of December 15, 1867, quoted by Louis Bertrand, *Démocratie et Socialisme en Belgique*, II, 80, 143).

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Herbert Bourgin, *Proudhon* (1901), pp. 81-83.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Maurice Lair, "Proudhon, père de l'Anarchie," *Annales des Sciences Politiques*, XXIV (1909), 588 ff.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. D. W. Douglas, *Guillaume De Greef: The Social Theory of an Early Syndicalist*, Col. Univ. Studies, Vol. CXXX, chaps. ii, vi.

<sup>62</sup> Bourgin points out, however, that even during this period a definite current of Proudhonian federalist thought keeps itself in evidence whenever there is opportunity for a socialist or trades-union congress. It was a minority movement, but a continuous one (*op. cit.*, pp. 84-88).

but a fulfilment of his hopes. "Proudhon," cries Pelloutier, the father of the group, "is the founder of Syndicalism!" Proudhon condemned militant trade-unionism, to be sure, but did he not preach a republic of labor, an agricultural-industrial federation wherein men would vote by trades, and industry would swallow up government? He saw the iniquity of the wage system and the folly of communism. Was not his indignation theirs?<sup>63</sup>

At the conclusion of the Great War Proudhonian feeling gathers fresh energy. With the picture of communism in action before them, the lovers of a less regimented way of life hark back more eagerly to Proudhon's hopes. The rank and file of the Syndicalists are now ready to be stirred by any reference to the great man. At the 1919 congress of the *Congrès Général du Travail* we find the secretary of the Metal Trades Federation crying out in debate: "Who will say a word against the teaching of Proudhon?" "Not we!" comes from the benches of the majority; and "Not we!" echo the voices of the left wing.<sup>64</sup>

Whatever their intellectual understanding of the master, his spirit is evidently still one to conjure with. In the words of Sorel, it has "struck root" in the thought of the people.<sup>65</sup>

Upon formal social theory the effect of Proudhon is a little more difficult to assess. His immediate followers, as I have said, were not very able men. The second generation was better. The most original of them probably was the Belgian De Greef, who devoted a long and successful academic career to building up a sociological system founded upon Proudhon's credit bank and his own interpretation of Proudhon's federalism and communism. "His [Proudhon's] mutualism was of too individualistic and anarchistic a stamp,"<sup>66</sup> said De Greef, and accordingly his own system was frank-

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Louis Levine, *Syndicalism in France*, Col. Univ. Studies, Vol. XLVI, chap. v.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *Humanité*, issue of September 19, 1919, quoted by Guy-Grand, "L'Ere Proudhon," in *Proudhon et notre temps* (1920), p. 27.

<sup>65</sup> "I am convinced," Sorel had written, "that this return (i.e., this apparent return to Proudhon's thought) has nothing reasoned about it . . . Proudhon's doctrine has deeper roots in the thoughts of the people than is ordinarily believed" (G. Sorel, *Introduction à l'économie moderne*, p. 140).

<sup>66</sup> *Précis de Sociologie*, p. 237.

ly syndicalistic: a strict organization of occupational groups. This, be it noted, he had worked out by 1867, thirty years before Syndicalism proper was born.

In Russia De Greef's leading book in applied sociology, the one on occupational representation, has since the Communist revolution been translated and reprinted. Evidently the authorities there have only noted its parallels to the soviet system, not its anti-Marxian aim.

Meanwhile in this country and in France and Germany De Greef's theoretical works, with their detailed classificatory system, have been absorbed by patient students for generations without much appreciation of their personal moorings. It was Proudhon's picture of the "contractual" state and Proudhon's emphasis upon the basic "circulatory" function of society, that shaped those elaborate categories.<sup>67</sup>

The political scientists have treated Proudhon hardly more kindly. The indefatigable Mr. Laski occasionally refers to Proudhon along with Duguit, Krabbe, and other "magistral" names in the field of plural sovereignty; but when it comes to direct citation, he does not go back of Paul-Boncour.<sup>68</sup> A definitive study of Proudhon's federalism and its consequences is still to be made.<sup>69</sup>

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Proudhon's chief works can be divided into three periods, marked off by the storm center of the Revolution of 1848:

##### I. 1840-47:

1. *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*<sup>70</sup>
2. *Le système des contradictions économiques.*<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> For a full account of De Greef's work, see the writer's *Guillaume De Greef*, cited above.

<sup>68</sup> Paul-Boncour, it will be recalled, was the author of *Fédéralisme Economique*, a book which readily rode into prominence in 1900 on the crest of the wave of feeling of that time against French centralization. His ideas are an elaboration of Proudhon's "industrial-agricultural federation."

<sup>69</sup> S. Y. Liu's little book, *The Political Theories of P. J. Proudhon*, in the Columbia series, barely touches the problem.

<sup>70</sup> All the *Propriété* and Volume I of the *Contradictions* are to be had in a very excellent English translation by the late Benjamin R. Tucker.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

## II. 1848-52:

1. *Solution du problème sociale*.<sup>72</sup>
2. *Idée générale de la révolution dans le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*.<sup>73</sup>
3. *Confessions d'un révolutionnaire*.
4. *La Révolution sociale démontrée par le Coup d'État*.

## III. 1853-64:

1. *De la justice dans la révolution et dans l'église*.
2. *La guerre et la paix*.
3. *Du principe fédératif*.
4. *De la capacité politique des classes ouvrières*.
5. *Théorie (nouvelle) de la propriété*.

With the exception of the last two, all the works mentioned can be found in Proudhon's 26-volume *Oeuvres Complètes*, of which a new and revised edition has recently been printed. The *Capacité politique* and the *Théorie de la propriété* are among the six volumes of his *Oeuvres Posthumes*.

Proudhon's excellent occasional writing, including the debates with Bastiat on credit (*Intérêt et Capital*), is to be found among the *Oeuvres Complètes* in the volumes marked *Mélanges*.

Proudhon's *Correspondance* is available in a separate series of fourteen volumes.

Of the many books on Proudhon, by far the most satisfactory is the tiny volume, *Proudhon*, by Hubert Bourgin, Paris, 1901. Next to that I should put Sainte-Beuve's uncompleted *P. J. Proudhon, sa vie et sa correspondance*, 1838-48, first published in Paris in 1872. And after that Dr. Karl Diehl's scholarly though not always penetrating *P. J. Proudhon, Seine Lehre und Sein Leben*, Jena, 1888-96.

<sup>72</sup> Translated, not nearly so well, by the late J. B. Robinson. The volume on the *Solution of the Social Problem* [Henry Cohen, ed.] contains a very much abbreviated form of the original, plus parallel passages from other works.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

## THE PREJUDICES OF MEN

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WILSON D. WALLIS  
University of Minnesota

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### ABSTRACT

Prejudice is a predisposition in judging not determined by mere love of truth. So-called "hard facts" are really plastic. Factors which keep prejudice alive are interest, ignorance, inertia of opinion, and isolation. Every century scorns the preceding for its superstition, and every people considers its culture superior to all others. There is a tendency to identify enlightenment with the geography of one's own culture. The explanation lies in the strength of the social bond. As society becomes more efficient, group solidarity becomes an instrument of danger, for social impulse runs to excess. The means becomes end. The more silent and insidious the foe, the more dangerous it is.

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There is a hazard in discourse with those who have little in common with us. A Chinese could not excite among Sahara Arabs much interest in the antagonisms between North and South China and the issues involved—if there are any. Children may understand the bickerings of children, but how difficult for adults to do so, even though for years they enjoyed the status of those children whom now they do not understand at all! Perhaps "The earth is a bundle of hay; mankind are the asses who pull"; but are they asses because they pull, or do they pull because they are asses? Both interpretations may be correct, though which is more applicable I do not know. However, let me to some extent shift responsibility by quoting texts: "The spirit may be willing, but the reason is helpless against the forces of inveterate habits of thought"; the second is from Shakespeare: "I think it so because I think it so"; the third is from the New Testament: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." And yet there are times when nothing hurts but the truth; these moments comprise most of the waking intervals of our lives. We linger fondly amid illusion and thank with ill grace those who dispel the enchanting mirage.

Prejudice is a predisposition in judging not determined by mere love of truth. The numerous doors by which prejudice enters stand ready open or swing to the slightest impulse. Philosophers tell us

that we cannot fail to pronounce a true judgment true when once it is clearly apprehended; but what is meant by "clearly apprehended"?

Almost any judgment except a purely syllogistic one with much form and little content is unique in each mind, and in reality the premises on which individuals base their judgments are, despite similar logical forms, not identical; they are perhaps identical in form but not in content. Each understands the data in a manner peculiar to himself. The so-called "hard facts" are plastic and fit differently into the categories of different minds. There is a set to our minds which rules out the irreconcilable and calls in the harmonious, insidiously rejecting and choosing in a way peculiarly characteristic of the individual, his class, and his time. How we classify the prejudices which are at large and have been running amuck since history and ethnology have been recognized, indeed since human nature has been a factor in the struggle for existence, is largely a matter of convenience and, as is inconsistently fitting in treating such a subject, is largely a matter of invidious choice; for the classes of prejudice are not mutually exclusive nor always supplementary, but are interspersed and overlapping.

As a man may be at one and the same time a member of bodies politic, scientific, social, and religious, so a prejudice may belong to each and all of these categories at the same time; for a prejudice does not function in isolation, and may invade every phase of social life.

Francis Bacon distinguishes three kinds of prejudice: idols of the cave, of the market-place, and of the theater. Idols of the cave are the result of partiality to a favorite subject or to a particular age.

"And generally let every student of nature take this as a rule—that whatever his mind seizes and dwells upon with peculiar satisfaction is to be held in suspicion, and that so much the more care is to be taken in dealing with such questions to keep the understanding even and clear." "The greatest aberration of the mind consists in believing a thing because it is desirable," declares Pasteur. But, according to Bacon, more troublesome are the idols of the market-place, idols which creep in through alliance with words and names;

for reason uses words and these react on the understanding. The idols of the theater are imaginative representations which the observer accepts as objective realities, reacting to the play of ideas as though they were equivalent to events.

Mrs. Gamp settled the matter by asserting that "some people may be Rooshans, and others may be Prooshans; they are born so, and will please themselves. Them which is of other nature thinks different." Perhaps people think differently because they are of other nature. It is at least a half-truth that a man is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian, a Stoic or an Epicurean, an intuitionist or a utilitarian, an idealist or a materialist. "So many men, so many minds," says Spinoza; "everyone is wise in his own way; brains differ as completely as palates. Everyone judges of things according to the state of his brain, or rather mistakes for things the forms of his imagination." Is it not primarily because of a certain endowment or acquisition of massive sentiment that we are spiritually minded or worldly minded, believer or skeptic, romanticist or realist, Republican or Democrat? Cicero confessed that if he erred in believing in the immortality of the soul he erred willingly and did not wish to have wrested from him an error which constituted the delight of his life. Are we independent when we believe what we prefer to believe, or are we then in bondage to prejudice? There is abroad a sentiment to the effect that human worth consists in freedom to do as one chooses:

As a bird in the course of its flight,  
On some branch will not choose to alight,  
For it likes not the tree,  
So man's heart doth resemble a bird,  
To coerce it would be as absurd,  
For the heart must be free.

But "let the will be ever so free, Humour and Fancy, we see, govern it."

A fruitful factor in generating prejudice and in keeping it alive is interest—interest in a given point of view. A philosopher once strolled with a man who expressed certain views warmly. When his companion was asked if he would walk into the house opposite in order to discover whether he were right or wrong—supposing this could be determined by that simple procedure—the reply was:

"No, I would remain here and argue the matter out." Though more frank than most of us, he was scarcely more human.

Even heaven-sent philosophers, who are assumed to be above prejudice, are at least partly, not to say partially, human, and are swept along by their interest in a point of view rather than by their interest in the truth at issue. They, too, are misled by names. When Sir William Hamilton invented for a type of metaphysical doctrine the name "nihilism," few wished to profess it under that guise, though it was but a form of philosophic doctrine which certain in-offensive and pious men called by the better-sounding name of "idealism." Descartes' method for insuring truth was not to accept as true anything which he did not clearly know to be such. Yet when he came to apply this test he employed beliefs which he had always accepted as true. He could not dispense with prepossessions, for they were necessary to the accomplishment of his plan; and even in doubting he was compelled to use criteria which had served as working hypotheses. He might wish to doubt provisionally all he had learned from the past; but where would his mind dwell while building a new structure on foundations which also were new?

Philosophers, moreover, do not always approach truth with dispassionate zeal. The disputes which have raged between them remind one of those between Socrates and the Sophists, the Sophists saying that Socrates' felicity was the felicity of a block or stone, Socrates saying that the Sophists' felicity was the felicity of one who had the itch and did nothing but itch and scratch. Modern philosophers seem to be as narrowly prejudiced as were the ancient, scarcely able to see beyond their own argument, incapable of acquiring an opponent's point of view lest haply they might accept his conclusions. Indeed, the prevalence of prejudice among philosophers makes us wonder whether there is any "philosophic calm" other than stagnation. Isn't "philosophic calm" merely allowing the quiet summative influence of one's philosophic background to express one's prejudice in the most convincing manner? Isn't it merely assiduously finding bad reasons—or sometimes good ones—for one's belief? That many controversies arise because men do not rightly interpret the meaning of others is an observation as old as Spinoza. But if professional philosophers find almost insuperable difficulties in understanding philosophic doctrines repeated as often

and as variously as they are misunderstood and criticized, how much greater the difficulty in understanding the value of ethical codes as far removed from our own thought and time as those of the Eskimo, the Bushman, the Australian, or the ancient Greek! With regard to the latter the emotional and intellectual bias with which we start is more intense and more enveloping than in the case of abstract philosophic principles, which have only a remote and constricted bearing upon the values of life and the standards of living. Yet even philosophers allow interest to pervert reason. As for politics, one never sees a political opinion changed, though there are floods of political discussions, and myriads of men try to accomplish the impossible. Political arguments go on to infinity, the arguers moving in parallel lines, never to meet, howsoever far prolonged.

The more familiar and vital a belief or conviction, and the greater our interest in the truth of the same, or in the outcome of the issue, the greater the pain and discomfort which departure gives, and the greater the difficulty with which we surrender the conviction or belief. In such questions as the outcome of the upheaval in China, or England's fiscal policy, the average American citizen does not advance a view with great persistence, and is not difficult to dislodge from his initial position if you have telling arguments. Not so with the Chinese and the Englishman as regards these respective questions. Where interest or conviction is emphatic—and conviction is seldom emphatic where interest is feeble—a man does not move easily from one point of view to another. Joke with him about his theory of transportation fifty years hence, if you like; joke with him about his religion if he is lukewarm; but if he is a hard-shell Baptist or an ardent Romanist, you assume the risk of deeply offending him. When we have much at stake in a conviction, we prefer to close our eyes to considerations which imply the contrary. Like Cicero, we prefer to agree with Plato on the matter of immortality and be in the wrong rather than to differ from him and be in the right.

In generating prejudice ignorance is the copartner of interest. Interest focusses the light on a chosen portion of the field and contrasts these vivid values with the dark shadowings of the imper-

ceptibles, pointing to the subdued colors and to the absence of perspective in that other area which is not similarly illuminated. Ignorance stays at home and hangs up heavy curtains which exclude the light of the larger outside world; if it ventures abroad it wears tinted glasses, so that the world without shall lose its distracting contrasts; and if the ruthlessness of facts smashes the goggles, ignorance retires to the seclusion of her own dark chamber. We tend to underestimate what we do not understand. The overvaluation of our social group, and the corresponding undervaluation of others, is due in large part to a failure to understand the inner content and meaning of life in other groups. Increasing knowledge brings increasing appreciation and charity. Facts about social life, or about any phase of life, must be acquired widely and co-ordinated intimately before their meaning and their importance can be grasped, and intimate and thorough knowledge is indispensable to a proper estimation. When we refer with pride to our age as one of experts we mean that it is an age in which the available facts bearing on a limited field are collated, and their respective worth and their relations to one another and to extraneous facts and interests are ascertained; and few suffer from the sunstroke of reason. Though critical estimation implies more than a mere amassing of facts, to make true and apt comparisons we must understand the things which are compared.

Hillel, the Jewish Rabbi, said: "Pass not judgment upon thy neighbor until thou hast put thyself in his place." Writes William Hazlett:

I have heard a story of two persons playing at backgammon, one of whom was so enraged at losing his match at a particular point of the game that he took the board and threw it out of the window. It fell upon the head of one of the passengers in the street, who came up to demand instant satisfaction for the affront and injury he had sustained. The losing gamester only asked him if he understood backgammon, and finding that he did, said that if upon seeing the state of the game he did not excuse the extravagance of his conduct, he would give him any other satisfaction he wished for. The tables were accordingly brought, and the situation of the two contending parties being explained, the gentleman put up his sword and went away perfectly satisfied.

But woe to him who throws a backgammon board upon the head of one not versed in the game! He will rue his sporting in-

stinct and its abandon. The greater the ignorance, the greater the intolerance. It is so in trivial matters, and so it is in the graver issues of life. As Granville says, "True knowledge is modest and wary; 'tis ignorance that is so bold and presuming."

The sheer inertia of opinion is a creator, or at least a maintainer, of prejudice. Truth is never at a standstill. It is not so much a rock of Gibraltar as a flowing Gulf Stream tempering the stern climate of cold facts, fructifying the world we live in. To cease trying to get a better insight into our problems is to cease to perform a function of usefulness, is to stagnate, to float in a scum of discarded truths. Opinions grow old and decay and become offensive; only by continual readjustment to the changing order do they retain adaptability. Religion itself changes, else not only its usefulness but its meaning as well perishes. All great religions are reinterpreted by each successive generation, and every religion which outlives its century conveys some new meaning to subsequent generations. The transformer is the age itself, which gets out of religion, as of everything else, about as much as it brings to it of receptivity and comprehension.

Adaptability, then, is the more favorable side of the human mind. But mind is characterized also by a rigidity, or, to speak of it dynamically, by an impetus which carries it ahead in a straight line rather than in the devious windings whither truth and enlightenment beckon. "In directing the forces of your mind to the discovery of new truths," says Turgot, "you fear to go astray. You prefer to remain quietly in the opinions most generally received, whatever they may be. That is as much as to say that you should not walk beyond doors for fear that you might stumble and break your legs. But in that case you are in the position of him whose legs are already lamed, for yours are useless to you. . . . It is not error that opposes so much the progress of truth; it is indolence, obstinacy, the spirit of routine, everything that favors inaction." Yet not merely mental lassitude but a certain lack of imagination is responsible for the impetuosity of our bias. People have been divided into three classes with respect to their attitude toward new facts or new theories. In the first class are the radicals, who accept the new view wholesale and carry the thing to such an extreme as

to leave little truth in their position. Then there are the conservatives, who adhere to their convictions the more persistently as new facts tend to disprove them. Last there is the philosopher, who finds nothing essentially new in the new situation and classifies it with old friends, after which the value of the new contribution is considered. If this is the philosopher, then, indeed, he is a rare bird.

A harbinger, if not an active creator, of prejudice is isolation. Isolation is an insulation of prejudice. The microcosm of narrow influences is self-centered and self-satisfied. When interest expands the smaller world into a macrocosm of larger intellectual activities narrow prejudices break down, as must happen when the deeper currents of knowledge and reflection enter. To become a member of this larger world is, perforce, to lose that absolute loyalty to the smaller world, to see the old life as part of a larger system of which it is the fraction rather than the whole. In giving us a new conception of the relation of our planet to the solar system, Copernicus, Giordano Bruno, and Galileo transformed the human outlook upon the world of thought and life. When the earth was accepted as the center of the universe and the heavens were regarded as existing for it, man, the lord of his planet, was the creature for whose benefit all suns existed. When the earth became a mere speck in that vast system of worlds revolving about a sun, itself but one of many such systems, human arrogance was humbled in about the proportion that human intelligence grasped the new orientation. The self-centered mind is such an isolated unit as was our world in the Ptolemaic system. The larger mind finds itself part of a larger universe of intellectual beings in which it and its age are of meager importance in the larger system of human purposes and achievements. Man's greatness is measured by his ability to orient himself in such a universe, to fill in his world a niche peculiarly his own. The fool orients everything from his individual standpoint; but the genius is the product of his time and is great because he is the most indebted man and the heir of all the ages. The fool does not laugh at his folly, but the wise man laughs at his. The fool thinks his folly wisdom; the wise man knows that his wisdom is only folly. Therein lies the foolishness of the fool and the wisdom of the wise.

We live in a social environment with a background of interests

and values which have determined the larger and more formal phases of our life, and have insinuated and still insinuate themselves into our judgments in ways persistent and perverse. We exaggerate each other's vices and extenuate our own, with a curious assignment of prejudice and partiality. "Travelers who set out to carry back a true report of the case appear to lose, not only the use of their understandings, but of their sense, the instant they set foot on a foreign land." Yet doubtless many phases of our civilization will be repulsive to our descendants of the fiftieth century. "A more learned, and probably a more gentle humanity than that of the present day, will understand not only our ethics, which will not be theirs, but also the fact that we explained them quite differently from the way in which they will explain them."

It is easy to see the folly of another, but difficult to see one's own; we contrast the obscurity of the Dark Ages with our enlightenment. Each century scorns the preceding for its superstitions, and treats with scant respect the enthusiasts of an earlier decade. "The price of martyrs' ashes rises and falls in Smithfield market."

We think our fathers fools, so wise we grow.  
Our wiser sons, perhaps, will think us so.

There is scarcely an exception to the rule that a people considers its culture superior to all others. In 1699 Père Le Comte wrote: "The Siamese, whose physiognomy is familiar to Frenchmen, and who of all those Indians have souls exactly corresponding to their bodies, are wont to say that, when Heaven distributed the gifts of Nature, it gave to the French valor and the science of war, to the Dutch shrewdness in trade, to the English the art of navigation, to the Chinese skill in government, but to themselves, the Siamese, wisdom and understanding." "Of all countries in the world," writes Mungo Park of the Mandingoes, "their own appears to them as the best, and their people as the happiest; and they pity the fate of other nations, who have been placed by Providence in less fertile and fortunate districts." A Jesuit father wrote of the Iroquois in 1653: "They account themselves champions, and as Mars; they despise the Europeans as vile and cowardly people, and think that they themselves were born to subjugate the world." The Dakota regarded themselves as a great people, believing their country un-

rivalled in beauty and their religion faultless. The agricultural Hidatsa thought their own life a paragon of civilization and looked upon the Dakota as wild men because the latter obtained their living by hunting and dwelt in tipis. As Adam Ferguson says:

No nation is so unfortunate as to think itself inferior to the rest of mankind; few are even willing to put up with the claim to equality. The greater part having chosen themselves, as at once, the judges and the models of what is excellent in their kind, are first in their own opinion, and give to others consideration or eminence, so far only as they approach to their own condition. One nation is vain of the personal character, or of the learning, of a few of its members; another, of its policy, its wealth, its tradesmen, its gardens, and its buildings; and they who have nothing to boast, are vain because they are ignorant. The Russians, before the reign of Peter the Great, thought themselves possessed of every national honor, and held the *Nemei*, or *dumb nations* (the name which they bestowed on their western neighbors of Europe), in a proportional degree of contempt. The map of the world, in China, was a square plate, the greater part of which was occupied by the provinces of this great empire, leaving on its skirts a few obscure corners into which the wretched remainder of mankind were supposed to be driven. "If you have not the use of our letters, nor the knowledge of our books," said the learned Chinese to the European missionary, "what literature, or what science, can you have?"

We underrate and despise the savage, as Catlin said a propos of the American Indian, because we do not understand him.

And the reason why we are ignorant of him and his modes is that we do not stop to investigate; the world has been too much in the habit of looking upon him as altogether inferior—as a beast, a brute, and unworthy of more than a passing notice. If they stop long enough to form an acquaintance, it is but to take advantage of his ignorance and credulities—to rob him of the wealth and resources of his country—to make him drunk with whiskey, and visit him with abuses which in his ignorance he never thought of. By this method his first visitors entirely overlook and never understand the meaning of his thousand interesting and characteristic customs; and at the same time, by changing his native modes and habits of life, blot them out from the view of the inquiring world for ever.

Induction is in order only after a study of the details of Indian life; and Indian life is no more replete with unmeaning and nonsensical forms than is civilization. We note peculiarities of dress and manner which differ from our own, forgetting that these afford a satisfaction to the Indian and have for him a meaning as great, to say the least, as that which our costumes and customs have for us. With the Indian red paint may indicate a wound received and the

eagle feather a deed of valor, whereas the rouge and bird plumes of civilization convey little information. As Edward Chappell suggests, the simple narration of the most trivial circumstances, though jejune and tedious, is the best evidence of the manners, dispositions, and customs, of a "wild" people. When facts pour in, unless they have been selected with bias, vituperation diminishes. But usually the facts are selected with bias. Arthur Young rightly calls it "an illiberal business for a traveler, who designs to publish remarks upon a country, to sit down coolly in his closet and write a satire on the inhabitants. Where very gross absurdities are found, it is fair and manly to note them; but to enter into character and disposition is generally uncandid, since there is no people but might be better than they are found, and none but have virtues which deserve attention, at least as much as their failings." "An Irishman cannot have wit," declares David Hume (opinion of the Irishman has changed), "and a Frenchman cannot have solidity; for which reason though the conversation of the former in any instance be visibly very agreeable, and of the latter very judicious, we have entertained such a prejudice against them that they must be dunces or fops in spite of sense and reason." Seldom do we estimate the entire culture; instead we select one or more features on which to pour our invective or ridicule. When Rev. J. H. Weeks casually remarked to a Bangala, one of those peoples who cut the teeth in order to be in fashion, "Your teeth are like a dog's"—they sharpen them to a V-shaped point—he was met with the retort: "Well, your teeth are like a bat's." If we have abolished a vice, though but yesterday, we adopt a sanctimonious air and consider ourselves infinitely superior to a group which still tolerates it. We would rather have our present virtues lauded than our past vices revealed. We do not want any Turkish ambassador to remind us of the treatment used by Americans in the Philippines to extract information from native captives. We ridicule the customs and beliefs which are characteristic of the savage at his stage of development, forgetting that a few generations ago we shared them. We deride the Bushman custom of chopping off the end of a finger to allow the disease to run out with the blood. Yet this does not differ materially from the theory and practice of medicine in vogue with us a century ago, when bloodletting

was resorted to as a means of getting rid of the "humors." Such a Bushman philosophy killed George Washington in what the people of that day considered an enlightened age. We are not far removed from witchcraft. A maidservant, contemporary with Kant, Hume, Voltaire, and Goethe, was burned at Glarus, Switzerland, in 1782 for bewitching a child. We need not merely more facts about other races and peoples, but facts which show our fundamental likeness as well as our superficial differences; for there is a tendency to identify liberality and enlightenment with the geography of one's own culture.

Many visitors to an Indian reservation, or to an old Indian settlement, notice with not a little concern the absence of a certain conventional architecture on the premises and are apt to judge the Indians harshly, disposed to think this absence a token of indecency. As a matter of fact, it indicates the opposite. The Indian thinks it indecent to clutter up the premises, even the back and out-of-the-way parts of them, with such structures as graced our landscapes before running water became a domestic convenience. Even yet some of our old-fashioned folk, brought up in the good old days, think it highly indecent to transfer the equipment to the interior of a dwelling. The Indian would as soon have the thing in his back yard as we would have it on our front doorstep or in the middle of the living-room. Here, then, the apparent absence of a feeling of decency is really evidence of a high degree of it coupled with a refined feeling of appropriateness. Hence, "no toilet facilities were provided in the [Menomini] villages, the privacy of the encircling forest sufficing."

The tomato was long regarded as a poison and was raised only because of its beauty as a "love apple." One can understand that the tomato might be so regarded, for the people in the land in which it grew did not eat it. But how shall one explain the reluctance of Europeans to eat the potato, one of the principal vegetables in the land of the Incas, from which it was transplanted to the Old World? When they were brought from Peru in the early sixteenth century Europeans believed they caused leprosy; in the seventeenth century this belief was discountenanced, but they were believed to cause fever. Not until 1771, when Parmentier demonstrated the

harmlessness of the potato and its suitability for food, was the scientific world convinced that the tuber was innocuous, and even then it required a Turgot to induce people to plant it and use it as food.

Or consider the custom of using the fork, which all well-bred people have now adopted. When the English traveler Coryat attempted to introduce the custom into England—he had become acquainted with the use of the fork in the course of his travels in Italy—he was laughed at for affecting foreign manners. When other imitators followed Coryat's example the world of gentility was aroused. People of taste resisted the innovation, and ecclesiastics opposed it as a reflection upon the Almighty, as an implication that the fingers which he had given men were not good enough to serve as a fork. And underclothes! When drawers were introduced it was considered immodest for women to wear them—a feeling which persisted for a long time. So inured to evils do men become, and women, too! But even now it would be considered indecent to clothe statues with them, and any aesthete would resent seeing a well-fitting suit of B.V.D.'s on the "Discus Thrower" or even on "Ares"—not to mention "Venus Aphrodite" or "Venus de Milo."

Père Le Comte wrote at the end of the seventeenth century: "How many there are who, when they come into a new century, imagine that they can learn in an instant everything that they wish to know! Scarcely are they landed on the shore when they start to run to and fro like hungry folk, snatching greedily at every morsel that falls in their way, and fill up their journals with common reports and the idle talk of the vulgar."

When good customs are found among other peoples no notice is taken of them, especially if the people are savages, while the untoward customs of civilization are given the culture connotation of "savage." We are not ready, with Macaulay, to correlate the habits of the individual with those prevalent at his time and modify criticism accordingly. "Habits of dissimulation and falsehood, no doubt, mark a man of our age and country as utterly worthless and abandoned. But it by no means follows that a similar judgment would be just in the case of an Italian of the Middle Ages." Yet many early observers viewed savagery without the prepossessions which mark the traveler of today more than the voyager of a few generations

ago. "Wherever the South Sea Islanders can be accused of corruption of morals, this seems to me to bear indications, not of savagery, but of overcivilization," wrote Chamisso after a visit to the Micronesian islands of the Pacific in 1815-18. "Are the aborigines of Australia to be set down as a radically and hopelessly inferior race," asks J. D. Lang in 1861, "merely because they have not only managed to subsist, it may be for three or four thousand years, but to rear an infinity of tribes, speaking an infinity of languages, where Englishmen, in precisely similar circumstances, uniformly perish of hunger? It is unjust, in every sense of the word, to measure the unfortunate Australian by a European standard of civilization." Trehearne declares it the "height of impertinence" to imagine that West Africa has been left to grow in sin and darkness for centuries "simply that the whites might come and save the people at some future time. We do not realize," he adds, "that Mohammedans regard Christians as lost, that Hindus and Confucians consider we are utterly damned in the next world, that even the wild dirty pagans imagine that they, and they only, have found the true god, and that we are *impious* because we revile theirs while urging the acceptance of ours, not recognizing them as one." After relating the petty thefts suffered by him at the hands of the pilfering Negroes among whom he traveled, Mungo Park adds: "It must not be forgotten that the laws of the country afforded me no protection; that everyone was at liberty to rob me with impunity; and finally, that some of my effects were of as great value, in the estimation of the Negroes, as pearls and diamonds would have been in the eyes of a European." He then compares his unprotected position in the land of the Negroes with that of a black merchant of Hindustan wending his way through England with a box of jewels on his back and without the protection of the laws of the kingdom. The wonder would be, not that something was stolen, but that anything were left.

This charity of view is not a common trait of twentieth-century travelers. It were not so unpardonable to judge unfairly of certain customs and beliefs if the matter stopped there. But it seldom does. We select some one feature as characteristic and henceforth our judgment of other phases of the culture is biased and we view no

phase of the life without prejudice. How many of us can say, with Sir Thomas Browne: "I feel not in myself those common antipathies that I can discover in others; those national repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Spaniard, or Dutch: but where I find their actions in balance with my countrymen's, I honor, love, and embrace them in the same degree. I was born in the eighth climate, but seem for to be framed and constellated unto all; I am no plant that will not prosper out of a garden; all places, all airs, make unto me one country; I am in England everywhere, and under any meridian." Seldom do we meet an attitude like that of Maimus of Tyre, an educated man of the second century A.D., who said: "If a Greek is stirred to the remembrance of God by the art of Phidias, an Egyptian by paying worship to animals, another man by a river, another by a fire, I have no quarrel with their divergences. Only let them know, let them love, let them remember."

"Ear, hear the other side before you decide," is a Yoruba proverb which we might make our own; as also this other: "He who sees another's faults knows well how to talk about it, but he covers he own with a potsherd." Living in the same atmosphere makes us insensible to its foul odors, though we may remain sensitive to the foulness of another atmosphere. An American missionary writing several years ago about Jamaica, said: "A man may be a drunkard, a liar, a Sabbath-breaker, a profane man, a fornicator, an adulterer, and such like, and be known to be such, and go to chapel and hold up his head there, and feel no disgrace from those things, because they are so common as to create a public sentiment in his favor."

I ne'er could any luster see

In eyes that would not look on me, . . . .

is not merely a lover's plaint; it is the complaint of every civilization. Each country, according to its writers, is foremost in all things. "We are morally and intellectually superior to all men." No matter who said it—any national might have said it. The Hudson Bay Eskimo is so inured to the harsh conditions of his environment that no inhabitant of the most favored spot quits it with more reluctance than does the Eskimo his frozen deserts. "We are coming to realize," says Ellsworth Faris, "that the Hindu, Chinese, and Jap-

anese are not convinced of their inferiority, but rather are certain of our inferiority to them; but it comes as a surprise when we first learn that the Eskimo has the same conviction. The same is eminently true of the Congo native"—and of every other.

What observer does not misinterpret a foreign culture, seeing it through the spectacles of culture predisposition? The social solidarity responsible for this may formerly have been necessary to the group in order to insure united action. Solidarity was compatible only with united feeling and a common sentiment, enabling the group to compete with foes who were united. But when the existence of the group is no longer threatened, the former social virtue becomes a vice which retards rather than assists the progress of the group. Patriotism, which in most instances is merely an exaggerated provincialism, degenerates into narrowness of view and blindness to superior virtues, and nationalism becomes "the great curse of humanity."

Society was one of the earliest and most potent forces making for the preservation of the individual. The strengthening of the social bond acted like the discovery of gunpowder: it transformed the method of struggle for existence and the means of survival. What hope have isolated individuals, be they ever so numerous, against a united group? The smallest group can break an unlimited number of individuals, taken one at a time, though it may not be able to do so when they are united. The individual may depend upon himself if he is to resist fellow-man, but if he is to resist society he must summon to his aid another society. Thus the adoption of a social régime imposes a similar régime upon neighbors. Only by uniting can men defend themselves against united enemies. The social impulse then becomes a powerful weapon in the struggle for existence, comparable with the sex impulse, and like the latter, it cuts both ways as regards individual welfare. As society becomes more efficient group solidarity becomes an instrument of danger as well as one of safety, for social impulse runs to excesses. It ceases to be a means and becomes an end to which higher purposes are made subordinate; instead of remaining an instrument, a device, it becomes an ideal, a goal; and the social focussing of interests generates national, group, and class prejudices.

The individual functions as a portion of the social group, and is intellectually and morally oriented in it. His education is so uniformly attuned to the accomplishment of the social purpose that there is no jar of inconsistency or incoherence to rouse him to a consideration of whither he is going and why. When he does become aware of his world, he is attuned to the social circumstances in which his lot unwittingly has been cast. He finds the social ideals and demands harmonious with his own, while those of other social or national groups jar on him like irritation on a fagged soul. He has been plastic material in the hands of the potter, social environment, which has fitted him for the duties he sees immediately about him but ill fitted him for larger duties evident only to those whose vision has not been thus delimited. No wonder the Englishman prefers English culture, the Frenchman, French, the German, his own *Kultur*! Little wonder that each is in harmony with his own and out of tune with the others! Our magnified local prejudice we call patriotism. "My country, right or wrong," which is on a par with "My pocketbook, right or wrong," is exalted into an ethical ideal of the highest compulsion. To it are offered home, comfort, life—not sparingly, but in hecatombs. Those evils are most monstrous which, having the sanction of history and of universal approval, eat into the moral and mental fiber until the personality is warped and the faculties crippled; and the more silent and insidious the foe, the more dangerous it is. One must recognize dangers before one can resist them and guard against them.

It depends upon the country and the man whether to die for one's native land be sweet and decorous. If "it is expedient that one man should die for the people," let us select the right man for the job. Some men die with ill grace, and some want too much credit. If the Frenchman owes to France everything—unswerving allegiance, sacrifice for *patrie*—then, by parity of reasoning, the German owes to Germany everything. Men must transcend the patriotic loyalties and superimpose upon them a more inclusive ideal which reconciles their conflicting interests.

Prejudice thrives well in the realm of religion. An unprejudiced estimate of the ethical or intellectual value of a religious system is

inherently difficult, since any other than our own is *ipso facto* condemned as false and vicious.

Buddhism is dismissed as "religion without God founded on charity amounting to madness." Hottentots have no religion, for "they even marry and bury their dead without any kind of ceremony." That of the natives of Dahomey is a "jumble of superstitious nonsense of which it is impossible to convey any satisfactory ideas to the reader"; or, to quote later student-travelers, "it is a cult based on naïveté and a profound faith in deception, entirely absorbing the native, who pushes his religious fanaticism to the last limits." Seldom are such estimates based on adequate appreciation of the facts which constitute the religious life, and they do scant justice to the conceptions of the native. As for the prejudice entertained by the higher religions, the one for the other, we may allow Mandeville to speak:

Which is the best Religion? is a Question that has caused more Mischief than all other Questions together. Ask it at Peking, at Constantinople, and at Rome, and you'll receive three distinct Answers extremely different from one another, yet all of them equally positive and peremptory. Christians are well assured of the falsity of the Pagan and Mahometan Superstitions; as to this point there is a perfect Union and Concord among them; but enquire of the several Sects they are divided into, Which is the true Church of Christ? and all of them will tell you it is theirs, and to convince you, go together by the Ears.

## THE FREQUENCY AND PROBABILITY OF INSANITY

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WILLIAM F. OGBURN and ELLEN WINSTON  
University of Chicago

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### ABSTRACT

The extent of insanity is not generally appreciated. A statistical analysis of the relatively more complete data gathered in New York and in Massachusetts reveals the startling fact that the chance of a young person 15 years old being placed in a hospital for the insane during his lifetime is about 1 in 20, while the chance of developing an incapacitating mental disorder whether sent to a hospital for insanity or not is probably at least as high as 1 in 10. To the extent that insanity is traceable to mental maladjustments due to psychological experiences it would appear that modern civilization is a cause to a very large extent of serious psychological maladjustment on the part of mankind.

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### DIFFERENT MEASURES OF THE FREQUENCY OF INSANITY

That there is a great deal of insanity is generally known, though the general public probably does not appreciate the extent of it. It is sometimes stated, for instance, that there are more beds in the hospitals for the insane in New York State than there are in all the rest of the hospitals in that state taken together, or that one-sixth of all hospital beds of all kinds in the United States are occupied by dementia praecox cases. Such statements are, of course, not precise nor complete. A more definite statement is that there were 240 patients in hospitals for mental diseases for every 100,000 of the general population over 15 years of age in the United States in 1923. Such a statement tells us the number of insane hospital patients in comparison with the general population. But since some patients get well permanently or temporarily, after varying lengths of treatment, the existing numbers of patients do not give us a very definite idea as to the number of persons going insane within a given time. The number of admissions per year to hospitals for mental diseases, therefore, give us more accurate information as to the increase or decrease of insanity, which is especially valuable for year-to-year comparison when expressed in proportions of the total population. Thus the number of admissions per 100,000 population over 15

years of age for the United States in 1910 was 66, and 12 years later it was 82. The statistics of first admissions give a somewhat more refined measure of the increase of insanity, for these figures are exclusive of readmissions and transfers.

Still another way of expressing the frequency of insanity would be to express it in terms of probability, i.e., what is the probability that an individual will go insane? Seventy-three out of 100,000 persons, 15 years old and over, were entered for the first time in a hospital for mental disorders in the United States in 1923. Then it may be said that the chance of an adult (that is, a person 15 years of age or over) developing a mental disorder of such a nature as to lead to confinement in a hospital for mental diseases was 1 in 1,370 for that year.

#### THE PROBABILITY OF INSANITY AT DIFFERENT AGES

The chances of being sent to a hospital for mental disorders may be expressed more definitely still by computing the probabilities for different ages. It is generally known that as we grow older the chances of going insane are greater. The probability of insanity at different ages is shown in the following column of figures for 1920 for New York State. (New York State is chosen rather than the United States, for in the United States as a whole there are probably larger proportions of the population with psychoses or severe neuroses outside hospitals than there are in a state such as New York, which has rather more adequate provisions for and care of patients than have many other states.) The figures in Table I show, then, the chances of white males of different ages being admitted to a hospital for mental disorders (not including the feeble-minded). Table I tells us that the probability of a young white man in New York State in 1920 from 15 to 20 years old becoming sick enough to be sent, and being sent, to a hospital for mental disease is 1 in 2,500, while for men aged 35-39 the chances are 1 in 1,000 or 1 in 1,100, approximately. Therefore the chances are much greater for the very old.

Table I showing the chances of insanity<sup>1</sup> at each age group is

<sup>1</sup> Table I was obtained by dividing the average yearly first admissions to New York State hospitals from July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1921, for white males only for each age group by the total male white population for each age group for 1920.

quite spectacular. But equally vivid would be an estimate of the chances of an individual going insane,<sup>2</sup> not at a particular age, or in one particular year, but during the course of his lifetime. The

TABLE I

Years	1 out of
15-19 . . . . .	2,504
20-24 . . . . .	1,394
25-29 . . . . .	1,246
30-34 . . . . .	1,177
35-39 . . . . .	1,036
40-44 . . . . .	1,061
45-49 . . . . .	1,126
50-54 . . . . .	1,150
55-59 . . . . .	995
60-64 . . . . .	850
65-69 . . . . .	630
70-74 . . . . .	543
75-79 . . . . .	465
80-89 . . . . .	409
90-99 . . . . .	230

method of getting such an estimate will be considered in the paragraphs that immediately follow.

#### THE CHANCES OF INSANITY DURING A LIFETIME

The chance of a man going insane during the course of a lifetime rather than at a particular age will be different because of the longer "exposure"; the "exposure" of a lifetime rather than of one year or of five years. But how long is a lifetime? The average expectation of life in New York State for a young white male of 17.5 years of age in 1919-20 was 45.4 years. To take an average of the chances of insanity from the foregoing table and multiply it by the length of exposure would give a rough estimate of the probability of insanity in the course of an average lifetime, but it would be a crude estimate.

A more precise method is to start with a given number of males

<sup>2</sup> The expressions "chances of insanity" and "going insane" are popular abbreviations for more technical expressions, such as the "chances of being sent to a hospital for mental diseases," etc. The most exact expressions can be readily inferred from the context where the less accurate expressions are used.

at 15 years of age and ascertain the number who would be living at the succeeding age periods and compute the numbers going insane from the survivors at each age period. The survivors at such age periods can be determined from a life-table for New York white males for 1919-20. We can thus determine the numbers left living at each age group and, hence, liable to insanity. For each age group the numbers living may be multiplied by the rates of first admission at the respective age group, as found in Table I. This will give the calculated numbers admitted to hospitals for the insane at the particular age groups. If this is done for each age and the numbers of all the insane thus computed, there is obtained the total number out of the original number of males starting at 15 years old who will have gone insane in the course of their lifetime if the rates of mortality and of first admissions continue the same. This total number of insane divided into the original number of males chosen at 15 years age gives, then, the chances of a male going insane during his lifetime.

The calculations of such an estimate of the probability of insanity for a white male adult in New York State in 1920 during his lifetime is shown in Table II. The second column shows the number of males at each age period. Thus we begin at 17.5 years (the center of the age period 15-19 years, inclusive, instead of at 15 years) with 83,871 males. This number is taken from the life-tables for New York State for 1919-20 and is the number surviving at 17.5 years of age of 100,000 born. Now, at this age period in New York in 1920 the probability of insanity is 1 in 2,504. Therefore, out of 83,871 persons, there will be as many go insane in one year as 2,504 is contained in 83,871, which is 34 (33.5) men. But the age period is 5 years, so we should expect 168 (167.50) men to go insane out of 83,871, during this 5-year period.

Similarly, from the life-table for New York we find, at 22.5 years of age, 81,979 persons of the original 100,000 surviving. During this year 59 persons will go insane, or 294 persons for the 5-year period of which 22.5 years is the center.

And so for each age period there is calculated the number that go insane out of the original 83,871 persons. These are shown in Table II. Table II shows, therefore, that out of 83,871 persons at

15 years of age, 3,907 will go insane during their lifetime. The probability of going insane is, therefore, 3,907 divided into 84,450 persons (the computed number surviving at 15 years of age), which is 1 in 22. This is a realistic figure. If the general mortality rate should continue the same and if the insanity rate should continue the same then of the white boys 15 years of age in 1920 in New York State, 1 in 22 will be committed to a hospital for the insane sometime during his lifetime.

TABLE II

Age Period in Years	Number of Males Living at the Middle of Each Age Period	Calculated Number of Insane for the 5-Year Period
15-19.....	83,871	167.50
20-24.....	81,979	294.05
25-29.....	79,650	319.50
30-34.....	77,011	327.05
35-39.....	74,061	357.45
40-44.....	70,789	333.65
45-49.....	66,986	297.40
50-54.....	62,347	271.10
55-59.....	56,359	283.10
60-64.....	48,819	287.20
65-69.....	39,782	315.75
70-74.....	29,412	270.95
75-79.....	18,849	202.85
80-89.....	6,606	161.30
90-99*.....	425	18.50
Total.....		3,907.35

\* With the present systems of age classification, a division into 5-year age periods for these latter years would not be valid.

If the insanity rate should increase, then the probability of insanity would be greater than 1 in 22. Chart I shows that the rate of first admissions in New York State has increased only slightly (25 per 100,000), taking a 30-year period into consideration, but has declined slightly during the past 15 years, though the smaller number of first admissions of later years may be due in part to more accuracy in listing admissions than at first.

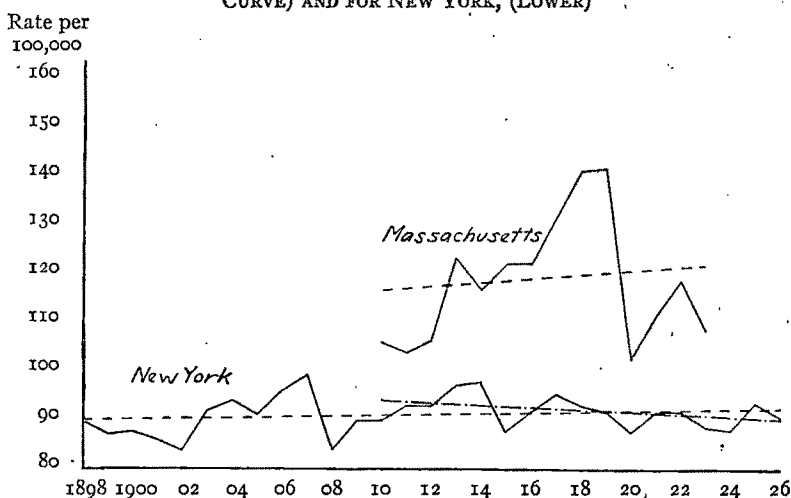
If the mortality rate is lowered, as is probable, then the probability of insanity will be greater than 1 in 22, for there will be more "exposures," because of fewer deaths. The development of medical progress, hygiene, and sanitation which results in the lengthening of life thus increases insanity. This estimate of the probability of

insanity, 1 in 22, indeed may be an underestimate, if the mortality rate decreases and the rate of first admissions increases. It may possibly be an underestimate also if the rate of first admissions decreases concomitantly with a decreasing mortality rate.

The foregoing estimate is for males. When the calculations are made for females, according to the same procedure, the probability of insanity, similarly defined, is 1 in 23.

CHART I

FIRST ADMISSIONS TO HOSPITALS FOR MENTAL DISEASES, BY YEARS, PER 100,000 POPULATION 15 YEARS OLD AND OVER FOR MASSACHUSETTS (UPPER CURVE) AND FOR NEW YORK, (LOWER)



Massachusetts is another state that is notable for its superior provision for its insane. In fact, the rate of admissions is higher than in New York. Whether this means that the incidence of insanity is greater in Massachusetts than in New York, or whether it means merely that larger proportions of the insane are sent to hospitals, cannot be said. Calculations were made for the probability of insanity in Massachusetts as was done in New York.<sup>3</sup> The results of these calculations show that the chances of a white male at 15 being admitted to a hospital during his lifetime (mortality rates and admission rates remaining the same) is 1 in 16, and for a white

<sup>3</sup> The Massachusetts life-table for whites was used, of course; the rate of first admissions was an average of a 2-year period ending November 30, 1920.

female, 1 in 19. In Massachusetts the actual rate of first admissions seems to have risen slightly since 1910 but declined sharply since 1917.

#### MENTAL DISORDERS OUTSIDE HOSPITALS

The figures on which the probability of insanity was calculated were the statistics of first admissions to hospitals for mental diseases. There is an unknown number of persons with psychoses and severe neuroses that are never sent to hospitals for mental diseases. The number of patients in such hospitals is, therefore, not the total number of persons suffering with mental disorders.

In the medical examination of men for the army during the war in 1917 and 1918 there were detected a certain number of men with psychoses who, of course, were not in hospitals for mental diseases. Indeed, in New York State the number of such men with mental disorders<sup>4</sup> was 396 per 100,000.

On the other hand, in the hospitals for mental diseases in New York there were approximately only 290 males 20-30 years of age per 100,000 males of those ages in the general population. There were, therefore, at least as many men with mental diseases (as defined by army medical practice in New York) outside the hospitals for insane in New York as there were patients in the hospitals. It would therefore appear that the chances of a New York white boy 15 years old developing a psychosis in the course of his life was nearer 1 in 10 than 1 in 22, as previously calculated.

The data for Massachusetts show very nearly the same results. The army medical examiners found 371 mentally diseased men per 100,000, while approximately 280, 20-30 years of age, per 100,000, were in the hospitals. That is to say, there were more men with mental diseases (as defined by army medical practice in Massachusetts) outside the hospitals than there were in the hospitals in Massachusetts. If such a ratio held true for the other age groups,

<sup>4</sup> The type of diseases were constitutional psychopathic states, hysteria, dementia praecox, general paralysis of the insane, manic depressive psychosis, and other psychoses. The definitions of these classifications and the statistics from which the foregoing rates were taken are from a publication of the War Department called *Defects Found in Drafted Men*, by C. B. Davenport and A. G. Love (pp. 120-24). The neuroses were omitted. If these had been included, there would have been then in New York 556 and in Massachusetts 564 men per 100,000 suffering with psychoses or neuroses, sufficient to incapacitate them for army service.

then the chances of a youth 15 years old developing a mental disease in Massachusetts in the course of his lifetime would be near 1 in 10.

#### THE PROBABILITY OF A FUNCTIONAL MENTAL DISORDER

That the chance of going insane is nearly 1 in 10 is a very striking fact. What does it mean? Before closing this article some speculations regarding its significance may be permitted. If such mental disorders are a result of psychological experiences, then such a high probability of insanity is an index of a psychological maladjustment of man and is a severe indictment of our civilization. If insanity is due to physiological rather than to psychological experiences, the great frequency of insanity may be an indictment of our culture, not on its psychological side, but rather because of its physical aspects, such as food, air, sunlight, germs, etc. If insanity with an organic origin should be determined by heredity, no such charge can be brought against modern life.

It would be of particular interest to know to what extent mental disorders are psychologically determined. The opinions on this point tend toward two widely different extremes. One is that all insanity is psychologically determined, even in such cases as paresis or brain tumor. The germ of syphilis or a tumor, it is argued, might produce mental disability or deterioration, but not insanity unless there was mental maladjustment due to past psychological experience. According to the advocates of such a position, a chance of insanity as high as 1 in 10 would mean that we are very badly adjusted psychologically to our civilization.

The other extreme opinion is that mental disorders, particularly the psychoses, though probably not the neuroses, are caused by bodily changes due to physical influences even where brain lesions do not occur. These organic changes may be in various structures such as nervous tissue, the circulation system, or in the endocrines. They may be temporary or permanent, but in all cases the origin is not psychological experience, but physiological changes due to physical causes, whether it be food or toxins. If such be the case the probability of insanity throws no light on our psychological adjustment to modern civilization.

A full and clear understanding of the organic and psychological causes of insanity would probably necessitate an understanding of

the whole "mind and body problem." The more common opinion as to the relative importance of these two factors is somewhere between these two extremes. The general opinion seems to consider the so-called functional psychoses as probably caused primarily by psychological factors, and the non-functional as originating in the main because of physical influences on the organism. The uncertainty is evidenced by the difficulty in saying just which psychoses are functional and which are non-functional. From the sociological point of view it would be very desirable to know which mental disorders are functional and which are non-functional, if the functional could be defined as the mental disorders due to a psychological maladjustment between inherited nature and culture, and if the organic mental disorders could be defined as disorders due to morphological maladjustment between inherited nature and physical environment. If both the psychological factor and the physical factor be admitted as causes, then the difficulty of saying which disorders are functional and which are not may be due to the fact that both factors may be present in varying degrees in certain types of psychoses.

General opinion probably considers as primarily functional manic-depressive insanity, dementia praecox, involution melancholia, paranoia, paranoid conditions, psychoneuroses, and neuroses.<sup>6</sup> The chance of commitment to a hospital for mental diseases in New York because of a functional mental disorder, as defined by the preceding classification, was only about half as great as for all types. In 1920 in New York the chance of a white male 15 years old being so committed during a lifetime for a functional mental disorder was 1 in 52, and for a female of 15, 1 in 45, mortality and mental disease rates continuing the same. In Massachusetts the chances were 1 in 46 for males and 1 in 37 for females.

These probabilities are only probabilities of commitment to hospitals. There are, of course, many cases of functional psychoses and neuroses outside hospitals, but what percentage is not known.

<sup>6</sup> Of these functional disorders dementia praecox is decidedly the most frequent, being about 60 per cent of the first admissions for functional types in New York and Massachusetts, while manic-depressive insanity accounts for about 25 per cent. Involutional melancholia furnishes about 10 per cent. Very few neuroses are sent to a hospital, the percentage of first admissions of these functional disorders being about 4 or 5.

It is difficult to make comparisons of the proportions of functional mental disorders found by the army examinations with the proportions in the hospitals, for the hospital statistics do not present their population with these functional disorders in age groups. For those examined for the army there were 272 of these functional disorders<sup>6</sup> discovered per 100,000, of which number more than half were neuroses. In the New York hospitals for mental diseases the proportion of the functional mental disorders which are classified as neuroses is negligible, and under the broadest interpretation of neuroses it would be very small indeed. It is to be inferred, therefore, that the chances of developing a functional mental disorder (including the neuroses as defined by army medical practice) must be much greater than the chances of being committed to a hospital because of them, possibly more than twice as great.

If we accept the opinion that certain neuroses and psychoses are functional and that they indicate a lack of psychological adjustment of man to civilization, then the very great probability of developing in the course of a lifetime a functional psychosis or neurosis certainly indicates a very serious psychological maladjustment between man and his civilization.

#### CONCLUSION

But whatever the interpretation may mean, it seems to be a fact that the chances of a white person 15 years old in such a state as New York or Massachusetts being committed to a hospital for mental diseases during the course of a lifetime (the mortality and commitment rates remaining the same as in 1920) are about 1 in 20, and that very probably the chances of developing a psychosis or severe incapacitating neurosis, whether sent to a hospital or not, are somewhere near 1 in 10.

<sup>6</sup> The classifications in the report on the army medical examinations and the number per 100,000 in New York as reported in Davenport and Love's *Defects in Drafted Men* were as follows:

Manic-depressive insanity . . . . .	25
Dementia praecox . . . . .	82
Psychasthenia and psychoneuroses . . . . .	56
Neurasthenia, neuroses, and hysteria . . . . .	109

One notices in the foregoing statistics very large percentages for the neuroses as compared with dementia praecox and manic-depressive insanity.

## RURAL SOCIOLOGY AS A FIELD OF RESEARCH IN THE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION<sup>1</sup>

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WILSON GEE  
University of Virginia

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### ABSTRACT

Agricultural experiment stations have been slow to appreciate sociology, partly because of the division among rural sociologists. One view, represented by Gillette, thinks of rural sociology largely as a general technology to improve rural life. The other view, represented by Sanderson, holds that sociology is incompetent to deal with the total reality of rural life and is not concerned with right ways of action. The best approach is middle ground. Rural sociology is applied sociology. Like forestry in relation to botany, it can make valuable contributions to the parent science by testing its theoretical generalizations. But, like forestry, rural sociology has also its practical problems. The sociologist in the agricultural college will be expected to formulate a program of right action to remedy bad conditions of rural health, public welfare, community organization, etc., because, until specialization goes farther than is in sight today, there is no one else as competent to deal with these problems. Important subjects needing research are (a) the truth or falsity of the conceptions of rural advantages in health and social life, used to keep young people from migrating to the city; (b) the underlying forces in the depopulation problem; (c) standards of living; (d) rural groups and institutions. There should be no comprehensive effort to standardize research in the several states, though a more or less uniform approach to rural migration and standards of living would have advantages. Some research in rural sociology needs to be carried on in the country and the city at the same time, and some needs to be kept up for a long period in a specific area.

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It is only a few years since the land-grant college as an institution in our national life has come to stand firmly on its feet as a going concern. It is still fewer years since agricultural experiment stations have developed clear-sighted, certain policies as to the nature of their task. In view of these facts it is interesting to reflect upon the numerous volumes, bulletins, and articles on the various phases of the production problems of agriculture. Out of the more or less confused effort at the start have come rather clearly defined divisions of agricultural knowledge, such as agronomy, animal husbandry, dairying, plant pathology, soils, and horticulture. A wealth of material illuminating the fields of agricultural endeavor that

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<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the Experiment Station Work section of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities in Forty-second Annual Convention, Washington, D.C., November 20, 1928.

were vague before now gives substance and dignity to all of the several fields of agricultural educational effort.

It is interesting to analyze briefly how all this has come to pass. At the outset there were men whose responsibilities encompassed several or all of these fields. And it was not a difficult task for them to do so, in view of the scanty amount of literature then in existence on a particular field. But as the program of research undertaken by those who were of necessity specialists began to bear fruit, there was in it that which caused agricultural practice to be revolutionized, new textbooks to be written in hitherto unheard of subjects, and the old texts to be revised. For those who labored through it and made secure the foundations upon which we build today, it must have seemed a slow and arduous task, but as an event in history it appears to have happened almost overnight.

This process is mentioned to review in the minds of those in charge of the experiment stations of this nation that which in a very vivid way many of them have followed through rather long periods of close and intimate participation and guidance. It is mentioned that they may understand the situation in which the social sciences find themselves today, and in particular to suggest a more sympathetic understanding of the task which sociology has set for itself in the development of perhaps the most ambitious of the social sciences.

The agricultural college is not a stranger to the social sciences, but the rôle played by these important branches of human knowledge has not been a very prominent one in the curriculum of the land-grant college. It has been restricted to the comparatively few courses offered in the fields of history, economics, and sociology, and, until recently, entirely with the teaching phases of such work. In the research phases of the social sciences, those of farm management and agricultural marketing were perhaps the first to knock at the door of the experiment station for admittance. And they were given rather quick and hearty entrance. Then, with the development of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in Washington, there came to be appreciated the significance of the study of many broader phases of agricultural economics such as those of co-operative marketing, the problems of crop forecasting, the tax burden of the

farmer, cost of production studies, the factors in successful farm management, the various land problems, and the economic and social aspects of farm tenancy.

There has come within comparatively recent years the recognition of the fact that the agricultural processes of production were outstripping the processes of distribution. Today it is rather generally recognized, I believe, that one of the most important concerns that should engage the mind of the farmer is how he may best market the crop which he has learned in a fairly efficient way to produce. Then there has been a growing feeling that the social values in farm life are not as full and satisfying as they should be when compared with the similar values in urban life. We now hear a great deal about the primary function of farming being that of producing a good and satisfying life on the farm, and that if the nation is to survive as it should, such must necessarily be the case. The aid to the solution of such problems fits into the field of the social sciences. The problems of production in considerable measure have found their solutions by the aid of the tools afforded by the natural sciences. No one could do other than applaud the amazing success that has attended the efforts toward increased skill and efficiency in the processes of production.

It is well, however, to raise the question whether or not the material progress of humankind has outstripped the development of commensurate social, institutional, and spiritual values, and whether the structure of human society can stand the strain of readjustment which all of this material progress has brought about. A great many of the most treasured conceptions of life, many of our most cherished institutions in civilization, what have been considered as absolutely permanent moral values and spiritual beliefs, have come very seriously into question. These are but the results of social change which must necessarily accompany the material progress in life and the conditions in our social order which such a development precipitates.

To grapple with these problems of society in general is the task of the social sciences. At once perhaps the oldest of the fields of human knowledge, and today the newest in their rebirth, the social sciences in great hopefulness are attacking these problems one by one

and endeavoring to do the needed thing. So hopeful are some of the workers in this field that the prediction is made that what the natural sciences have done in the past fifty years for the progress of mankind in a material sort of way, the social sciences in the next fifty years will do for the spiritual world of humankind. And it is generally conceded that the method by which the social sciences are to achieve this end is that of the scientific objective method of research which characterizes the natural sciences.

One of the most promising of these social sciences is the field of sociology. Since the days of Comte and Herbert Spencer it has been struggling to delimit the range of its endeavor. Originally it had its start in an effort to objectify the study of history and to reduce that discipline to a scientific basis. In its more recently defined form it has become an attempt to study the processes and underlying laws in collective behavior or group action. The ultimate objective seems to be that of analyzing human behavior and the resultant culture patterns as they manifest themselves in the several forms of interaction of one individual upon another and of one group upon another. It is patent that such a task is a gigantic one, and out of such a tremendous undertaking the element of crystal clearness will be slow in evolving.

No tasks of greater promise and none more intriguing confront the human intellect today than these attempts to understand the processes of human society, to develop a technique by which there may be some accuracy of prevision of what is likely to occur in our social evolution, and to evaluate in the light of social good what is real and lasting in our economic, social, political, religious, moral, and aesthetic life. In view of the supreme importance of such efforts and of the magnitude of the undertaking, we must be thoroughly sympathetic and helpful to the sociologist in his efforts to reduce to understandable laws and terms the processes of human society, because the ultimate results will constitute a great enrichment in the practical approach to our varied human problems. The achievement will be slow, but it is certain to come about.

It is true that the vagueness of general sociology has not tended to make the science one which has met with the eager reception of the type of mind that wishes matters represented in the concrete

definitive form. For this reason some of the older and more reputationably established of our universities and colleges which have come to be accepted as standard in our evaluation of the things that represent sound scholarship have been exceedingly slow to accept the field as one to be accorded recognition as one of the departments in their organization. They have preferred rather to include courses along this line in other departments of their social science offerings and to await the further clarification of just what sociology in its evolution will attempt to do. I am inclined to think that this same feeling has been in the attitude of many of our experiment station directors. They have seen rather quickly what might be expected to come of the economic phases of investigation as applied to agriculture, and now there is almost general development of such work as a part of the program of the several stations. It is regrettable that they have not been quite so quick to see the possibilities of concrete actual helpfulness in the field of sociology.

A part of this situation is due to the division that exists among the rural sociologists themselves. There seem to be two opposing views as to the development among these in outlining the field. I think that I can very clearly demonstrate that so far as the provisions of the Purnell Bill and the development of rural sociology in proper relation and contribution to the science of general sociology are concerned there need be no misapprehension in this regard.

Professor John M. Gillette, of the University of North Dakota, who is correctly and meritoriously regarded as one of the significant founders of the field of rural sociology, says in the recent revision of his text on rural sociology that

If by sociology is always meant a rigidly scientific attempt to account for group phenomena, and if, further, the attempt must be dissociated from utilitarian motives, then the title "rural sociology" is incompetent to express the scientific import of sociological studies of rural communities. But, for the same reasons, there are few treatises that may be called sociologies, and the newer works bearing that name are especially ineligible because they deal so largely with the solution of practical problems. If to treat rural life quite largely as a set of problems to be solved is unscientific, rural sociology at present cannot qualify for the scientific class. It arose out of a growing demand for the application of rational intelligence to the conditions obtaining in country districts and its initial spirit and motive was thereby necessarily rendered practical and

utilitarian. The great business of rural sociology is, and perhaps ever will be, the attainment of a sympathetic understanding of the life of farming communities and the application to them of rational principles of social endeavor.<sup>2</sup>

The opposing point of view is expressed by Professor Dwight Sanderson, of Cornell University, who challenges this contention of Professor Gillette as follows:

This is a very fair and accurate statement of the commonly accepted point of view with regard to rural sociology—and for that matter, as Professor Gillette indicates, to general sociology. My objection to this point of view, and my whole reason for having the temerity to bring this abstract problem to your attention at this time, is that it fails to define the phenomena which are the peculiar subject matter of sociology, and consequently is impotent to discover any principles or generalizations which it may contribute to rural welfare as distinguishable from the application of principles of economics, political science, or psychology. No one science can deal with the total reality of rural life. Furthermore, sociology as such is not concerned with formulating “right ways of action” or “principles of progress.” That is necessary for rural welfare, but it is the task of social ethics or social philosophy.<sup>3</sup>

The wording of the Purnell Act is that it authorizes such “economic and sociological investigations as have for their purpose the development and *improvement* of the rural home and rural life.”<sup>4</sup> The italics are mine. In the minds of those who framed this legislation I think there was no doubt as to their meaning. They were not concerned with the present uncertain gropings of sociology to find its way to a scientific formulation of its field and in that endeavor to objectify the social processes of the human group. Neither were they hostile to such valuable effort. They knew that the social satisfactions of rural life today are tremendously inadequate and that the knowledge regarding these inadequacies can be made available in some measure by the study of concrete problems that have presented themselves by the dozen in this connection and for which there are not sufficient data for even an approach to an answer. Fortunately no barrier was raised in the Act that would put the

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> Dwight Sanderson, “Scientific Research in Rural Sociology,” *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII, No. 2 (September, 1927), 89.

<sup>4</sup> *Federal Legislation, Regulations, and Rulings Affecting Land-Grant Colleges and Experiment Stations*, U.S. Department of Agriculture Circular 251 (revised April, 1925), p. 23.

more theoretical of these investigations out of the pale of experiment-station investigation, nor would an experiment-station director object to a reasonable amount of such effort, but the weight of his emphasis will naturally be on the lines of research that offer some measure of immediacy of result that is more than the mere approach to scientific speculations about human society.

As is true of nearly all human differences of opinion, the real approach is in a middle ground which carries the solid values of both contentions. Rural sociology in its definitive form is not general sociology. It is an applied phase of sociology. In all the fields of human intellectual endeavor the applied phases of a science do as a matter of fact contribute vastly to the testing of the generalizations of the parent science, to the justification of the general science in its support by civilization, and in a very concrete way provide the basis for suggestion to the parent science in the content and direction of its further theoretical speculation.

Any field of research in an experiment station will illustrate this process of reasoning. Let us take for example the science of botany and its applied branch forestry. Forestry applies the taxonomic features of botany so far as they relate to the trees and shrubs that are found in the forest areas of the nation. The application of such procedure brings order out of chaos in the recognition and description of the forest flora that the forester must meet and describe in his work. But does forestry limit its endeavor to accord with the technical limitations of botany by definition and actual practice? It carries out its processes to include, not only the range of botanical fact as related to the applied field, but it goes into the field of forest culture, of administrative control as to fires, and other state and national legislative restrictions, the economics of the ways of handling the forests as a money-making asset, and the best forms of propaganda for the education of our citizenship with regard to the value of forests and in the accepted principles of their proper conservation.

The analogy applies with equal force to general sociology and rural sociology. The rural sociologist today is confronted with a series of practical problems which he must illuminate if the division of the science as an applied science is to be justified. If he does not,

then he becomes merely a general sociologist working in the field of rural life to see what scientific generalizations he can develop there which corroborate and supplement those in the field of urban life developed by the general sociologist. Such a position is untenable and impractical, for it removes the necessity for the applied science of rural sociology, the pragmatic test for which has been met quite concretely now for a period of several years more than a decade.

Professor Sanderson avers that our existing books on rural sociology are but treatises on rural welfare.<sup>5</sup> He compliments their contribution, but states that they give us little help as to scientific methods of attacking welfare problems. In a considerable measure the latter criticism is true, but it is almost equally true of the science of general sociology. As to the rural welfare phase, and the desire to divest a rural sociological or any other sociological study of its ethical content and implications there is considerable division of opinion. There are those who believe that if there is to be any single set of determining standards against which all sociological studies must resolve themselves, it is the larger social good. Some such final evaluating principle must be maintained if the science is to have any real means of determining the value and the significance of its findings.

As to the objection that rural sociology should constitute a field of rural welfare, well and good, let it constitute a field of rural welfare. There would seem to be a large usefulness for such a field in our agricultural colleges and experiment stations. Certainly there is no other agency which is handling this phase of rural life if rural sociology does not attempt it. The rural sociologist should be free to study problems of rural health, of rural public welfare, of the country church, the country school, as well as of community organization, the nature of primary groups, and the socialization phenomena of country life measured in an approximation to a quantitative way. Moreover, after he has studied these problems in a scientific way he must not be content with merely setting forth the factual findings. He must carry through his interpretation of these facts; and in the work of an agricultural college he is going to be expected to formulate a program of right action to remedy the con-

<sup>5</sup> Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

ditions which he portrays. These interpretations of his findings may be in error, and often will be. But how is this error to be discovered if an attempt is not made to determine how things should be? His facts should be as free of human error as possible, and his errors of interpretation must not be allowed to vitiate the scientific accuracy of his findings.

There is certainly nothing unscientific about such a method of approach as this. The matter of controversy must center about the definition of rural sociology. It will be long before there will be specialists in rural health, in rural social ethics, in rural social philosophy, and in rural social psychology available for the experiment station. If they were available it would be splendid to divide the field or to work out in a group method of attack the rural problems, many of which must involve all of these approaches. The situation is merely a practical one, and one that must be met in a practical sort of way. Moreover, if specific concrete problems of rural life are studied by well-trained scientific investigators, I am confident that there will be monumental contributions made to the science of general sociology, and that as increasing specialization becomes possible, rural sociology will not be loath to relinquish certain of the phases which it is now necessary for it to deal with.

I have given much space, perhaps too much, to a clarification of what I consider a fundamental problem in the matter of developing rural sociological research in experiment stations in this nation; but I believe that such a lack of clarification has been a retarding factor in the beginning of this work in many of the land-grant colleges.

Although rural sociological research of a formal character had its beginning in this country in 1910, the first such study made and printed under the auspices of an experiment station was issued in 1914, and the Purnell Bill, designed to stimulate this type of research, was passed in 1925, according to a recently issued monograph<sup>6</sup> there were only twenty-five agricultural colleges and experiment stations in this country which were, in 1927, carrying on research work in rural sociology. It is quite likely that a few institutions have been added to this list in the past year, but it is safe to

<sup>6</sup> *Rural Sociological Research in the United States*, a Social Science Research Council Monograph (1928), p. 3.

conclude from these figures that if rural sociology is to be included in the budget of the remaining experiment stations from Purnell funds it will have to be done very largely with the beginning of the fiscal year 1929-30. Moreover, that is the year in which the funds available through this act reach their maximum, and those here are so thoroughly conversant with administrative procedure as to know that if the funds in a budget become more or less set to established types of work, and that occurs rather quickly, there is little likelihood of distinctly new lines of work, requiring new divisions and personnel and the necessary funds for their support, becoming quickly things that are a reality.

There is no need for me to discuss here the procedure and content of scientific research. The experience of this group has been developed through a long and constant association with such a method of approach to the whole program of their work. As one trained in the natural sciences and later transferring from that field to the social sciences, I merely want to assure you that the human material to be studied may lend itself less readily to objective research than do plants and animals, but the ideal of the social sciences is to carry into their studies that same method which has served to make the history of the physical and biological sciences such a fruitful one in recent years.

I do feel that it is my duty here to outline in a brief way what to my way of thinking constitute some of the most promising and needed lines of rural sociological research. It is generally felt today that agriculture is in a condition that constitutes a crossing of the roads. There are those who deride such a picture, and would have us think it the imagery of one who would be alarmist or sensational in attitude. A close student of the farm situation in this country quickly senses that something is wrong with our rural life today, and very wrong at that. The economic picture has been so carefully drawn that it is not necessary to repeat it here. It is now in the foreground of our national consciousness and will have to stay there until some measure of adequate settlement is made. The social picture of farm depression is not so clearly drawn, nevertheless it is closely concomitant with the economic situation. A great deal of this agricultural unrest is due to inequality between rural and urban advan-

tages and standards of living and income. Our farm population by the million are leaving an environment in which they and their ancestors have lived since the days of early settlement and are going to the relatively unknown city, which is to them the land of marvelous opportunity. At almost every turn the city intrudes itself into any phase of the rural situation that would be really understood.

Is this conception of urban superiority a myth, or is it true? Are we able to answer this question in a factual sort of way? The literature on rural life is full of the statement of superior characteristics that country life and country-bred individuals have over the urban environment and the urban-bred. These statements may be true, but how can we expect a nation that is predominantly urban, and a country-bred individual who has heard the siren call of the city, to believe them unless they can be reduced to a factual basis? I shall cite only a few of the types of statements generally made. The country is superior to the city in the factor of health. Is it? The family as a social unit preserves in the country its original strength and purity more than it does in the city. Does it? The country develops bigger and better men and women in physical and social attributes that are essential to a continuing civilization than does the city. Can we affirm this statement, except in opinion? The city provides a better living than the country, one more socially satisfying and economically remunerative. Do we know that this is actually a fact? How about the financial status in old age of the individual who has migrated to the town? Does the individual in the country provide better in the accumulation of an equity for that time than does the urban resident? These are but type questions which illustrate a field of rural life regarding which there are many opinions, but relatively little concrete information. If there is nothing distinctively contributory in country life, then what we are concerned with from the rural areas is the production of sufficient food materials for the city population. If there is a distinctive element in our national life that must always originate from our country sections and react upon the urban centers in a beneficial way, then we should evaluate the contribution in a more definite sort of way. The answers to such questions as these can in a large degree be provided in research in these phases of the country-life problem and have a

fundamental contribution to make in the formation of our national philosophy and a just and accurate appraisal of country life.

A fuller knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of both urban and rural life will enable us to see more clearly just how necessary is each of these phases to our national existence, and how they may be made to develop in close interaction and mutual helpfulness, each to the other, and that the justice of equal opportunity may be applied in practice as well as in theory.

Another phenomenon regarding which there is much discussion and a surprisingly small amount of definite information is the rural migration or depopulation problem. Several projects in this field are at present under way, and from these much valuable light will be thrown on the forces and processes involved in this migration. From each state we need facts to determine the underlying forces in the depopulation problem and the resultant effect upon the several areas, rural and urban, affected thereby. It is the opinion of a committee which has recently given much attention to this problem that "a thorough analysis of the social composition of the population of the villages and open country should be made in every state as a basis for dealing with its social problems."

A very substantial beginning has been made in the study of farm standards of living. Under the inspiration of the pioneer study in this field made by E. L. Kirkpatrick<sup>7</sup> have come a number of such studies, some of them independently, but the larger number in co-operation with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life Studies of the United States Department of Agriculture. It is the opinion of thoughtful students of this field who have been in the midst of the investigations that the problem has only begun to take shape and that there is excellent ground here for studies in each of the states, so that the mass results may afford material for a combined picture that will test the validity of generalizations made by earlier investigators. In Virginia we are undertaking at the present time a study on a limited scale that attempts to compare for three different levels of rural and urban populations their standards of living.

<sup>7</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, *The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming*, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Bulletin 423, July, 1923.

There is much to be expected in the way of results from a study of the rural groups. One of the most fundamental contributions made in this field of rural sociology has been that of Professor C. J. Galpin<sup>8</sup> in the development of a technique by means of which such groups may be scientifically delimited for study. By thorough studies of such areas it will be possible to secure a fairly accurate picture of just what is happening in the social life of a region, and much light will be thrown on the larger national problems; for no problem of a local nature is entirely local. Our national points of view are built up from the information assembled from such more or less detached studies.

There is much to be expected from the study of farm organizations from the sociological point of approach. Some of these studies in progress today are concerned with determining the attitudes of farmers toward their organizations, and a particularly fertile type of investigation in this connection is that in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, where the attempt is being made to determine the social psychological barriers to co-operative action. Other studies have dealt with the various forms of community organization, the degree of participation of the community in them, and the elements contributing to their success and failure.

An especially important and hopeful field of investigation for the rural sociologist is the study of the several institutions that characterize rural life. W. C. Nason,<sup>9</sup> of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life Studies of the Federal Bureau of Agricultural Economics, has done some excellent work in this connection from the national point of approach that may well be followed in the several states. He has made a careful analysis of such institutions as the rural library and the rural hospital, and his publications are a model of care and accuracy and reveal the background of a wide national search in the selection of his materials.

These few promising fields of rural sociological research are chosen as examples of the types of projects of which there is an un-

<sup>8</sup> C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin, Research Bulletin 34, May, 1915.

<sup>9</sup> W. C. Nason, *Rural Hospitals*, U.S.D.A., Farmers' Bulletin 1485, March, 1926; *Rural Libraries*, U.S.D.A., Farmers' Bulletin 1559, March, 1928.

ending series for the sociologist in the experiment station. They provide all of the material that even the most scientifically minded would wish, and there is great promise for the contribution that the study of such problems will make to the enrichment of our knowledge of some of the most vexing problems that confront American agriculture today. I sincerely hope, in view of the significance of such a contribution, that no experiment station in America will be without provision for such rural sociological research by the end of the next fiscal year.

In developing their programs of work there should be provision made for both the individual and the group approaches to a problem. There should be no all-comprehending effort to standardize research in the several states. To do so would cripple the interest of the investigator, limit his originality, and bring about neglect of the immediate local or obscure problem that may open up fields of great richness in findings and in method. Yet there are certain problems, such as those of standards of living and rural migration, in which a more or less uniform method of approach has much to commend it. And quite fortunately there is provided already co-ordinating machinery in rural life studies in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life Studies of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, an agency well conceived and ably handled, and, if adequately supported, of unlimited possibilities.

One of the seriously limiting factors in the desirable extension of rural sociological research in the experiment stations of the nation has been the lack of a sufficient trained personnel to do this work. Fortunately, a number of institutions in this country, notably Minnesota, Wisconsin, Cornell, Ohio, and Missouri, are meeting this need with a promising contingent of graduate material reaching the upper levels possible in university training. This situation will improve with each year and other centers will be added to the list to meet the increasing demands of further progress in this field of endeavor.

With two other suggestions which must be briefly developed I have concluded this paper. The first of these is that there can be too sharp a delimitation of a rural problem by restricting the phases of it to be studied to rural areas. The more I see of the problems of

country life today, the more convinced I become that they cannot be thoroughly understood without the possibility of studying certain phases of them if necessary in their urban implications and even in urban territory.

The other is that more of our problems need, at least in part, to follow the method of the famous Rothamsted Experiment Station in that they should be carried out in special areas over a sufficiently long period of time to enable us to tell whether the phenomena that we study represent a fair picture of a given process or processes. Human reactions, even more than those of lower animals and plants, are characterized by great variation, and if we are to be certain of the segment of human activity which we study we must consider this factor of a sufficiently long period of observation.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NON-NATURALIZED

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H. F. GOSNELL  
University of Chicago

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### ABSTRACT

More than 7,000,000 of the foreign-born in 1920 were unnaturalized. The preponderance of aliens from southeastern Europe still unnaturalized is explained by their more recent arrival. In Chicago the great bulk of the non-declarants are women. Another factor affecting naturalization is occupational status, the skilled and professional class being more interested in citizenship. Marital status is also important. The immigrant feels himself a part of the life of the country when he starts to raise a family here. Moreover, it is easier to be married if he is naturalized. Since it usually takes several years before the process of naturalization begins to operate, the non-declarants are uniformly younger than the declarants. Another factor is education, immigrants having no schooling are much less likely to take an active interest in naturalization than are the educated. This study has also shown that the non-declarants are, as would be expected, much less informed about the political institutions of America.

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Most of the immigrants to this country find out sooner or later that there are many advantages in becoming naturalized. Nevertheless, at the present time there are many adult foreign-born persons who have not declared their intention to become citizens of the United States or who have failed to complete the naturalization process. According to the thirteenth census of the United States there were practically 14,000,000 foreign-born persons in the country in 1920. For every 100 foreign-born women there were 125 foreign-born men. Over one-half of both the foreign-born males and females were aliens, but a much larger proportion of the non-naturalized males had their first papers than of the non-naturalized females.<sup>1</sup> The factor of sex is closely related to citizenship status and will become more important as the influence of the Cable Act, which requires the separate naturalization of alien women, begins to be felt. A majority of the aliens who have taken no steps to become citizens are women, who must now take out their own papers even though they marry citizens.

A further analysis of the census figures reveals the fact that

<sup>1</sup> *Thirteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, II, 804-5.

non-naturalization is most prevalent among the immigrants from certain European countries. Two-thirds or over of the Irish, Swedish, Norwegian, and German immigrants were naturalized in 1920, as compared with less than one-third of the Polish, Italian, and Hungarian immigrants.<sup>2</sup> These figures have been interpreted by some uncritical persons as giving evidence of a causal relationship between birth in southeastern Europe and non-naturalization. However, John Palmer Gavit has pointed out in a painstaking analysis of some 30,000 naturalization petitions that such persons ignore the factor of length of residence in this country.<sup>3</sup> It takes on the average over ten years for a foreign-born person to complete the naturalization process, even though the minimum residence period required for naturalization is only five years and three months. A smaller proportion of the Polish and Italian immigrant groups were naturalized in 1920 than of the others because these groups have been in the country for a much shorter time than the others.

In the city of Chicago the non-declarant Poles, Russians, and Italians constitute over one-half of the 200,000 aliens. The census figures show that in 1920 the naturalization ratios for the Polish and Italian immigrants in Chicago were about the same as those for the respective groups in the country at large.<sup>4</sup> The Chicago groups may therefore be taken as fairly representative. The statistics for naturalization in the Chicago courts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924, reveal the fact that large numbers of Polish, Russian, and Italian male immigrants are taking advantage of the naturalization process. In 1920 only 19 per cent of the foreign-born males in the city were non-declarants. A large proportion of the 93,000 male declarants in the city in 1920 have since become citizens. The great bulk of the non-declarants in Chicago at the present time are the Polish, Russian, and Italian immigrant women.

Some of the factors that are related to non-naturalization can be discovered by comparing the characteristics of the naturalized citizen, declarants, and aliens. From the published reports of the census it is not possible to carry these comparisons very far. The

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 805.

<sup>3</sup> *Americans by Choice* (New York, 1922), pp. 236 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Thirteenth Census*, II, 846.

relationship between citizenship status and country of birth is the only part of this subject treated in the detailed census tabulations. The naturalization petitions are also inadequate for this purpose, as they reveal nothing about the principal group under discussion, namely, the non-declarants. Consequently it was found necessary to interview some 4,000 foreign-born persons in the city of Chicago in order to get certain social data regarding naturalized citizens, declarants, and non-declarants for purposes of comparison. It has been shown elsewhere that there are economic, social, and political advantages secured by naturalization. The economic, social, and educational condition of the non-naturalized are therefore matters of prime importance in this study.

TABLE I  
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES OF FOREIGN-BORN  
MALES BY CITIZENSHIP STATUS: PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (Years)	CITIZENSHIP STATUS		
	Naturalized	Declarant	Non-declarant
Number*.....	1,223	671	307
Per cent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
00-05.....	0.0	19.1	28.1
6- 9.....	1.0	3.7	3.9
10-19.....	30.3	58.3	46.3
20-29.....	25.3	16.5	18.2
30-39.....	24.5	2.1	2.9
40-49.....	14.8	0.3	0.3
50 and over.....	4.1	0.0	0.3

\* Basis of 100 per cent in each case.

Inasmuch as practically all of the adult foreign-born persons who are interested in naturalization at the present time are males, emphasis will be placed upon the data obtained from the male immigrants interviewed. Table I, giving the term of residence in the United States and citizenship status of the male immigrants in selected districts in Chicago in 1924, corroborates the analysis of Gavit regarding the importance of length of residence in this country in relation to citizenship status.

The fact that there were comparatively few immigrants who had been in the city between six and nine years can be explained by the World War. Immigration practically ceased during the years

1914-18. The table indicates that the great bulk of the male declarant have been in the city for more than ten years.

The survey also made possible the collection of material showing the relationship between citizenship status and economic and social position.

Table II shows the occupations of the foreign-born males interviewed, classified by citizenship status.

Gavit has shown that a higher proportion of those engaged in skilled occupations requiring a degree of dexterity and general in-

TABLE II  
OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN-BORN MALES BY CITIZENSHIP STATUS:  
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

OCCUPATION	CITIZENSHIP STATUS		
	Naturalized Citizens	Declarants	Non-Declarants
Number*.....	1,139	662	296
Per cent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Common labor.....	35.6	51.2	59.8
Manager, official, manufacturer..	3.8	1.0	1.4
Tailor.....	5.9	3.6	4.4
Skilled trades.....	26.0	26.2	21.9
Trade.....	15.9	11.7	8.1
Public service.....	2.5	0.0	0.0
Professional.....	3.4	1.7	1.0
Domestic.....	4.1	2.9	1.7
Clerical.....	2.8	1.7	1.7

\* Basis of 100 per cent in each case.

telligence and information were naturalized than of the common laborers. In other words, it is clear that the immigrants performing the lowest grade of work in this country are not those most interested in citizenship. As the immigrant becomes adjusted to life in this country and rises in the economic scale he becomes more interested in naturalization.

The striking fact that stands out in this table is the large proportion of male aliens as compared with the small proportion of naturalized males that are unskilled laborers. Three-fifths of the non-declarant males were common laborers as compared with 35 per cent of the naturalized males. A large proportion of the citizens

were engaged in trade or professional occupations than of the non-citizen.

It has already been pointed out that the immigrant begins to feel himself a part of the life of this country when he starts to raise a family here. The effect of marriage or non-marriage upon the immigrant's interest in citizenship is shown by Table III, which gives the marital condition of immigrant males classified by their citizenship status.

It appears from this table that a much larger proportion of the non-declarant males are single than of the naturalized males. The

TABLE III  
MARITAL CONDITION OF FOREIGN-BORN MALES SHOWN BY CITIZENSHIP  
STATUS: PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

MARITAL CONDITION	CITIZENSHIP STATUS		
	Naturalized Citizens	Declarants	Non-Declarants
Number*.....	1,219	678	311
Per cent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Married to a native-born woman.....	15.8	8.7	6.5
Married to a foreign-born woman abroad..	17.2	28.6	32.9
Married to a foreign-born woman in this country.....	47.9	39.4	26.2
Single.....	12.9	21.4	31.2
Widowed.....	5.8	1.3	2.9
Divorced.....	0.4	0.6	0.3

\* Basis of 100 per cent in each case.

unmarried male immigrants do not have any family pressures brought to bear upon them to become citizens. Having failed to make any permanent social adjustments in this country, many of them do not feel the immediate necessity of making political adjustments. Of the married non-declarant males, a much larger proportion were married abroad than of the married naturalized citizens. Most of the immigrants married abroad have little or no comprehension of the advantages of American citizenship.

On the other hand, if a male immigrant wants to marry in this country he finds it considerably easier to do this if he is naturalized. The native-born women do not like to marry aliens, and the foreign-born women who have been in this country any length of time real-

ize the advantages of American citizenship as far as the raising of a family is concerned.

Among the non-naturalized we find not only a large number of unmarried male immigrants, but also a considerable number of married immigrants who have no children born in this country. The relationship between naturalization and the raising of a family in this country is shown by the fact that 65 per cent of the naturalized married males interviewed had American-born children, while only 50 per cent of the non-declarant married males had American-born children.

Why are so many of the non-declarant immigrants unmarried? Why have one-half of the married male aliens had no children in the United States? A satisfactory answer to these questions might give some indication as to why these individuals have not started the naturalization process. Mention has already been made of one of the factors that partially explains their situation. Newness to the country and non-naturalization are closely related factors. The residence requirement for naturalization is five years and three months. The case of the aliens who fail to fulfil the legal residence qualifications for naturalization needs no comment. Most of these are single young men or men at the beginning of their married life. Practically all of the naturalized immigrants interviewed had taken at least ten years to take out their citizenship papers. Consequently, as might be expected, the naturalized are in general much older than the non-naturalized. Table IV brings out this fact for both the male and female immigrants interviewed.

Relatively few of the male immigrants in their twenties had become citizens. On the other hand, about two-thirds of the male aliens interviewed had passed the thirty-year mark and practically every one of these had been in the country for ten years or more. The reasons for not becoming naturalized given by these individuals will be discussed in a later section.

There are no specific educational requirements for naturalization. The law states that the petitioner for naturalization must be able to speak the English language and to sign his own name. The requirements of the oath of allegiance to the United States Constitution has been interpreted as implying some knowledge of the con-

tents of the Constitution, but the extent of that knowledge has been left to the discretion of the courts. In spite of the fact that there are no definite educational requirements for naturalization, the amount of schooling that the immigrant had in his native land bears

TABLE IV  
AGE OF FOREIGN-BORN MALES AND FEMALES BY CITIZENSHIP STATUS:  
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

AGE GROUPS (Years)	MALE			FEMALE		
	Naturalized Citizens	Declarants	Non- Declarants	Naturalized Citizens	Declarants	Non- Declarants
Number*	1,234	678	312	1,119	76	839
Per cent.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
21-29.....	8.8	23.0	31.1	12.7	26.3	29.6
30-39.....	24.8	40.0	31.1	22.4	42.2	37.5
40-49.....	26.2	26.8	20.2	24.2	19.7	17.5
50-59.....	22.1	7.4	10.2	23.4	9.2	8.6
60 or over...	18.1	2.8	7.4	17.3	2.6	6.8

\* Basis of 100 per cent in each case.

TABLE V  
SCHOOLING ABROAD OF FOREIGN-BORN MALES BY CITIZENSHIP STATUS:  
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

SCHOOLING	CITIZENSHIP STATUS		
	Naturalized Citizens	Declarants	Non- declarants
Number*.....	762	501	247
Per cent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
No schooling.....	18.5	26.3	35.6
Less than eight years.....	44.9	44.5	39.3
Grammar school graduate...	31.4	23.8	21.5
High school.....	3.8	4.0	3.2
College education.....	1.4	1.4	0.4

\* Basis of 100 per cent in each case.

some relation to his citizenship status in this country. Table V indicates that the male immigrants having no schooling either abroad or in this country are much less likely to take an active interest in naturalization than those who have had some schooling.

Thirty-six per cent of the non-declarant male immigrants as

opposed to 19 per cent of the naturalized male immigrants had had no schooling either abroad or in this country. Furthermore, a smaller percentage of the non-naturalized than of the naturalized had completed their common school education. The sample of immigrants studied in the city of Chicago tends to give some support for the arguments advanced by those advocating a literacy test for immigrants. The illiterate immigrants are less likely to become naturalized.

In order to establish some measure of the relation between interest in naturalization and knowledge of American political institutions, the interviewers who canvassed selected districts in Chicago were directed to ask all the adult inhabitants certain questions regarding American government and politics that were frequently asked of petitioners by the naturalization examiners. The questions, which were printed on a card that was used as a guide for the interviewers, were as follows: (1) Who was the father of our country? (2) Who is the president of the United States? (3) Where does he live? (4) Who was president before him? (5) If the president dies in office, who takes his place? (6) What does Congress do? (7) How many states are there in the United States? (8) What is the name of our state? (9) Who is the chief executive of this state? (10) Where does he live? (11) Was the Constitution adopted by a vote of the people? (12) Does Congress make all the laws in this country? (13) Who is your congressman? (14) Who are the senators from Illinois? (15) How are the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States chosen? (16) Can a person who commits a crime be arrested in a state other than that in which the crime is committed? (17) Can the Constitution be changed? (18) Who is the chief executive officer of this city? (19) Who is your alderman? (20) What is the only crime the Constitution defines?

The co-operation of all the persons interviewed was not secured in filling out this card. However, many were glad to work it out in their own handwriting. The tabulation of the results obtained from this part of the survey is given in Table VI.

Practically all of the naturalized citizens who could not answer any of the questions were women who acquired their citizenship

by marriage prior to September 22, 1922. The declarants who found the questions difficult were those who had been declarants for a short period of time. The answers given to these questions by 1,600 native-born citizens constitute an excellent control for this experiment. There were a small number of immigrants interviewed who knew something about the questions asked but who had taken no steps to become citizens. There were no native-born citizens who could be put in this class.

TABLE VI  
KNOWLEDGE OF GOVERNMENT SHOWN BY ADULTS OF SPECIFIED CITIZENSHIP  
STATUS: PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT QUESTIONS ANSWERED CORRECTLY	CITIZENSHIP STATUS			
	Native-Born Citizens	Naturalized Citizens	Declarants	Non- Declarants
Number* . . . . .	1,580	1,119	372	656
Per cent. . . . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None. . . . .	0.0	12.9	24.9	47.3
One-half, or less. . . . .	33.6	37.5	41.4	40.5
More than one-half. . . . .	66.4	49.6	34.7	12.2

\* Basis of 100 per cent in each case.

The comparison of the characteristics of a selected group of naturalized and non-naturalized adult immigrants has brought to light the fact that sex, newness to the country, extreme youth, bachelorhood, a lack of family cares and responsibilities, a lack of schooling, and a lack of knowledge regarding American political institutions are all factors more or less closely related to non-naturalization.

The women and the young bachelors show the least interest in citizenship of any group, especially if their schooling has been neglected. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the immigrants from certain countries are harder to assimilate than those from other countries if the factor of length of residence in this country is kept constant. The process of expatriation and naturalization calls for certain adjustments which only time can make.

## OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM IN COLLEGE ENVIRONMENTS

HERBERT H. JASPER  
University of Oregon

### ABSTRACT

A questionnaire, composed of twenty questions related to attitudes on social issues, and twenty questions regarding personality traits, was given to a sampling of four types of colleges: a state normal school, a state university, a denominational university, and a private college. Three answers indicating degrees of optimism and pessimism were listed after each question. Complete tabulations are given for the most significant questions. There was a large difference between the norms of the respective groups in their characteristic responses.

*The ranking of types of colleges in regard to optimism and pessimism.*—The colleges, ranked from the most pessimistic in both social attitudes and personality traits to the most optimistic, are as follows: private college, state university, denominational university, and state normal school.

*The relation of personality traits to social attitudes.*—In general the responses to questions relating to personality traits are of the same nature as the responses to social attitude questions. Naïve, unsophisticated enthusiasms are associated with optimism, and intellectual sophistication is associated with pessimism in the college environment. There seems to be no support for the common belief that college students have a tendency toward a dangerous depression. Some of the inadequacies of the questionnaire method of study are overcome by an experiential knowledge of each college studied.

It has long been assumed that the characteristic ethos of a college environment has a selective and creative influence upon the group of students subjected to or selected by that particular kind of a college life upon changing social attitudes and personality traits, and we speak of the difference between various types of college environment in the production of "types" of students. For example, a certain college is said to tend to produce students of dangerously radical opinions, or, colleges as a whole are supposed to influence students toward cynicism, and to develop tendencies toward depression and suicide. Such observations are largely impressions with little or no objective evidence in their support.

This investigation was conducted in an attempt to determine objectively a few of the characteristic differences in social attitudes and personality traits, with special reference to optimism and pessi-

mism and depression and elation in four different college environments.

The questionnaire used in the investigation was devised for testing degrees of elation, depression, optimism, and pessimism in the personality complex. Its reliability and validity as a measure of depression-elation in the personality has been worked out from a psychological standpoint with significant positive results.<sup>1</sup> The results of the questionnaire are at least as valuable from a sociological standpoint as from the psychological standpoint, that is, considering the subject matter of the questionnaire rather than abstracting tendencies toward certain personality trait concepts.

The total of forty questions was composed of twenty questions of an objective nature and twenty of a more subjective nature. Three alternative answers were listed after each question. One alternate was of an optimistic or elative nature, one of a pessimistic or depressive nature, and the other was intended to represent a midpoint between the more optimistic and the more pessimistic answers. The questionnaire was given to the different groups of students in the winter term of 1926-27 during class periods under as nearly standard conditions as possible. The same directions were given to each group by the same person, except to the state university group, where they were given by a competent instructor.

The four kinds of educational institutions chosen for this investigation were a state university, a privately endowed college, a religious denominational university, and a state normal school. These schools were chosen because of the wide difference in the nature of their environments, which either selects students with certain tendencies, or influences students toward certain tendencies in accordance with the ethos (environmental characteristics) of the college attended.

The questionnaire was filled out by a group of 65 students of the state university, taken from a class in general psychology. This represents a fairly good sampling of the student body, for most of the members of the class are majors in some other department than

<sup>1</sup> Herbert H. Jasper, "The Objective Determination of Intellectual and Non-intellectual Factors Influencing Student Success in College" (unpublished Bachelor's thesis at Reed College).

psychology. The ages of the group range from eighteen to twenty-six, the average age being twenty. There are 37 women and 28 men; 42 Sophomores, 20 Juniors, and 3 Seniors. This group will be designated as S.U. in the quantitative results.

The ethos of this state university is pretty well known to be characteristic of a western state university with its fraternity and sorority segregation, its "Rah! Rah!" football spirit, its entirely secular emphasis, and with the usual influence of the taxpayers upon its social ideals.

The total of 90 students (out of a student body of 250) who answered the questionnaire at the private college was divided into two groups. One group, the private college Seniors (P.S.), numbering 34, included nearly all of the Senior class. The ages ranged from twenty to thirty-six, the average being twenty-two. There were 18 women and 16 men in the group. The other group, the private college underclassmen (P.U.), is composed of 56 students: 3 Freshmen, 42 Sophomores, and 11 Juniors. There are 36 women and 20 men in this group, with ages ranging from seventeen to twenty-five, the average age being nineteen. The Seniors were separated from the underclassmen in order to get differences between the Seniors and the underclassmen in a single institution. The students selected were practically a random sampling.

The students of the private college are chosen by careful study of their high-school records, together with interviews and personal references. There is also an intellectual tradition characteristic of the college which, together with a knowledge of the high scholastic requirements, acts as a selective factor of considerable importance.

There are no denominational affiliations or particular religious emphases unless one would call the intellectual sincerity and critical attitude a kind of a religion in the ethos of the student body. The minds of the students are stimulated intellectually to a greater extent than in institutions which have so much of the students' interests taken up with intercollegiate athletics, fraternities and sororities, interclass rivalry, grades, etc. There are no fraternities of any kind (even scholastic honorary fraternities are excluded). Interclass rivalry is carried on only in athletics, in which everyone par-

ticipates. There is little or no interscholastic athletics, and no "Rah! Rah!" spirit.

This is one of the few schools which actually has the honor principle and the democratic spirit functioning in reality as well as in the ideal. There is a tendency toward a somewhat radical liberalism in the general attitude toward social questions.

The denominational university has a student body of about 560, 231 of which responded to the questionnaire. These students were divided into two groups. One group, the denominational Freshmen (D.F.), is composed of 126 Freshmen: 80 women and 46 men. The ages range from sixteen to twenty-five, the average age being eighteen. The other group, the denominational upperclassmen (D.U.), is composed of 105 students: 37 Sophomores, 47 Juniors, and 21 Seniors. There are 73 women and 32 men, with ages ranging from seventeen to thirty-four, the average age being twenty. The Freshmen were separated from the upperclassmen in order to obtain the difference between the Freshmen and upperclassmen of a single institution.

Some of the selective factors of the denominational student body are: scholastic and character records, the convenience precedence for local students, denominational and religious interests, and educational opportunities. The majority of the students come from religious homes. There is a definite religious atmosphere on the campus. Compulsory chapel, usually of a religious nature, is held every day. The intellectual and religious views are, in general, fairly liberal, and are developing toward even more liberality. There have been very strict rules regarding the moral conduct of the students. The rules prohibiting smoking and dancing are still held, but not very severely enforced.

Interscholastic athletics are entered into with considerable spirit. There is much of the so-called "Rah! Rah!" spirit among the students. Class scraps, hazing, rallies, socials, fraternity and sorority competition, and song contests are considered major events of the school year. There are also high scholastic requirements necessary to keep up the scholastic standing of the institution.

On the whole one could say that this university is fairly representative of the typical medium-sized denominational school with

its religious enthusiasms for athletics and fraternities, as well as for intellectual pursuits.

One hundred sixteen students of the normal school (N.S.) responded to the questionnaire. The group was composed of 99 Freshmen, 3 Sophomores, and 14 Juniors, of ages ranging from seventeen to twenty-four, the average age being nineteen. There were 106 women and 10 men in the group, which was a good sample of the entire student body of about 500 students.

There is little actual participation in interscholastic athletics because of the small number of men in the student body. However, there is a tendency for the spirit of the school to be of the superficial "Rah! Rah!" type. There are a good many enthusiasms of the light nature, e.g., for "dates," parties, plays, etc., partially determined by the fact that the great majority of the student body are women. The main intellectual interest is in teaching methods. The students are selected chiefly from those wishing a specialized training in the teaching profession.

On the following pages will be given, in percentage and number, the separate answers to each of the most significant of the forty questions in the questionnaire by each of the six groups previously described.

The nature of the environment of the respective colleges, and the exact constituency of the sampling from each college (as to number, year in college, prevailing sex, and the chronological age) should be kept in mind when comparing these groups. The private underclassmen and the denominational upperclassmen groups are each largely composed of Sophomores and Juniors. Twenty per cent of the denominational upperclassmen are Seniors, while none of the private underclassmen are Seniors. The combined private underclassmen and the private Seniors are comparable to the denominational upperclassmen as to relative year-class percentages. The state university group is similar to the private underclassmen group, and the normal school group is more similar to the denominational Freshman group in relative year-class percentages. The total private college group (private underclassmen and private Seniors) is similar in year-class percentage constituency to the denominational upperclassmen group.

It is interesting to note throughout the questionnaire that the relation of the denominational Freshmen to the denominational upperclassmen, which is composed largely of Sophomores and Juniors, is similar to the relation of the private Seniors to the private underclassmen, which is composed largely of Sophomores and Juniors. In the former case the Freshmen are more unreservedly optimistic than the upperclassmen (37 Sophomores, 47 Juniors, and 21 Seniors) of the same institution. In the latter case the Seniors are more unreservedly optimistic than the lower upperclassmen (3 Freshmen, 42 Sophomores, and 11 Juniors) of the same institution. There are some interesting exceptions to this tendency, though it is fairly constant throughout the questionnaire.

Some of the most significant comparisons to be drawn from the quantitative results have been inserted after the questions to which they are relevant.

SEPARATE TABULATION IN PERCENTAGE AND NUMBER OF THE ANSWERS TO EACH QUESTION BY EACH OF THE GROUPS DESCRIBED BEFORE

1. How do you estimate the value of college life?
  - a) Very great value. Total average 79.5%.
 

P.S. 76% (26)	D.U. 81% (85)	S.U. 75% (49)
P.U. 61% (37)	D.F. 87% (109)	N.S. 92% (107)
  - b) Some value. Total average 17%.
 

P.S. 21% (7)	D.U. 19% (20)	S.U. 23% (15)
P.U. 27% (15)	D.F. 12% (15)	N.S. 1% (1)
  - c) Of little value. Total average 3.5%.
 

P.S. 3% (1)	D.U. 0% (0)	S.U. 2% (1)
P.U. 7% (4)	D.F. 2% (2)	N.S. 8% (8)
2. Will full justice ever come to the laboring man?
  - a) Certainly. Total average 19.2%.
 

P.S. 6% (2)	D.U. 26% (27)	S.U. 14% (9)
P.U. 4% (2)	D.F. 24% (30)	N.S. 42% (49)
  - b) Perhaps. Total average 60.1%.
 

P.S. 71% (24)	D.U. 51% (54)	S.U. 60% (39)
P.U. 71% (40)	D.F. 60% (74)	N.S. 47% (55)
  - c) No. Total average 20.7%.
 

P.S. 24% (8)	D.U. 23% (24)	S.U. 26% (17)
P.U. 25% (14)	D.F. 18% (22)	N.S. 10% (12)

It is evident from the responses to this question that the denominational school and the normal school are the most optimistic about the future status of the workingman. The private school and the state school are very conservative about their hopes for the coming of justice to the workingman.

3. What do you think of the government of the United States?

a) Best in the world. Total average 31.8%.

P.S. 6% (2)	D.U. 34% (36)	S.U. 26% (17)
P.U. 5% (3)	D.F. 53% (66)	N.S. 66% (77)

b) Fair. Total average 64.7%.

P.S. 91% (31)	D.U. 66% (69)	S.U. 69% (45)
P.U. 82% (46)	D.F. 46% (58)	N.S. 34% (39)

c) Very poor. Total average 3.5%.

P.S. 3% (1)	D.U. 0% (0)	S.U. 5% (3)
P.U. 13% (7)	D.F. 1% (1)	N.S. 0% (0)

The normal school is considerably above the other groups in its opinion that the government of the United States is the "best in the world." The denominational school runs a close second, while the private school and the state school have a large relative percentage of the opinion that the government is "very poor." The Freshmen of the denominational school show more optimism on this subject than do the upperclassmen.

4. How long do you expect to live?

a) Over eighty. Total average 27.2%.

P.S. 18% (6)	D.U. 33% (35)	S.U. 22% (14)
P.U. 14% (8)	D.F. 38% (47)	N.S. 39% (45)

b) Over sixty. Total average 52.4%.

P.S. 53% (18)	D.U. 55% (58)	S.U. 68% (44)
P.U. 46% (26)	D.F. 52% (65)	N.S. 40% (46)

c) Over forty. Total average 20.3%.

P.S. 29% (10)	D.U. 11% (12)	S.U. 10% (7)
P.U. 39% (22)	D.F. 10% (12)	N.S. 21% (25)

It is interesting to note that the pessimism (or conservatism) evidenced in answer to this question conforms to characteristic group response to other questions.

5. Do you think there is more happiness than sorrow in the world?

a) Yes. Total average 42.0%.

P.S. 27% (9)	D.U. 49% (51)	S.U. 49% (32)
P.U. 16% (9)	D.F. 51% (64)	N.S. 60% (70)

- b) Equally balanced. Total average 35.2%:  
 P.S. 41% (14)      D.U. 40% (42)      S.U. 29% (19)  
 P.U. 34% (19)      D.F. 36% (45)      N.S. 31% (36)
- c) No. Total average 22.8%.  
 P.S. 32% (11)      D.U. 11% (12)      S.U. 22% (14)  
 P.U. 50% (28)      D.F. 13% (16)      N.S. 9% (10)

The most outstanding observation from the results of this question is the large difference between the normal school and the private school on the "no" response. The difference is also evident in the other responses that the private school thinks there is much more sorrow in the world than does the normal school. The denominational school and the state school are also relatively more optimistic about the amount of happiness in the world than the private school.

6. Do you consider the present educational system highly efficient?

- a) Yes. Total average 8.8%.  
 P.S. 3% (1)      D.U. 7% (7)      S.U. 11% (7)  
 P.U. 0% (0)      D.F. 20% (25)      N.S. 12% (14)
- b) Moderately efficient. Total average 81.0%.  
 P.S. 82% (28)      D.U. 87% (91)      S.U. 79% (51)  
 P.U. 84% (47)      D.F. 74% (92)      N.S. 81% (94)
- c) Very inefficient. Total average 10.3%.  
 P.S. 15% (5)      D.U. 6% (7)      S.U. 10% (7)  
 P.U. 16% (9)      D.F. 6% (8)      N.S. 7% (8)
7. What do you think of your school paper?
- a) Splendid. Total average 21.8%.  
 P.S. 6% (2)      D.U. 27% (28)      S.U. 29% (19)  
 P.U. 13% (7)      D.F. 42% (53)      N.S. 15% (17)
- b) Ordinary. Total average 69.2%.  
 P.S. 71% (24)      D.U. 69% (72)      S.U. 68% (44)  
 P.U. 73% (41)      D.F. 57% (72)      N.S. 78% (91)
- c) Poor. Total average 9.0%.  
 P.S. 23% (8)      D.U. 4% (5)      S.U. 3% (2)  
 P.U. 14% (8)      D.F. 1% (2)      N.S. 7% (8)

The characteristic critical attitude of the private college may influence what seems to be a pessimistic response to this question.

8. What success do you expect to make of your life?

- a) Extraordinary. Total average 33.8%.  
 P.S. 29% (10)      D.U. 26% (27)      S.U. 39% (25)  
 P.U. 25% (14)      D.F. 51% (64)      N.S. 34% (39)

## b) Ordinary. Total average 63.8%.

P.S. 68% (23)	D.U. 73% (77)	S.U. 57% (37)
P.U. 70% (39)	D.F. 49% (62)	N.S. 66% (77)

## c) Poor. Total average 2.3%.

P.S. 3% (1)	D.U. 1% (1)	S.U. 4% (3)
P.U. 5% (3)	D.F. 0% (0)	N.S. 0% (0)

The Freshmen of the denominational university are much more confident of their success in life than are the upperclassmen of the same university.

## 10. How do you rank yourself intellectually as compared with your fellows?

## a) Superior. Total average 18.8%.

P.S. 27% (9)	D.U. 19% (20)	S.U. 29% (19)
P.U. 16% (9)	D.F. 9% (11)	N.S. 13% (15)

## b) Ordinary. Total average 78.5%.

P.S. 73% (25)	D.U. 80% (84)	S.U. 68% (44)
P.U. 79% (44)	D.F. 88% (105)	N.S. 83% (96)

## c) Inferior. Total average 2.7%.

P.S. 0% (0)	D.U. 1% (1)	S.U. 3% (2)
P.U. 5% (3)	D.F. 3% (3)	N.S. 4% (5)

The Freshmen of the denominational group rate themselves lower intellectually than do the upperclassmen of the same school. There is a slight tendency for the private school and the state school to rate themselves higher on the intellectual scale than the other two types of institutions. This is indicative of an attitude of intellectual sophistication known to be characteristic of the state university and the private college.

## 11. What kind of a future do you see in store for your country?

## a) Very bright. Total average 31.9%

P.S. 12% (4)	D.U. 31% (33)	S.U. 39% (25)
P.U. 18% (10)	D.F. 42% (52)	N.S. 50% (58)

## b) Fair. Total average 57.2%.

P.S. 77% (26)	D.U. 60% (63)	S.U. 55% (36)
P.U. 63% (35)	D.F. 48% (60)	N.S. 41% (47)

## c) Disastrous. Total average 10.9%.

P.S. 11% (4)	D.U. 9% (9)	S.U. 6% (4)
P.U. 19% (11)	D.F. 10% (12)	N.S. 9% (11)

All of the groups, especially the denominational and the normal school groups, are more optimistic about the future of the country than the private school group. This may be due to a critical conservatism characteristic of the private school group rather than an

excess of pessimism, although there is some evidence of the latter being true.

12. How would you estimate your share of good fortune as compared with the average?

- a) More than. Total average 39.0%.
- |               |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| P.S. 56% (19) | D.U. 34% (36) | S.U. 40% (26) |
| P.U. 54% (30) | D.F. 25% (31) | N.S. 25% (29) |
- b) Equal. Total average 56.0%.
- |               |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| P.S. 44% (15) | D.U. 61% (64) | S.U. 54% (35) |
| P.U. 39% (22) | D.F. 68% (85) | N.S. 70% (80) |
- c) Less than. Total average 5.0%.
- |             |             |             |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| P.S. 0% (0) | D.U. 5% (5) | S.U. 6% (4) |
| P.U. 7% (4) | D.F. 7% (8) | N.S. 5% (6) |

13. What about the future of war?

- a) It will be abolished. Total average 17.7%.
- |              |               |               |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| P.S. 18% (6) | D.U. 29% (31) | S.U. 17% (11) |
| P.U. 5% (3)  | D.F. 18% (23) | N.S. 19% (22) |
- b) It will decrease. Total average 52.5%.
- |               |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| P.S. 53% (18) | D.U. 50% (52) | S.U. 49% (32) |
| P.U. 48% (27) | D.F. 54% (68) | N.S. 61% (71) |
- c) It will continue more horrible than ever. Total average 29.8%.
- |               |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| P.S. 29% (10) | D.U. 21% (22) | S.U. 34% (22) |
| P.U. 47% (26) | D.F. 28% (35) | N.S. 20% (23) |

The opinion of the private underclassmen regarding the future of war is characteristically pessimistic.

14. What do you think of the morals of modern youth?

- a) On the improvement. Total average 30.8%.
- |               |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| P.S. 41% (14) | D.U. 29% (30) | S.U. 26% (17) |
| P.U. 16% (9)  | D.F. 26% (32) | N.S. 47% (55) |
- b) About the same as ever. Total average 61.0%.
- |               |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| P.S. 56% (19) | D.U. 64% (67) | S.U. 65% (42) |
| P.U. 75% (42) | D.F. 62% (78) | N.S. 44% (51) |
- c) On the decline. Total average 8.2%.
- |             |               |              |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| P.S. 3% (1) | D.U. 7% (7)   | S.U. 9% (6)  |
| P.U. 9% (5) | D.F. 12% (15) | N.S. 9% (10) |

The Seniors of the private school seem much more unanimous in their opinion that the morals of modern youth are on the improvement than are the other classmen of the same school. The normal school leads the other schools in believing that morals are on the improvement, while the state school and the denominational school respond about the same.

## 15. What do you think of the success of married life in America?

## a) Very successful. Total average 4.8%.

P.S. 3% (1)	D.U. 3% (3)	S.U. 8% (5)
P.U. 2% (1)	D.F. 10% (12)	N.S. 3% (3)

## b) Moderately successful. Total average 81.0%.

P.S. 85% (29)	D.U. 93% (98)	S.U. 80% (52)
P.U. 71% (40)	D.F. 75% (94)	N.S. 82% (95)

## c) Generally a failure. Total average 14.2%.

P.S. 12% (4)	D.U. 4% (4)	S.U. 12% (8)
P.U. 27% (15)	D.F. 15% (19)	N.S. 15% (18)

## 17. What do you think of the future of the World Court?

## a) Eventually successful. Total average 56.0%.

P.S. 47% (16)	D.U. 70% (73)	S.U. 51% (33)
P.U. 37% (21)	D.F. 53% (66)	N.S. 74% (86)

## b) Merely an experiment. Total average 36.0%.

P.S. 41% (14)	D.U. 26% (27)	S.U. 35% (23)
P.U. 54% (30)	D.F. 43% (53)	N.S. 21% (24)

## c) Probably hopeless. Total average 8.0%.

P.S. 12% (4)	D.U. 4% (5)	S.U. 14% (9)
P.U. 9% (5)	D.F. 4% (5)	N.S. 5% (6)

The normal school group, which probably knows the least about the World Court, is the most optimistic regarding its success, while the private college group, who probably knows more about the World Court than either of the other groups, is the most pessimistic about its success. This principle does not hold with the denominational upperclassmen and the denominational Freshmen, for one would suppose that the Freshmen would be less familiar with the World Court than the upperclassmen, while the latter seem considerably more optimistic about the success of the World Court than the Freshmen. The characteristic relation between the denominational upperclassmen and the denominational Freshmen is just reversed in this question.

## 18. What do you consider is the natural bent of human nature?

## a) The balance is toward the good. Total average 61.2%.

P.S. 62% (21)	D.U. 68% (71)	S.U. 69% (45)
P.U. 34% (19)	D.F. 67% (83)	N.S. 67% (78)

## b) Equally divided. Total average 33.0%.

P.S. 35% (12)	D.U. 29% (31)	S.U. 25% (16)
P.U. 50% (28)	D.F. 27% (33)	N.S. 32% (37)

## c) Toward the bad. Total average 5.8%.

P.S. 3% (1)	D.U. 3% (3)	S.U. 6% (4)
P.U. 16% (9)	D.F. 6% (8)	N.S. 1% (1)

19. How do you think the present economic evils will be remedied?

a) Rapid change for the better. Total average 11.8%.

P.S. 0% (0)	D.U. 12% (13)	S.U. 21% (14)
-------------	---------------	---------------

P.U. 5% (3)	D.F. 16% (20)	N.S. 17% (20)
-------------	---------------	---------------

b) Very slow evolutionary improvement. Total average 83.8%.

P.S. 91% (31)	D.U. 87% (91)	S.U. 77% (50)
---------------	---------------	---------------

P.U. 82% (46)	D.F. 83% (102)	N.S. 83% (96)
---------------	----------------	---------------

c) Remedy hopeless. Total average 4.4%.

P.S. 9% (3)	D.U. 1% (1)	S.U. 2% (1)
-------------	-------------	-------------

P.U. 13% (7)	D.F. 1% (1)	N.S. 0% (0)
--------------	-------------	-------------

The state school seems to be more optimistic about the remedy of economic evils than the other schools. The private college is more pessimistic about the hopefulness of a remedy for the economic evils than either of the other schools.

The next series of questions is of a more subjective nature than the previous series. The attempt is made to obtain indications of more subjective personality factors for purposes of comparison between the different groups, and for purposes of correlation with the answers given to the more objective questions of the previous series.

21. Does your characteristic mood tend toward bouyancy?

a) Yes. Total average 27.5%.

P.S. 24% (10)	D.U. 33% (35)	S.U. 29% (19)
---------------	---------------	---------------

P.U. 27% (15)	D.F. 32% (39)	N.S. 20% (23)
---------------	---------------	---------------

b) Mixed. Total average 65.3%.

P.S. 73% (30)	D.U. 65% (68)	S.U. 65% (42)
---------------	---------------	---------------

P.U. 60% (34)	D.F. 66% (81)	N.S. 63% (73)
---------------	---------------	---------------

c) Depression. Total average 7.2%.

P.S. 3% (1)	D.U. 2% (2)	S.U. 6% (4)
-------------	-------------	-------------

P.U. 13% (7)	D.F. 2% (3)	N.S. 17% (20)
--------------	-------------	---------------

The normal school shows the largest percentage whose characteristic mood tends toward depression, which is contrary to their most common response to other questions.

22. Do you tend to have blue spells?

a) Seldom or never. Total average 29.2%.

P.S. 29% (10)	D.U. 38% (40)	S.U. 27% (17)
---------------	---------------	---------------

P.U. 23% (13)	D.F. 32% (40)	N.S. 26% (29)
---------------	---------------	---------------

b) Occasionally. Total average 57.3%.

P.S. 50% (17)	D.U. 57% (60)	S.U. 59% (38)
---------------	---------------	---------------

P.U. 55% (31)	D.F. 60% (75)	N.S. 63% (73)
---------------	---------------	---------------

c) Often. Total average 13.5%.

P.S. 21% (7)	D.U. 5% (5)	S.U. 14% (9)
--------------	-------------	--------------

P.U. 22% (12)	D.F. 8% (9)	N.S. 11% (13)
---------------	-------------	---------------

The religious emphasis of the denominational university may be a causal factor in their relative freedom from blue spells.

23. What proportion of your classes do you thoroughly enjoy?

a) Most of them. Total average 54.5%.

P.S. 44% (15)	D.U. 62% (65)	S.U. 42% (27)
P.U. 43% (24)	D.F. 65% (81)	N.S. 71% (82)

b) Some of them. Total average 40.5%.

P.S. 44% (15)	D.U. 34% (36)	S.U. 55% (36)
P.U. 48% (27)	D.F. 33% (40)	N.S. 29% (34)

c) Very few or none. Total average 5.0%.

P.S. 12% (4)	D.U. 4% (4)	S.U. 3% (2)
P.U. 9% (5)	D.F. 2% (2)	N.S. 0% (0)

The students of the private college seem to enjoy relatively few of their classes, even though their opportunities for enjoying their classes should be much greater.

24. What is the tendency of your thoughts when you are alone?

a) Pleasant or happy frame of mind. Total average 37.7%.

P.S. 35% (12)	D.U. 42% (44)	S.U. 43% (26)
P.U. 20% (11)	D.F. 46% (57)	N.S. 40% (47)

b) Thinking of almost anything with varying feeling. Total average 55.5%.

P.S. 59% (20)	D.U. 51% (54)	S.U. 54% (33)
P.U. 64% (36)	D.F. 52% (65)	N.S. 53% (61)

c) Depressive and gloomy. Total average 6.8%.

P.S. 6% (2)	D.U. 7% (7)	S.U. 3% (2)
P.U. 16% (9)	D.F. 2% (3)	N.S. 7% (8)

A subjective cause for social attitudes may be indicated by such a question as this.

29. Do you ever experience the "what's the use in living" attitude?

a) Rarely or never. Total average 54.7%.

P.S. 41% (14)	D.U. 59% (62)	S.U. 71% (46)
P.U. 44% (25)	D.F. 55% (68)	N.S. 58% (67)

b) Occasionally. Total average 34.8%.

P.S. 47% (16)	D.U. 35% (37)	S.U. 20% (13)
P.U. 36% (20)	D.F. 39% (49)	N.S. 32% (37)

c) Frequently. Total average 10.5%.

P.S. 12% (4)	D.U. 6% (6)	S.U. 9% (6)
P.U. 20% (11)	D.F. 6% (7)	N.S. 10% (12)

The large difference between the private college and the state university may be partially due to the "intellectual spirit" at the

private college, which takes the place of the strong "college spirit" at the state university.

31. How easily do you overcome disappointment?

a) Rally immediately. Total average 11.0%.

P.S. 9% (3)	D.U. 8% (8)	S.U. 9% (6)
P.U. 0% (0)	D.F. 19% (23)	N.S. 20% (23)

b) With reasonable ease. Total average 78.0%.

P.S. 88% (30)	D.U. 79% (83)	S.U. 82% (53)
P.U. 82% (46)	D.F. 78% (91)	N.S. 64% (74)

c) It bothers me for a long time. Total average 11.0%.

P.S. 3% (1)	D.U. 13% (14)	S.U. 9% (6)
P.U. 18% (10)	D.F. 8% (10)	N.S. 16% (19)

32. Do you ever feel that you will be unable to meet the demands of business and social life?

a) Never. Total average 29.0%.

P.S. 41% (14)	D.U. 27% (28)	S.U. 31% (20)
P.U. 25% (14)	D.F. 33% (41)	N.S. 17% (20)

b) Occasionally. Total average 62.0%.

P.S. 53% (18)	D.U. 67% (71)	S.U. 60% (39)
P.U. 61% (34)	D.F. 59% (72)	N.S. 72% (83)

c) Very often. Total average 9.0%.

P.S. 6% (2)	D.U. 6% (6)	S.U. 9% (6)
P.U. 14% (8)	D.F. 8% (10)	N.S. 11% (13)

34. Is your reaction to situations, people, and things generally

a) Optimistic? Total average 36.4%.

P.S. 29% (10)	D.U. 43% (45)	S.U. 38% (25)
P.U. 27% (15)	D.F. 50% (62)	N.S. 31% (36)

b) Variable? Total average 58.3%.

P.S. 65% (22)	D.U. 52% (55)	S.U. 60% (39)
P.U. 59% (33)	D.F. 48% (59)	N.S. 66% (76)

c) Pessimistic? Total average 5.3%.

P.S. 6% (2)	D.U. 5% (5)	S.U. 2% (1)
P.U. 14% (8)	D.F. 2% (2)	N.S. 3% (4)

35. How well do you enjoy college life?

a) Exceedingly well. Total average 55.0%.

P.S. 62% (21)	D.U. 55% (58)	S.U. 54% (35)
P.U. 43% (24)	D.F. 63% (78)	N.S. 53% (62)

b) Fairly well. Total average 41.5%.

P.S. 29% (10)	D.U. 42% (44)	S.U. 44% (29)
P.U. 52% (29)	D.F. 35% (44)	N.S. 47% (54)

c) Not at all. Total average 3.5%.

P.S. 9% (3)	D.U. 3% (3)	S.U. 2% (1)
P.U. 5% (3)	D.F. 2% (2)	N.S. 0% (0)

## 36. Do you ever seriously consider committing suicide?

## a) Never. Total average 82.5%.

P.S. 79% (27)	D.U. 85% (89)	S.U. 88% (57)
P.U. 68% (38)	D.F. 86% (108)	N.S. 89% (103)

## b) Occasionally. Total average 15.3%.

P.S. 15% (5)	D.U. 14% (14)	S.U. 12% (8)
P.U. 27% (15)	D.F. 15% (18)	N.S. 11% (13)

## c) Often. Total average 2.2%.

P.S. 6% (2)	D.U. 2% (2)	S.U. 0% (0)
P.U. 5% (3)	D.F. 0% (0)	N.S. 0% (0)

It is interesting to note that only 2 per cent of the entire group of 554 students (a sampling from four different colleges) often seriously considered committing suicide, and that 82.5 per cent never seriously considered committing suicide.

## 40. How much do you see in life worth living for?

## a) Almost everything. Total average 59.3%.

P.S. 58% (15)	D.U. 68% (71)	S.U. 51% (33)
P.U. 36% (20)	D.F. 77% (98)	N.S. 66% (77)

## b) Quite a few things. Total average 36.8%.

P.S. 38% (10)	D.U. 32% (33)	S.U. 47% (31)
P.U. 48% (27)	D.F. 23% (29)	N.S. 33% (38)

## c) Hardly anything. Total average 3.8%.

P.S. 4% (1)	D.U. 0% (0)	S.U. 2% (1)
P.U. 16% (9)	D.F. 0% (0)	N.S. 1% (1)

The relative group percentages in this question are similar to the characteristic responses of the respective groups throughout the questionnaire. The religious home training of the denominational university students may be one of the chief causal factors in their seeming to see more in life "worth living for" than the other groups.

## GROSS QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The quantitative results of the entire questionnaire considered as a unit were obtained by a convenient scoring device enabling a gross score indication of the degree of optimism evidenced on the entire questionnaire. The alternate answers were scored 1, 2, and 3, according to the degree of optimism or pessimism evidenced. The more optimistic answers were scored 1, the more pessimistic or intermediate answers were scored 2, and the most pessimistic answers

were scored 3. Hence a small gross score obtained by summing the separate scores for each question in the entire questionnaire would indicate a general tendency toward optimism, and a large gross score would indicate a general tendency toward pessimism.

A comparison of the average gross scores of the separate groups and of the entire 554 cases filling out the questionnaire may be made from the following table.

Group	Number	Average	Sigma of Average
1. Denominational Freshmen . . . . .	123	64.7	.6
2. Normal school . . . . .	116	65.3	.6
3. Denominational upperclassmen . . . . .	106	66.2	.6
4. State university . . . . .	65	67.6	.9
5. Private underclassmen . . . . .	111	72.7	.4
6. Private Seniors . . . . .	33	73.2	.9
Total . . . . .	554	67.9	.....

Each of the foregoing differences is larger than its standard deviation except the difference between the normal school and the denominational Freshmen, and between the private underclassmen and the private Seniors. The largest difference is between the private Seniors and the denominational Freshmen, which is 8.5; the standard deviation of this difference is 1. There is a slight difference between the state university average and the averages of the denominational university and the normal school, but there is quite a significant difference between the average for the private college and those for each of the other schools. This comparatively more depressed nature of the private college students presents a very interesting problem as to probable causes and effects.

The differences between the responses of the different groups to each of the separate questions are really more significant than this average gross score indication of difference. The difference in response to some of the separate questions is more significant than others, and this difference indicated in the more significant questions may be canceled out by an inverse difference on some other questions when the average gross scores are considered alone as an indication of the tendency of the group in question.

THE RELATION BETWEEN PERSONALITY TRAITS AND  
SOCIAL ATTITUDES

The relationship between the answers given to the more subjective questions and the answers given to the more objective questions may be most accurately studied from a consideration of the questions separately. A gross undifferentiated consideration of all the subjective questions with all of the objective questions shows that the degree of optimism or elation in the entire group of subjective questions correlated with the degree of optimism in the entire group of objective questions gives a coefficient of .580, P.E., .024. The subjective states measured by this questionnaire have a tendency to be associated with similar social attitudes with a gross calculation. There are some interesting exceptions to be found in the separate questions.

There is also a tendency for the groups as a whole to respond with the same degree of optimism to the subjective questions as to the objective questions. This is brought out by the fact that the total of all scores for the subjective group of questions was nearly equal to the same total for the objective group of questions.<sup>2</sup>

## GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The attempt has been made to obtain some objective data on the characteristics of different types of colleges in regard to optimism and pessimism in social attitudes and personality traits. The data have been presented, but they are subject to some of the many criticisms of the questionnaire method. However, the questionnaire results have been supplemented by an experiential knowledge of each college group studied, which contributes to a valid interpretation of the quantitative results.

I have included in my conclusions only those of a more general nature. The more specific conclusions may be obtained from the quantitative data. Many interesting problems are suggested from a study of the quantitative responses of the different groups in relation to their respective college environments, which are necessarily omitted in the scope of this presentation.

<sup>2</sup> The sum total of the scores on the objective group of questions was only 272 points different from the sum total of the scores given on the subjective group of questions for 345 cases.

The following conclusions may be drawn from this investigation if they are considered only in the light of the limitations of the data presented:

1. Students from different college environments differ greatly in their characteristic social attitudes and personality traits.

2. The ranking of the institutions studied, from the most optimistic and elative to the most pessimistic and depressive, as measured by the gross scores on the entire questionnaire, are as follows: (1) normal school, (2) denominational school, (3) state university, and (4) private college.

3. The Freshman class of the denominational university is generally more pessimistic in social attitude and more elative in personality traits than are the upperclassmen of the same institution.

4. The Seniors of the private college are more optimistic in their social attitudes and more elative in their personality traits than are the Sophomores and Juniors of the same institution.

5. There is very little evidence for a serious pessimism on the part of most of the college groups studied. The percentage rank of the institutions in their relative tendencies to seriously consider committing suicide from the largest percentage of students who seriously consider committing suicide in order to the institution with the smallest percentage of students who seriously consider committing suicide are (1) private college, (2) denominational university, (3) state university, and (4) normal school.

6. A group which has a certain characteristic response to social-attitude questions tends to have the same characteristic response to personality-trait questions. Personality traits of elation and depression in this questionnaire correlate .580, P.E., .024, with the social attitudes of optimism and pessimism.

7. There seems to be a positive relationship between the degree of intellectual sophistication present in a college environment and the degree of pessimism in social attitudes and the degree of depression in personality traits.

8. There seems to be a positive correlation between the amount of naïve unsophisticated enthusiasms present on a college campus and the degree of optimism present in social attitudes and the degree of elation shown in personality traits.

## AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF "SOCIAL FACILITATION" AS AFFECTED BY "INTELLIGENCE"<sup>1</sup>

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON  
University of Minnesota

### ABSTRACT

This paper summarizes an experimental study of the effect of the presence of a group upon the quantity and quality of different types of work by individuals varying in general "intelligence." Individuals and groups working under conditions of solitude and of the presence of a group were compared as to changes in amount and accuracy of work. The groups differed widely in intelligence. In general, the presence of the group acted as a facilitating factor. The normal group (I.Q. of 100) was more responsive to this influence than was the brighter group, which was often definitely inhibited under these conditions. Work done in the presence of the group tended to be slightly more accurate; this result was more characteristic of the brighter group. Variability in amount and in accuracy was greater in the group situations; this also was more evident in the case of the brighter group. Generally, those subjects who worked faster were more accurate. The fastest workers tended to show the greatest increase in amount when subjected to the influence of the group.

This paper presents the results of an experimental study of the effects of the presence of a group on the quantity and quality of individual work, when the external stimuli to rivalry were minimized and when the subjects varied in intelligence. It is evident that the change in amount and accuracy of work which is due to the presence or absence of the group, as such, cannot be entirely isolated from that due to rivalry or competition with one's previous performance. This study measures the change only after reasonable precautions had been taken to prevent or minimize rivalry. Allport has analyzed several phases of the supplementary stimulation which occurs when the members of a group are engaged on the same task but are not in conscious competition.<sup>2</sup> Whatever effect "the sight and sound of others' working" may have as a spur to effort is condi-

<sup>1</sup> This study was presented as a Master's thesis at the University of Minnesota, 1927-28.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology*, 1924. See chap. xi, especially the introductory and concluding sections. A bibliography of the studies in this field is appended to this article.

tioned by the habits of work and the habitual patterns of response to the presence of other people possessed by the component members of the group; these two complex factors are additional variables which have not yet been controlled successfully in an experiment.

The subjects were Senior boys from the University of Minnesota High School. The brighter group consisted of five boys aged sixteen with I.Q.'s ranging from 125 to 130; the normal group was composed of five boys aged seventeen with I.Q.'s ranging from 100 to 105. These I.Q.'s were based on four intelligence tests previously given to all pupils in the school. The two groups chosen represented the mental extremes of the Senior class.

The first task consisted in working out a set of arithmetical problems in the four fundamental processes—addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. The method of scoring used here records the number of figures written in the process of solving the problems.<sup>3</sup> The number of incorrect figures written down was taken as a measure of inaccuracy. All processes were not of equal difficulty, but it appeared that this factor was equalized in each test owing to the large number of processes involved. Eight tests, each of five minutes duration, were given. The instructions were:

On the other side of this sheet are some simple problems in arithmetic. You are to work as fast as you can from left to right in each row, skipping no problems. Do not go back to any problem after you have left it. Leave all remainders in division problems as remainders, not fractions. You are to work as fast as you can and as well as you can for five minutes until I say "stop." Turn your paper over when I say "ready." Ready. Go. Do as well as you can. (In the tests taken with the group the following was added before the starting signal: "Pay attention only to your own work and do not talk or count out loud. Do not race with your neighbor.")

The second task consisted in canceling *a*'s in a sheet of pied small type letters. Each day's work began at a different place on the sheet. The number overlooked was the error score (no non-*a*'s were marked), and the number canceled was the quantity score. Again there were eight five-minute tests. The directions were essentially the same as for the previous task.

<sup>3</sup> Four methods of scoring were tried, and this one was chosen as being the most dependable. As far as could be ascertained from the sheets, no subject utilized subjective short cuts.

The third series of tasks consisted of sorting marbles of five colors—red, yellow, green, blue, and purple—into four compartments of a box by the use of one hand only (blue and purple were put into the same compartment). The total number of marbles sorted was the quantity score, and the number put into the wrong places was the measure of errors. Eight tests of five minutes each were given with instructions similar to the previous series.

The trials were given in midafternoon and were one week apart. The "alone" and "together" tasks for the brighter and normal groups were alternated respectively ATTAATTA and TAATT AAT.<sup>4</sup> The subjects were taken in rotation in the individual tests on the successive days to partially equalize the practice effect involved in taking two tests together without a rest period between. An "A" test and a "T" test were given each test day. For the first two types of tests the subjects were seated about four feet apart in chairs with desk-arms. In the marble-sorting tests they sat at long laboratory desks with no boy facing another. The experimenter was absent from the room from the beginning to the end of each test. A brief summary of the main results follows.

All correlations are derived by the rank order formula. Because of the few cases involved, the probability of error in the coefficients is great, and the conclusions are tentative. They are in substantial agreement with many of the previous studies. Below are given several tables which summarize the results for the quantity and for the quality scores for each group separately and then for all the subjects regardless of the group to which they belonged. In addition to the means and coefficients of relative variability, the tests for the statistical significance of differences are given in Table I.<sup>5</sup>

There was a greater average amount of work done in the collective situation than in isolation by both groups singly and by the

<sup>4</sup> "A" and "T" refer to tasks given individually and in the group respectively.

<sup>5</sup> The coefficient of variability (C.V.) equals  $100 \times \text{standard deviation of the distribution} / \text{the mean}$ . The  $\sigma$  or standard error of the difference equals  $\sqrt{\sigma^2 \text{mean}_1 + \sigma^2 \text{mean}_2 - 2r AT \sigma \text{mean}_1 \sigma \text{mean}_2}$ . Conservative practice requires that the ratio of the difference between the means to the standard error of the difference shall be not less than 3.00 for a difference to be regarded as "significant." The quantity score is the measure of the amount of work done; the quality score is the ratio of total errors to quantity score, a measure of relative accuracy. Thus a high quality score means inaccurate work.

TABLE I

	SUPERIOR GROUP		NORMAL GROUP		COMBINED GROUPS	
	Alone	Together	Alone	Together	Alone	Together
	Quantity Scores—Arithmetic Tasks					
Mean Score.....	119.15	121.80	109.05	115.80	114.10	118.80
C.V.....	15	15	19	24	17	20
Mean Diff.....	2.65		6.75		4.7	
Diff.-S.E.....	8.8		2.2		3.0	
	Quantity Scores—Cancellation					
Mean Score.....	130.25	107.75	138.9	139.9	134.58	123.82
C.V.....	22	25	16	12	19	22
Mean Diff.....	-22.50		1.00		-10.76	
Diff.-S.E.....	4.1		.23		2.9	
	Quantity Scores—Marble Sorting					
Mean Score.....	225.20	226.40	244.19	256.50	234.64	239.78
C.V.....	8	11	5	6	8	9
Mean Diff.....	1.20		12.31		5.14	
Diff.-S.E.....	.22		1.6		.99	
	Quality Scores—Arithmetic					
Mean Score.....	3.00	2.39	8.32	7.99	5.66	5.17
C.V.....	52	53	106	96	122	120
Mean Diff.....	— .61		— .33		— .49	
Diff.-S.E.....	.87		.19		.30	
	Quality Scores—Cancellation					
Mean Score.....	2.71	3.25	2.45	2.38	2.58	2.62
C.V.....	52	77	83	81	68	81
Mean Diff.....	.54		— .07		.24	
Diff.-S.E.....	.86		.09		.45	
	Quality Scores—Marble Sorting					
Mean Score.....	2.08	1.75	.50	.78	1.38	1.32
C.V.....	59	86	56	83	88	106
Mean Diff.....	— .33		.28		— .06	
Diff.-S.E.....	5.5		1.6		.16	

combined group in the arithmetic tasks. The brighter and combined groups have significant differences. The absolute difference is greater for the normal group, but greater variability among its members reduces the reliability. The brighter and the combined groups show definite and reliable differences in favor of amount of work done in the cancellation tasks alone, and the normal group a slight excess in the work together. All groups show an excess number of marbles sorted under the group influence; none of the differences are significant, but the absolute difference is large in the case of the normal group. We may contrast the performance of the two groups without regard to statistical significance of differences by stating that when the differences found are in favor of the work done with the group, the brighter group reveals this trend less strongly than the normal group; and when the differences found are in favor of work done in isolation, the brighter group reveals this tendency more strikingly.

Variability in amount tends to be somewhat greater in the tasks done under the influence of the group. For the brighter group this difference averages to 2.00; for the normal group, .67; and for the combined group, 2.33.

The quality scores tend to be lower, that is, relative accuracy tends to be greater in the work done in the presence of the group, although the differences are not statistically significant. This is uniformly true for the arithmetic tasks. In cancellation this is true to a slight extent for the normal group, but the brighter and the combined groups reveal greater accuracy in the individual situations; in the case of marble sorting the opposite trend appears. Since trends are indicative in the absence of significant differences, we may observe a slight tendency for work done under the influence of the group to be more accurate; the brighter group reveals this tendency more strongly.

There is a general tendency for variability among the members of the groups in accuracy of work to be greater in the tasks performed in the "T" situation. The brighter group reveals this trend clearly, but the normal group has only a slightly greater average C.V. under these conditions. This greater variability is more pronounced for each group in the marble sorting task.

Certain other tentative conclusions may be formulated from the data of this experiment. Some of these will be set forth briefly without presenting the figures from which they are derived. The correlation of the rank orders of the average scores of the several subjects in the individual and group tests gives a rough measure of the persistency of application of the subjects from test to test and of the extent to which they are affected by the different conditions of work; it does not distinguish the influence of these two factors nor does it indicate the magnitude of the change. The superior group uniformly shows a high positive correlation between the tests alone and together (about .9); the normal group is likewise marked in all tasks except marble sorting where the coefficient is only .4. In the case of the quality scores it was found that the brighter group again had a correlation between the averages under the two conditions of about .9 except in arithmetic (.4); the normal group revealed a similarly high relation in all tasks except cancellation (.6). Thus the normal group tends to be slightly less distracted in its performance under conditions of social facilitation.

Comparisons between quantity and quality scores give conflicting results. In the tests taken in isolation the coefficients are negative and small for the brighter group except in cancellation (.9); for the normal group the coefficient is low and negative in arithmetic but positive and low in the other two tasks. In the tests taken in the presence of the group the brighter group reveals a high negative relation in cancellation but a low positive relation in the other tasks, while the normal group has small negative coefficients except in marble sorting (-.8). Generally, those subjects who worked rapidly worked accurately. The brighter group tended to reveal a slightly contrary tendency in the work under conditions designated by "T" and the normal group under conditions designated by "A."

The average amounts of work done and the average quality scores when working with the group were divided by the corresponding measure for each subject when he worked alone; these were designated the quantity and quality facilitation indexes. They were the best single measures known of social facilitation; but to some extent they penalized the fastest and most accurate workers.

In general there was a tendency for the subjects who did more

work with the group than alone to make relatively more errors when subjected to the influence of the presence of a group. For the superior group, however, this relation was negative in cancellation.

The relationships between degree of facilitation and total amount or accuracy of work are of considerable importance. The rank order correlation between the quantity facilitation index and the total average quantity score on all eight tasks in each series were obtained. There is a slight tendency for the fastest workers to be most stimulated in speed of work by the presence of the group. For the superior group the coefficients are, respectively: arithmetic, 0.0; marble sorting, .3; and cancellation, .6. The corresponding coefficients for the normal group were: in arithmetic, .9; marble sorting, .6; and cancellation, -.9. With the exception of this last reversal, the normal group reveals this tendency for the fastest workers to be most facilitated more definitely than does the other group. The relationships found between the quality facilitation index and the total average quality scores indicate that those subjects who make the greatest total number of errors tend also to be relatively less accurate in the work with the group. The brighter group reveals this trend to a greater extent, but the relationship in cancellation is again negative for the normal group.

Intelligence as measured by standard tests was the known differentiating factor on the basis of which these two groups were chosen. The experimental results did not, however, reveal large or entirely consistent differences between these two groups. *Nevertheless the normal group tended to respond more intensively to the stimuli offered by the presence of a group, while the brighter group tended to be inhibited by the same conditions. In accuracy of work, however, the brighter group was more favorably affected by the presence of the group than the members of the normal group.* The exact factors at work in making the brighter subjects somewhat less susceptible to stimulation by "the sight and sound of others' working" are unknown, partly because of the difficulty of isolating certain factors that were mentioned in the first paragraph of this paper. Consistency or uniformity of results obtained by different experimenters working independently should lend validity to any differences found. The results found in this study are in partial

agreement with those obtained by other workers in the field. The situation in this particular field of experimentation has not yet been summarized adequately in print. The foregoing italicized conclusions, if true, may be of great significance in the social and industrial organization of society.

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## THE ETHNOLOGIC VALUE OF THE *JESUIT RELATIONS*

HENRY S. SPALDING  
St. Mary's College, St. Mary, Kansas

### ABSTRACT

The *Jesuit Relations* constitute a very rich and much-neglected source of information concerning the life and culture of the North American Indians. The publications cover a period of 200 years, beginning in 1611, but the greater part of the material is found in the period 1632-73, when the *Relations* appeared annually. They were in French, Italian, and Latin, but in 1902 a complete and unified edition was published in seventy-three volumes. Many writers on Indian culture seem to be unaware of the existence of this important work.

What are the *Jesuit Relations*? Some years ago a teacher in the public schools of New York City entered a book store and asked a clerk for a copy of the *Jesuit Relations*. After a short delay the clerk replied that the supply was exhausted; but the teacher was not satisfied with the answer and applied to one of the managers. The latter looked over several files and then held a consultation with an expert on rare tomes. After giving considerable time to various books of reference, the expert finally asked the teacher whether she could not return to the store on the following day, promising her to examine carefully whether a copy of the book could be found.

"Madam," said the expert, when the teacher returned to the store two days later, "how much are you willing to pay for the volume?"

"Five dollars would be the highest I care to go. I have a brother who is a Jesuit, and I thought he would like to have the book."

"Well, if you had a million dollars, you might be able to buy a few copies of the *Jesuit Relations*, but not all of them."

He then explained to the applicant what were the *Jesuit Relations*.

When France began the conquest of what is now known as Canada, and the northern part of the United States, from the Atlantic seaboard to Minnesota and down the Mississippi to the Gulf

of Mexico, her explorers and trappers were accompanied by the Jesuit missionaries. Other missionaries there were, but the brunt of the work was carried on by the Jesuits. They not only accompanied the colonists, but went far beyond the vanguard of the settlements which crept slowly westward. And when the schemes of colonization failed and the fringe of civilization was close to Montreal, the Jesuits were hundreds of miles west, living with the savages and seeking to convert them to Christianity. In many instances the Jesuits were the first to meet the Indians, and were in a position to study their lives before they came in contact with the white man.

The Jesuit missionaries were highly educated men, most of them having taught in the colleges of Europe before departing for New France. They were trained to make observations and to report each year to their superiors the progress of their work, and to give a detailed account of their adventures and of the customs of the savages with whom they came in contact. These men wrote fascinating stories; not stories in the sense of fiction, but history that had all the attractiveness of thrilling romances. These accounts were known as the *Jesuit Relations*. They were read and reread by king and courtiers, by professors, students, and the general public; they became the best sellers of the day.

The *Relations* begin with the arrival of the Jesuits in New France in 1611 and cover a period of about two hundred years; but the greater part of the material is found in the reports from 1632 to 1673, when the *Relations* appeared annually.

The *Relations* were in French, in Italian, and in Latin, and consisted of the reports or copies of the reports sent by missionaries to their local superiors in Montreal and Quebec and forwarded by them to higher officials in Europe. The greater number of the original documents were in Rome and Paris, Montreal and Quebec. Portions had been printed and edited, but until 1902 there was no unified and complete edition. When, therefore, the expert in the New York store informed the teacher that a million dollars would be required to buy the *Relations*, he referred to the scattered original documents existing in many cities and in several languages.

It was owing to the energy and scholarship of Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, that the

*Relations* were published in seventy-three volumes. At the time of the undertaking it was doubted whether there would be a sale for so expensive a work; but the publishers, the Burrows Brothers Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, soon disposed of the entire edition of 750 sets. Each of the volumes is carefully annotated by the editor.

Of the value of the *Relations* as historical documents, Thwaites wrote:

The Jesuits had left the most highly civilized country of their times to plunge at once into the heart of the American wilderness, and attempt to win to the Christian faith the fiercest savages known to history. To gain these savages it was first necessary to know them intimately—their speech, their habits, their manner of thought, their strong points and their weak. These first students of the North American Indian were not only fitted for the undertaking, but none have since had better opportunity for its prosecution. They were explorers as well as priests. . . . The Jesuits performed a great service to mankind in publishing their annals, which are for historian, geographer, and ethnologist, among our first and best authorities.

Many of the *Relations* were written in Indian camps, amid a chaos of distraction. Insects innumerable tormented the journalists; they were immersed in scenes of squalor and degradation, overcome by fatigue and lack of proper sustenance, often suffering from wounds and disease, maltreated in a hundred ways by the hosts, who, at times, might properly be called jailers; and not seldom had savage superstition risen to such a height, that to be seen making a memorandum was certain to arouse the ferocious enmity of the band. . . . Never does the narrator descend to self-glorification, or dwell unnecessarily upon the details of his continual martyrdom; he never complains of his lot; but sets forth his experience in phrases the most matter of fact. We gain from his pages a vivid picture of life in the primeval forest, as he lived it; we seem to see him upon his long canoe journeys, squatted among his dusky fellows, working his passage at the paddles, and carrying cargoes upon the portage trail. Arrived at last at his journey's end, we find him vainly seeking for shelter in the squalid huts of the natives, with every man's hand against him, but his heart open to them all. . . . We seem to see the rising storm of opposition, invoked by the native medicine men. . . . We seem in the *Relations* to know the crafty savage, to measure him intellectually as well as physically, his inmost thoughts as well as open speech. . . . Few periods of history are so well illuminated as the French régime in North America. This we owe in large measure to the existence of the *Jesuit Relations*.<sup>1</sup>

In this article we are interested only in the social and ethnologic contents of the *Relations*. If ethnologic studies have not produced

<sup>1</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, I, 40-41.

the results that were claimed for them a generation ago, it is to a large extent owing to the too-ready acceptance of superficial surveys and reports. The missionaries were eminently qualified for their work as historians; they were early upon the field of investigation; they spent their lives in gathering the facts which they recorded. It was fortunate that so careful an editor as Reuben G. Thwaites became interested in collecting the vast amount of material which the Jesuit missionaries had garnered.

When the work of publishing the *Relations* was drawing to a close, the present writer had an interview with the editor in his office at the historical library in Madison, Wisconsin. There Mr. Thwaites explained that so extensive a collection would be of little value without a complete index, and how he had insisted with the publishers that a most detailed index be prepared. In this he succeeded, and the two large volumes of indexes with their numerous cross-references enable the student to find every detail of the subject matter. In the alphabetical arrangement of captions Cutter's *Rules for a Dictionary Catalogue* have been followed.

The richness of the material for the social student may be gathered by a cursory examination of the two volumes of indexes. For instance, under the caption of "Anthropology and Ethnology of the Indians," five pages are devoted to the enumeration of the topics. Allowing three references to a line and forty lines to a page, this would give six hundred separate references to these subjects. Again, the "Social and Economic Life of the Indians," with the bare enumerations of captions, embraces twenty-four pages, or fully 2,880 separate references. We select the following as examples of topics and the method of treating each subject.

#### MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Marriage and marriage customs: Compared to those of ancient Jews; marriage gives property rights; consanguinity restricts; not unusual between cousins; polygamy practiced [with seventy-three references]; causes of polygamy; allowable to marry two sisters at once; abolished by Kiskakons; monogamy practiced; freedom and instability [forty-two references]; means of rendering stable; rendered stable.

Courtship: Presents given bride's father; rude method of wooing; conducted at night; betrothal denoted by manner of wearing hair; punishment for

breaking betrothal; love philters; lover lodges in betrothed's cabin; manner of celebrating nuptials; custom introduced by Jesuits.

Marriage relations: continence in [nine references]; advent of children gives household rights; privileges of Natches princess; Natches lend wives to friends; punishment for breaking conjugal ties; husband sends presents to wife's father at her death. Conditions of second marriage [seven references].

Divorce: infrequent among Montagnais, among converts; easy among Tonicas, advent of children prevents among Natches.

#### SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN

Regarded as slaves; ill-treated; children belong to; power and equality with men among Montagnais; only mothers may eat bear's flesh; freedom of, in cabins; fasts for; women only allowed at; status of unmarried and childless; authority of mothers; outnumber men; lives more valuable than those of men; dual condition; do not attend councils; punished for disobedience; punished for unchastity; not employed before marriage; among Oneidas alternate with men as chiefs; hospitality shown by means of; inheritance through; rights of married among Iroquois; authority among Onondagas; leisure class among; dependent on chief; chiefs among Maskoki Indians; title among the Iroquois; titles descend through inheritance; derivation and significance of titles; hold, and speak in councils; functions and powers.

#### SONGS AND SINGING

Indians great singers; sing for recreation and devotion; fond of; necessary for ceremonies; a necessary adjunct to worship of converts; character of singing; Indians have musical ability; voices of women; duration of singing; possess special songs; simplicity of songs; response to songs; musicians; how time is kept; compared to European; accompanied by drums and rattles; accompanied with pantomime; name of song; converts abandon; Indians recognized by; intentions proclaimed in; specimens of in vernacular; songs of victory; at feasts; of warriors; of welcome and rejoicing; at funerals and for the dead; death songs; in trading; at marriages; by medicine-men; songs of captives; in various superstitious and religious rites; for cure of sickness; for success of hunting; in connection with dreams; at games; for success in war; in dangers; by wounded men; at councils; of sentries; of peace; in dances; in response to ambassadors; of ambassadors.

#### DANCES

Included under affairs of state; families and tribes possess special dances; have special names; implicit faith in; abounding in ceremonies; in times of danger; season for; much time passed in; character; public; compared to French; leaders in; sexes dance separately; dance singly; succeed one another; in preparation for; duration of; number participating; those participating in; men do not dance; dancers belong to confraternity; women and girls invited to; according to rules of art; described; in Indian heaven.

## GAMES AND RECREATION

Much time passed in; under head of civil affairs; governed by dreams; as remedies; feasts made beforehand to ascertain results; fasts before; village pitted against village; chiefs arrange for; public; means wasted in; gambling in; in honor of dead; in athletic contests; of children; compared to those of France; for the sick; women take part in; in celebration of peace; ornaments worn at; in happy hunting grounds; in honor of idol; in honor of moon.

These are but a few of the outlines of study as presented in the index of the *Relations*. It has always been a wonder to the writer that this source of ethnic study has so long been neglected. Much of the work of Herbert Spencer, L. H. Morgan, and other writers has been discarded because the sources of information were the superficial reports of investigators who remained but a short time with primitive tribes and failed to interpret their social life correctly. With this carelessly gathered material they wove hypotheses of cultural evolution which have been rejected owing to more careful research. From a study of the *Relations* it will be seen that the primitive American Indians had a regard for property, for monogamous marriage, for the home and the family, for laws and customs, though many exceptions are to be found.

A careful reading of the *Relations* tends to confirm the conclusions of a recent school of ethnology which leans toward the "culture-cycle theory," the *Kulturkreis-theorie*, as it is called by the editors of *Anthropos*, Schmidt and Keppers. Other scholars who favor this theory are Graebner, formerly of Bonn University, Ankermann, of the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin, and many eminent ethnologists in England and America.<sup>2</sup>

It has been the purpose of this short paper to call the attention of students of ethnology to the rich material to be found in the *Jesuit Relations*. Some time ago the writer was spending a few days in a small city and had occasion to refer to the *Relations*. To his surprise the local library not only contained a complete set of the volumes, but the librarian made known the fact that the books were frequently consulted. I recommend to sociologists that they consult

<sup>2</sup> See *The Family: A Social and Ethnologic Study*, by Albert Muntzsch, S.J., of St. Louis University, a pamphlet of 40 pages, published by the Central Verein, 3835 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Missouri.

the *Relations* on ethnologic questions, and assure them that they will find a vast amount of interesting and useful material.

This short article had scarcely been completed when there came to my desk the September number (1928) of the *American Journal of Sociology*. My attention was at once attracted by the title of a paper, "Political Leadership among North American Indians," by Jessie Bernard, of Tulane University. It is interesting, scholarly, and well documented. I was in hopes of finding a reference to the *Relations*. Parkman is quoted on every page. Now where did Parkman obtain his knowledge of the North American Indian? Largely, very largely, from the *Relations*. He spent weeks and months in consulting the Jesuit archives in Canada. He read hundreds of pages of reports—unpublished reports—which have since appeared in the complete Thwaites edition. One can turn to the *Relations* and find seventy-one references to Parkman.<sup>3</sup>

Long ago did eminent historians like Bancroft, Winsor, Parkman, and others discover the value of the *Relations*. Hardly had Thwaites begun the publication of the series when letters of approbation began to come to his office.

"That series of wonderful letters, known as the *Jesuit Relations*," writes Winsor, "those reports for forty years or more supplied the most that was known of life in the Canadian wilds to the great mass of French readers."

"These *Relations*," acknowledges Field, "for many years looked upon through the haze of sectarian distrust, were lightly esteemed by the students of American history, but the more their character and statements were investigated, the more important and valuable they appeared. They have become the sources from which we may draw almost all historic material of New York and Canada during the first century and a half of their exploration by Europeans."

"I regard the publication of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*," writes John Fiske, "as one of the most important historical enterprises ever undertaken in America. These documents are absolutely indispensable to the right understanding of Ameri-

<sup>3</sup> See *Jesuit Relations*, LXXIII, 218-19.

can History . . . . I have examined the first volume with keen delight. Here is a treasure indeed."

What John Fiske said to historians, I can say to sociologists: Here is a treasure indeed; here are documents which are indispensable for the sociologist who would rightly understand the primitive American Indian.

Let me revert to the article of Mrs. Bernard. She treats her subject from the "psychological aspects of leadership, attempting to answer such questions as: What are the motives of leaders? What are the qualities which make for leadership? What are the psychological mechanisms employed by leaders? What do followers contribute to leadership?"<sup>4</sup>

Mrs. Bernard submits a "tabulation of subjective personality traits of Indian leaders." Twenty-one traits or characteristics are enumerated: Intellectual, generous, courageous, diplomatic, etc. Under each of these numbers I find in the *Relations* numerous references directly or indirectly bearing upon the subject. For instance, "the mental traits of Indians" has 192 references;<sup>5</sup> special "mental traits of chiefs" has 246 references;<sup>6</sup> while oratory has 221.<sup>7</sup> In fact a good-sized volume could be written on "Leadership among American Indians, as Portrayed in the Speeches of Great Chiefs"; and the entire matter could be drawn from the original sources of the *Jesuit Relations*.

I hope that these few pages will be the means of opening up to sociologists the valuable material which has been gathered into the seventy-three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations*.

<sup>4</sup> See *American Journal of Sociology* (September, 1928), pp. 296-97.

<sup>5</sup> See *Jesuit Relations*, LXXII, 314.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 355-56.

## THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF FOX ADOPTION-FEASTS

TRUMAN MICHELSON

Ethnologist, Bureau of American Ethnology;  
Professor of Ethnology, George Washington University

### ABSTRACT

The adoption-feasts of the Fox Indians are expensive; formerly this was not the case; though it is called "throwing away," it is really nothing more than an exchange of goods.

The most important publications on the Fox (Meskwakie) adoption-feasts are those of Jones<sup>1</sup> and Michelson.<sup>2</sup> A few additional references are given in Michelson's paper. The present paper was first written out in the current syllabary by an Indian who subsequently dictated an English version. A comparison of the latter with the Indian original shows that the version is not very literal, but a rendition embodying, however, the sense of the original. As long as this paper is not primarily for linguistic purposes, I have felt justified in publishing this version with only a few grammatical corrections. It is possible the fact that the informant has Winnebago blood may have colored his views; but it is also true that when one of William Wanatee's sons died, on the occasion of the adoption-feast held William publicly proclaimed that he did not wish to be repaid. These facts are given as the present informant's statement is in the nature of a protest.

This is the way the Meskwakies do when they release the relatives' souls. This is what they call "throwing away." Today they do differently from what they used to do. A long time ago, before this hairy-breasted, hairy-faced person or ape came to this country, they did not have the things they have now. Before this white-skin came they had naught but skins. They had it for their leggings, for their shirt, for their moccasins. And the women also had it for their

<sup>1</sup> *Mortuary Observances and the Adoption Rites of the Algonkin Foxes of Iowa* (Congrès Inter. des Amér., xv<sup>e</sup> sess., 1906 [Quebec, 1907], I, 263-77.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes on Fox Mortuary Customs and Beliefs*, 40th Ann. Rept., B.A.E. (1925), pp. 351 ff.

skirts. They also had it for their moccasins. And buffalo robes were their blankets, and also bear-hides. Of course they had plenty of food as far as meat was concerned. And they also had wild fruits. That is what they had. In those days when giving an adoption-feast or releasing their relatives' lives, they would call a man whom they would adopt. They would dress him in buckskin clothes. He would have buckskin leggings and moccasins. And he would have an otter hide for his hat. In those days they thought a good deal of buckskin. When they held an adoption-feast they would cook deer meat or bear meat. They would use one little bowl. And the one adopted only invited eight persons to be present. So those eight men were invited to eat out of one bowl of meat. This is what they did in the early days. And today, when they give adoption-feasts they buy thirty pounds of pork, which is expensive. And they also buy bread, pies, cakes, cookies, oranges, apples, peaches, canned tomatoes, canned goods, candy, crackers, and bananas. They buy everything which they use, shawls. They must cost about sixty-five dollars; and they buy blankets, costing sixteen dollars apiece. The thing they use most is broadcloth, costing three dollars a yard. They usually buy about fourteen yards. They also buy silk handkerchiefs, costing from three to five dollars apiece; and fancy dress-goods, running from two to three dollars a yard. And they use a lot of ribbon. It costs them from fifteen to twenty-five cents a yard. And they also buy some gingham goods, costing fifty to sixty cents a yard. They usually get from ten to twenty yards. And there are small little articles which they buy: a mirror, a fine comb, needles, thread; and some expensive handkerchiefs, and fancy underwear. And they buy the best stockings they can find, costing two to five dollars a pair. These are things which they did not have in the early days. In those days buckskin would cover everything. And whoever is adopted is practically forced to bring similar things with him. For this reason the Winnebagoes say Meskwakies only exchange goods with the one adopted. But still the Meskwakies call this "throwing away." They do not throw away anything. They merely exchange. It is really made very expensive in buying all those things which are not necessary. In the early days they did not have so many goods. But in those days the people were satisfied. And so it is hard on some of the people who are not wealthy. But some do not think anything of it, as they can afford it. The reason I said it is different now from what it was formerly is, they can buy everything they see and include things which are unnecessary. Although they used to make the one adopted ride home on a pony, and would buy a saddle and new bridle, for several years this has stopped. The reason is this: they do not have all the ponies they did formerly. And they used to do things which occur no more. They used to make handbags of silk handkerchiefs. And the adopted carried the small articles in the bag. And they used to place a pint of whiskey in that bag. Now I know very well that before the white people came to this country the Indians had no whiskey. Today I have come to find out that they include the things which they like. It is altogether wrong. And these are what they give at an adoption-feast, when they say, they throw away! And as for the

person adopted. It is his turn. They call this "feeding them back." He goes and buys ten sacks of flour; some would buy twelve sacks. And they would buy meat. And this meat would be cooked at their own homes. And they also buy some bread, and also five pounds of coffee, and two pounds of tea. And they also buy a brand-new pail. And they also buy a dollar's worth of sugar. And they also have a couple of mattings. And they place the meat in a new pail. And they load this stuff in a wagon to be delivered at the place where the adoption-feast was held. This is why they call it "feeding back" when they do this. And when they arrive with the stuff at the place, those who gave the adoption-feast call upon their relatives to come over to eat. Of course the one adopted is given some more expensive stuff at the time. And now everything is settled peacefully and squarely. The one adopted is welcome at those people's home at any time from then on; and he considers them his relatives. They do not visit each other before they return to each other what each likes. This is how the Meskwakies do when they give an adoption-feast. This is the reason the Winnebagoes say they only exchange these things. When a Winnebago gives an adoption-feast he expects nothing from the one adopted. They merely call him over in his ordinary clothes and they give him all the finery. They only try to impress upon his mind how the one adopted would be related to them; those adopted are not to be there to exchange their things with them; they mean business. That is all.

## THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

The special issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* which was issued last July on "Social Changes of 1927" apparently met with rather wide approval. The Board of Editors have accordingly decided to get out another special issue on "The Social Changes in 1928," to appear in May of this year. The table of contents will be the following:

POPULATION . . . . .	<i>Warren S. Thompson</i>
NATURAL RESOURCES . . . . .	<i>George Otis Smith</i>
INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES . . . . .	<i>William F. Ogburn</i>
PRODUCTION . . . . .	<i>Harry Jerome</i>
FOREIGN POLICY . . . . .	<i>Raymond Leslie Buell</i>
LABOR . . . . .	<i>David J. Saposs</i>
WAGES . . . . .	<i>Paul Douglas</i>
EMPLOYMENT . . . . .	<i>William A. Berridge</i>
LABOR LEGISLATION . . . . .	<i>John B. Andrews</i>
SOCIAL LEGISLATION . . . . .	<i>Samuel McCune Lindsay</i>
PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICINE . . . . .	<i>Harry H. Moore</i>
COMMUNICATION . . . . .	<i>E. W. Burgess</i>
GROUP AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION . . . . .	<i>LeRoy E. Bowman</i>
RURAL LIFE . . . . .	<i>John M. Gillette</i>
THE FAMILY . . . . .	<i>Ernest R. Groves</i>
CRIME . . . . .	<i>C. E. Gehlke</i>
RELIGION . . . . .	<i>Arthur E. Holt</i>
RACE . . . . .	<i>Melville J. Herskovits</i>
EDUCATION . . . . .	<i>Arthur J. Klein</i>
GOVERNMENT . . . . .	<i>J. P. Chamberlain</i>
OCCUPATIONS . . . . .	<i>W. F. Ogburn and Clark Tibbitts</i>

## NOTE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

It has long been the custom for the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society to be built around some central topic, as, for instance, "Population" or "The City." Question arises, however, as to whether it might not be well to depart from the custom this year and not name a subject for the next annual meeting. There are a number of reasons why such a departure might be given a trial for one annual meeting at least.

The subject matter of sociology, like that of other sciences which have no central theme for their programs, has succumbed to the forces of specialization and division of labor, so characteristic of modern times. Diversified interests call for representation.

A single theme, of course, lends itself readily to discussion and the expression of opinion, but it is not easy to have presented on one topic alone, by various workers, completed researches based upon the scientific treatment of data, especially if the subject is announced only eight months prior to the time of expected completion. Research takes a longer time. Nor can projects be set up readily on any assigned topic by various workmen with diverse backgrounds and interests, even though they be able, with assurance that it will have vitality and meet with success.

Besides, our members have their research programs mapped out a year or more in advance. They are loath to sacrifice the work of their special interest already under way in order to start work on some other topic assigned or announced by someone else.

Furthermore, our members probably look to the annual meeting of our Society as an opportunity for presenting the results of their scientific work, in which they are much interested, for review and criticism by their fellow-scientists.

One may get around these difficulties by naming a central topic of great breadth. But it must be sufficiently broad to assume that a large number of the members will already have had under way researches on that subject. But there are probably few such subjects. Perhaps it will be well to experiment with our next annual meeting by having the papers without limitations other than those of science itself.

The chairman of the Committee in Social Research will presently be taking a census of research in progress by the members of the Society. If a prompt reply is made to his inquiries, it will facilitate greatly the work of formulating the program. If there are any suggestions regarding the program or any proposals of papers for the program, these should be communicated to the President or Secretary.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

## NEWS AND NOTES

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Notes of interest to readers of the *Journal* should be in the hands of the editor of "News and Notes" not later than the tenth of the month preceding publication.

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*The American Sociological Society.*—Over six hundred persons were registered as in attendance at the twenty-third annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Chicago, December 26–29, 1928. Elsewhere in this issue there appears a résumé of the principal papers given in the main division sessions and in the meetings of the section on rural sociology under the general topic "The Rural Community."

The joint session for presidential addresses was held Thursday evening, December 27. The interrelations of urban and rural life were emphasized in the address "Urban Influence and Selection" by John M. Gillette, American Sociological Society. Jesse F. Steiner, the National Community Center Association, spoke on "An Appraisal of the Community Movement." "Industry's Responsibility to the Community for Unemployment Prevention" was the subject of the paper by Sam A. Lewisohn, American Association for Labor Legislation. Other sections holding meetings were those on the community, educational sociology, the family, sociology and psychiatry, sociology and religion, sociology and social work, and the teaching of sociology.

The officers of the Society for 1929 are president, William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago; first vice-president, Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina; second vice-president, E. H. Sutherland, University of Minnesota; secretary-treasurer, Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago; new members of the executive committee, Edward B. Reuter, University of Iowa; and Jesse F. Steiner, Tulane University. The place of the next meeting has not been decided. Invitations have been received from Atlanta, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Toronto, and other cities.

*Section on Rural Sociology.*—Rural sociology received major attention at the annual meeting of the Society, inasmuch as the central topic of the meetings was "The Rural Community." The forty papers on rural topics are summarized elsewhere in this issue, so that it is sufficient to state here that the papers in the rural section dealt chiefly with research teaching and extension. The joint luncheon held with the American

Farm Economic Association had as its topic for discussion "Mexican Immigration." The reports of two committees were adopted at the business meeting of the section. The Committee on Resolutions recommended a higher degree of permanent organization, with the election of a secretary to keep detailed minutes; the establishment of the section as a clearing bureau at its annual meeting for the bringing together of trained rural sociologists and positions which they might fill; and that in all possible ways efforts be put forth to allocate more Purnell funds to rural social research, particularly in connection with the agricultural experiment stations which now conduct no rural research. The Population Committee reaffirmed the recommendations of last year in regard to the 1930 census and made certain additional recommendations; that in the future the summary census volume include a description of all materials tabulated but not printed, together with a statement of terms under which access may be granted to these unpublished data; that additional special monographs be published written by employees of the census rather than by volunteer contributors, in connection with the 1930 census on the Negro, the foreign born, the Oriental, marital status, occupation, home ownership, the fertility of women, and the incorporated village; and that the Census Bureau should consider the establishment of a department of research and analysis to undertake such special studies, and to assist outside agencies in obtaining census data. The Steering Committee elected for the ensuing year consists of B. F. Coen, chairman; H. J. Burt, secretary; J. O. Rankin; and W. A. Anderson.

*Chairmen of sections.*—The newly elected or appointed chairman of the different sections of the Society are: the community, Jesse F. Steiner, Tulane University; the family, Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina; rural sociology, B. F. Coen, Colorado State Agricultural College; sociology and psychiatry, W. I. Thomas, New York; sociology and religion, Arthur L. Swift, Union Theological Seminary; sociology and social work, M. J. Karpf, Training School for Jewish Social Work. The following sections have secretaries: the community, LeRoy Bowman, Columbia University; educational sociology, George B. Neumann, University of Buffalo; the family, Mrs. W. F. Dummer, 679 Michigan Ave., Chicago; and rural sociology, H. J. Burt, University of Missouri.

*Membership of the Society.*—The new members received into the Society since our last issue and up to January 26, are as follows:

Adanalian, Alice A., Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago  
Andrews, Franklin L., 1040 N. Wood St., Decatur, Ill.

- Augustus, Mildred E., 501 W. Michigan Ave., Ypsilanti, Mich.  
Backstrom, C. E., 2013 G St., Lincoln, Neb.  
Baker, A. G., University of Chicago, Chicago  
Barton, O. Lillian, 217 Normal Ave., Normal, Ill.  
Batchelor, Ellen M., 7 Willis Ave., Columbia, Mo.  
Bernard, Helen, Hotel Kupper, Kansas City, Mo.  
Binford, Gurney, 628 S. Fern Ave., Wichita, Kan.  
Bing, Simeon H., Athens, Ohio  
Blackburn, William J., University of Chicago, Chicago  
Blackman, Fern, 600 Conley Ave., Columbia, Mo.  
Bradway, John S., 133 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Bruder, Victor W., 1414 Stevens Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.  
Burford, Florence Ann, Quincy, W.Va.  
Busyn, Helen F., 603 23d Ave., W., Duluth, Minn.  
Byrd, Hasseltine, University of Montana, Missoula, Mont.  
Carson, Lorton R., 603 E. College Ave., Iowa City, Iowa  
Carvalho, C. M. Delgado de, Senador Vergueiro 107, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
Cheney, Charles H., Court House, White Plains, N.Y.  
Chew, Helen, 829 S. Main St., Findlay, Ohio  
Chirin, David H., 2101 W. Monroe St., Chicago  
Cohen, Isidore, 7613 Yates Ave., Chicago  
Cowden, Sudie E., 224 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, N.Y.  
Croft, Albert E., 715 Baltzell St., Madison, Wis.  
Crosby, Thomas Le Roy, Furman University, Greenville, S.C.  
Daniel, Vattel E., Wiley College, Marshall, Tex.  
Daniels, F. I., 5 Belmont Ave., Newark, N.J.  
Day, Florence R., 607 Electric Bldg., 700 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio  
Dewire, Marjorie C., 1839 Juneway Terrace, Chicago  
Dickinson, Rev. Frederick W., College of Mt. St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, Mt. St. Joseph, Ohio  
Duthie, Mary Eva, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.  
Findlander, Jane C., 732 Flanders St., Portland, Ore.  
Fink, David H., 1723 Atkinson Ave., Detroit, Mich.  
Fleeks, Artie, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.  
Foreman, Madeleine, The Drake Hotel, Chicago  
French, Mildred P., State College, Storrs, Conn.  
Fulmer, Harriet, 4727 Ellis Ave., Chicago  
Garrison, Bessie M., 1115 Ayars Place, Evanston, Ill.  
Gleim, Sophia C., 801 Cass Street, Chicago  
Glenn, Damian P., St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kan.  
Groff, R. H., 2351 S. Clayton St., Denver, Colo.  
Hall, Mrs. A. B., 510 Turner Ave., Waco, Tex.  
Hall, Fred S., 130 E. 22d St., New York  
Hall, Samuel Warren, III, Dover, Del.

- Hanchette, Helen W., 614 Electric Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio  
Harney, Laura B., Washington Junior High School, Mount Vernon, N.Y.  
Harrell, Helen L., 33 Faculty Apartments, University, Va.  
Hayes, Harmon P., 808 W. Oregon St., Urbana, Ill.  
Henry, Edward A., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio  
Hildebrand, E. L., Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.  
Hitchcock, Isabelle M., Box 313, Ellendale, N.D.  
Hochtritt, Box 682, Cheney, Wash.  
Holtz, Adrian A., Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kan.  
Horchem, B. J., 997 Locust St., Dubuque, Iowa  
Horlacher, John Perry, 2203 N. 28th st., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Hull, Blanche W., R.F.D. #6, Kalamazoo, Mich.  
Hunter, Joel Du Bois, 2307 Harrison St., Evanston, Ill.  
Hurd, Frederick, University of Chicago, Chicago  
Ide, Ethera M., Spring Street, St. Regis Falls, N.Y.  
Irwin, Marjorie F., 1218 W. Main St., Charlottesville, Va.  
Irwin, Mrs. Samuel P., 1003 Franklin Ave., Normal, Ill.  
Jandy, Edward C., 423 Cross St., Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Jasspon, Mrs. Ethel Reed, 46 W. 83d St., Apt. 8B, New York  
Jeffery, Walter J., 1131 Lunt Ave., Chicago  
Johansen, Mrs. John P., 405 Hamline Ave., Grand Forks, N.D.  
Johnson, Mrs. Clarence R., 132 S. Fifth St., Lewisburg, Pa.  
Johnson, Herman F., 3052 E. 79th Place, Chicago  
Jones, Essie Madeleine, 4557 South Parkway, Chicago  
Kemal, Ali, 500 Riverside Drive, New York  
Kensler, Gladys M., Y.W.C.A., Hastings, Neb.  
Kercher, Leonard C., Western State Teachers College, Kalamazoo, Mich.  
Ketchum, Noble L., 1697 N. Sierra Bonita Ave., Pasadena, Calif.  
Kittinger, Mary Alice, 527 N. 17th St., Lincoln, Neb.  
Levey, Beatrice Z., 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago  
Lewis, Robert Ellsworth, 2200 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio  
Loh, Tuh Yung, 723 Haven St., Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Lukens, Nettie, 1212 Lycoming St., Philadelphia, Pa.  
Lyon, Dr. F. Emory, 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago  
McCoy, Bruce R., Iowa Falls, Iowa  
McCune, N. A., 504 Abbott Road, East Lansing, Mich.  
McDowell, Mary E., 4630 Gross Ave., Chicago  
McGarr, Llewellyn, 1204 W. Oregon St., Urbana, Ill.  
McGrath, Ralph M., 1023 S. Cuyler Ave., Oak Park, Ill.  
MacNabb, Anna Viola, 32 Hansbury Ave., Newark, N.J.  
Mangus, A. Ray, 5401 Ellis Ave., Chicago  
Marcus, Grace F., 242 W. 11th St., New York  
Miller, Mrs. Carrie Lowry, 506 Fifteenth Ave., N., Seattle, Wash.  
Miller, Cora K., 1105 W. Green St., Urbana, Ill.

Mink, Margaret, 907 S. Lincoln St., Chicago  
Morlock, Maud, 2117 Adelbert Road, Cleveland, Ohio  
Moss, Joseph L., 1939 Orrington Ave., Evanston, Ill.  
Motvani, K. L., 11 E. Prentiss Ave., Iowa City, Iowa  
Nelson, Raymond E., 5757 University Ave., Chicago  
Nims, Elinor, 110 Maxwellton Court, Lexington, Ky.  
Oda, Harold Y., 2027 Kealona St., Honolulu, T.H.  
Orito, Kenzaburo, 4115 Fifteenth Ave., N.E., Seattle, Wash.  
Overman, Leland, 2128 Jefferson, Toledo, Ohio  
Oyler, Merton Dale, 162 Graham Ave., Lexington, Ky.  
Ozer, S. D., Commerce Bldg., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio  
Paine, Phyllis M., Associated Charities, 15201 St. Clair St., Cleveland, Ohio  
Panunzio, Lenore, 627 Terrace Place, Whittier, Calif.  
Parrington, Vernon L., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.  
Polson, Robert A., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.  
Pratt, George D., Jr., Bridgewater, Conn.  
Price, Frances E., 1338 First St., Louisville, Ky.  
Rabanes, Nasarie, 2004 W. Adams St. Chicago  
Ramsey, Duane V., 4630 Gross Ave., Chicago  
Ranck, Edward B., 6091 Ellis Ave., Chicago  
Reynolds, Alice R., 203 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago  
Riesland, Vadis E., House A, Reed College, Portland, Ore.  
Riggleman, Leonard, Barboursville, W.Va.  
Rogers, D. B., West Liberty, W.Va.  
Rojo, Trinidad A., University Y.M.C.A., Seattle, Wash.  
Romyn, Elsa H., 5709 Dorchester Ave., Chicago  
Roop, Earl W., 1428 N. 45th St., Seattle, Wash.  
Rubenstein, Ida, Blackstone Hall, 5748 Blackstone Ave., Chicago  
Russell, Mrs. Judith, 106 S. Brooks Ave., Madison, Wis.  
Sanders, Barkev Sahak, 5 W. 125th St., New York  
Sato, Toshi, 1705 Cauthorn Ave., Columbia, Mo.  
Schmidt, Jacob Philip, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio  
Schroeder, Agnes H., Lakeside Hospital, Cleveland, Ohio  
Selle, Erwin S., 376 W. 4th St., Winona, Minn.  
Sewny, Vahan D., 529 Walnut St., Ann Arbor, Mich.  
Seyfarth, Rev. F. G., Box 454, Sturgeon, Mo.  
Shannon, Irwin V., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.  
Shimp, Everette C., 42 Race St., Athens, Ohio  
Smith, Mrs. Douglas, 1236 Asbury Ave., Hubbard Woods, Ill.  
Spitzer, Murray, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Starling, Harvey W., R. 10, Spokane, Wash.  
Strohm, Ella C., 2115 E. 79th St., Chicago  
Sullivan, Dr. Harry Stack, Sheppard & Enoch Pratt Hospital, Towson, Md.  
Sussman, Sarah, Fellowship House, 133 E. 43d St., New York

- Sytz, Florence, Hull House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago  
 Tang, Kuang Wu, 541 W. 124th St., New York  
 Turner, Martin H., 62 N. Prairie St., Batavia, Ill.  
 Van Kleeck, Mary, 130 E. 22d St., New York  
 Van Vleck, Joseph, Jr., 50 N. Mountain Ave., Montclair, N.J.  
 Wagner, Marie Earle, Williamsville, New York  
 Walther, Elise K., Room 1415, 6 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago  
 Wander, Paul, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.  
 Mrs. W. Wallace Weaver, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Weber, Irene, 2611 California Ave., Seattle, Wash.  
 Wells, K. A., 886 E. Taylor St., Portland, Ore.  
 West, Roy A., Shelley, Idaho  
 West, Walter, 130 E. 22d St., New York  
 White, Lawrence B., 254 E. 7th St., Claremont, Calif.  
 Williams, Anne G., 5519 Drexel Ave., Chicago  
 Wilson, Robert S., 1238 Tennessee Ave., Lawrence, Kan.  
 Wolfson, Abraham L., 3753 Wilson Ave., Chicago

*American Council of Learned Societies.*—The annual meetings of the American Council of Learned Societies, including a conference of secretaries of affiliated organizations, were held in Washington, January 25–27. The representatives present from the American Sociological Society were Ernest R. Burgess, its secretary, Edward T. Devine, proxy for William F. Ogburn, and Stuart A. Rice. Substantial progress on a number of the Council's projects already undertaken was reported by committees. Most widely advertised among these is the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Although the agreement with the New York Times Company does not call for the publication of Volume I before July 1, 1929, it actually appeared last November. Volume II is in process of publication, Volume III is substantially ready for the printer and the articles for Volumes IV and V are well under way. Among other enterprises which have gone forward actively during the year is that of the committee which, in co-operation with the American Library Association and the National Research Council, is compiling a list of the serial publications of foreign governments. The first section of the preliminary check list has been issued and other parts are shortly to be published. A report of particular interest to sociologists was that of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States. Some of the committee's data are presented in the Council's Bulletin Number 9, of December, 1928. It has utilized the results of studies in Great Britain which suggest that "a certain distribution or pattern of family names" is a definite characteristic

of a national or linguistic stock. The prevalence of these stocks in the population of the American states of 1790 may be estimated, by the aid of the European data concerning family names, with a degree of exactitude not hitherto obtained. The committee's final report and its supporting data will be published in the near future.

Among the new activities indorsed by the Council is the compilation of a directory of American societies, institutes, and other organizations devoted to the humanistic and social sciences. This is preferably a joint project with the Social Science Research Council. The Executive Committee was instructed to take such measures as it may deem useful for the salvaging of printed source materials threatened with early destruction because of the poor quality of the paper of which they are composed, and for assuring the greater permanency of similar materials in the future. The Executive Committee was also instructed to promote research and education in the history and science of music. A number of other projects in fields of linguistic and humanistic scholarship were initiated or continued.

The applications of two organizations for membership in the Council were approved, bringing the total number of affiliated societies to seventeen. These were the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and the Bibliographical Society of America. Officers elected for the following year were as follows: Edward C. Armstrong, Princeton University, Chairman; William A. Hammond, Cornell University, Vice-Chairman; William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, Secretary-Treasurer; Edwin F. Gay, Harvard University, and Edgar H. Sturtevant, Yale University, members of the Executive Committee. Waldo G. Leland, permanent secretary, and Charles H. Beeston, University of Chicago, were elected delegates to the Union Académique Internationale.—*Reported by* STUART A. RICE.

*Alpha Kappa Delta.*—Alpha Kappa Delta, honorary sociology fraternity, held its annual meeting at the Congress Hotel, December 28, 1928. Two new chapters were admitted at this time: Ohio State University and Syracuse University. There are now twenty-one active chapters of this organization in both state and privately endowed universities and colleges.

The biennial election of national officers resulted in the selection of the following: Kimball Young, Wisconsin, president; Stuart A. Queen, Kansas, vice-president; E. L. Morgan, Missouri, secretary and treasurer; E. S. Bogardus, Southern California, and A. E. Wood, Michigan, members-at-large of the Executive Committee. The new officers are undertak-

ing to bring about some unification of purpose and standards in the various chapters. They are all agreed to stimulate research and scholarship in sociology through the medium of this organization.

*The National Interracial Conference.*—Eighteen national social service and interracial organizations, aided by a grant for research from the Social Science Research Council, sponsored an interracial conference in Washington, December 16-19, 1928. The conference represented an attempt to approach problems of Negro life and race relations through factual data. The two hundred or more delegates to the conference included representatives of national social work and religious organizations, foundations, research organizations, federal bureaus, and educational institutions. A research committee under the chairmanship of Graham R. Taylor, and with Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University as research secretary, had been engaged for more than a year in assembling the statistical trends and results of more than twelve hundred studies in the fields of Negro health, population problems, industry and agriculture, housing, education, law observance and enforcement, recreation, citizenship, and race relations. The extensive compilation which resulted was compressed into a 300-page Data Book for the use of the delegates at the conference.

The procedure of the conference under the guidance of Mary van Kleeck, of the Russell Sage Foundation, chairman, and George E. Haynes, secretary, with the technical assistance of E. C. Carter of the Inquiry, was as follows: The delegates, limited to two hundred, had been selected from the technical staffs of organizations. Conference discussions, which followed the topical divisions of the Data Book, were preceded first by factual presentations by recognized authorities in the special fields, then by suggestive interpretations of the factual data. Each delegate presented his questions on a card, during an intermission, and these cards were grouped for the discussion from the floor. At the evening sessions there were summaries of the discussions.

Despite the divergent programs of the Negro and white organizations, North and South, substantial agreement on the factual material developed with unexpected frequency. Discussions were frank, generalizations of long standing were examined, and new focal points of interest were selected from the discussions of the data.

Among the speakers were Louis I. Dublin, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; Raymond Pearl, of Johns Hopkins; John Hope, of Morehouse College; Thorsten Sellin, of the University of Pennsylvania; W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the *Crisis*; Herbert A. Miller, of Ohio State University; Lawrence A. Oxley, of the North Carolina Department of

Public Welfare; Roy Smith Wallace, Playground and Recreation Association; John P. Frey, American Federation of Labor; Julius Rosenwald, Anson Phelps Stokes, E. R. Embree, and Monroe N. Work. President Mordecai Johnson of Howard University and R. R. Moton of Tuskegee were joint conference chairmen.

The conference group, feeling that its task had been accomplished, voted to discontinue itself as a formal organization with the publication of its proceedings and the data assembled by its Research Committee.—*Reported by* CHARLES S. JOHNSON.

*American journals in the humanistic and social sciences.*—In the October, 1928, bulletin of the American Council of Learned Societies is given a list of journals in the United States devoted to the humanistic and social sciences compiled by Dr. Leo F. Stock. The present list contains 215 titles as against 157 in a similar list prepared in 1925. The 1928 list of American learned journals includes 5 in geography, 4 in anthropology and folk lore, 5 in oriental studies, 6 in philosophy, 13 in psychology, 24 in philology, 4 in archaeology and numismatics, 6 in political science, 2 in international law and relations, 43 in law, 11 in economics, 62 in history, 7 in religion, 14 in the fine arts, and 9 in sociology. The journals listed in sociology, with the dates of their foundation: *American Journal of Sociology*, 1895; *American Labor Legislation Review*, 1911; *Family*, 1920; *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1910; *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1927; *Social Forces*, 1922; *Social Service Review*, 1927; *Sociology and Social Research*, 1921; *Survey*, 1897. Reprints of this list may be secured from the Executive Office, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D.C.

*Human Biology.*—The *Journal* has received an announcement of the launching of a new publication, *Human Biology*: a Record of Research, of which Raymond Pearl, Johns Hopkins University, is the editor. The twelve members of the Advisory Board are Charles B. Davenport, Carnegie Institution; S. R. Detweiler, Columbia University; E. M. East, Harvard University; Eugen Fischer, Kaiser Wilhelm Institut für Anthropologie, Berlin-Dahlem; Corrado Gini, Instituto Centrale di Statistica, Rome; Major Greenwood, School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, London; Shinkishi Hatai, Tôhoku Imperial University, Sendai; Ales Hrdlicka, Smithsonian Institution; Ernst Kretschmer, Universitäts-Nervenklinik, Marburg; H. Lundborg, Statens Institut för Rasbiologi, Upsala; Bronislaw Malinowski, London School of Economics; D. Peyrony, Musée Préhistorique, Les Eyzies (Dordogne); P. Rivet, Muséum

National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris; Adolph Schultz, Johns Hopkins University; John B. Watson, New York; Clark Wissler, American Museum of Natural History.

The following statement is made by the editors:

*Human Biology* is established to serve as a medium for the publication of the results of original research in any field of human biology, including physical and general anthropology, anthropometry, vital statistics, human heredity and eugenics, prehistory, human anatomy, sociology, constitutional pathology, and psycho-biology, the only requirements being that the essential point or points of any acceptable article must have general biological interest and significance, and that the article shall be written with some attention to literary form and unity, so that the reader may, without undue effort, get the point.

*Human Biology* will be issued quarterly. The first number will appear early in 1929. The publisher is Charles C. Thomas, 300 East Monroe Street, Springfield, Ill.

*Study of history and other social studies in the schools.*—The Carnegie Corporation has made a grant of \$50,000 to the American Historical Association for a study of history and other social studies in the school. A committee (A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota, chairman) has been appointed to plan the study.

*Journal of Economic and Business History.*—The *Journal* has received the first issue, November, 1928, of the *Journal of Economic and Business History*, published by the Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, and the Business Historical Society, Harvard University Press. The editor is Edwin F. Gay and the managing editor is N. S. B. Gras. The editorial board consists of Carl Brinkmann, University of Heidelberg; J. H. Clapham, King's College, Cambridge; A. H. Cole, Harvard University; Henri Hauser, University of Paris; E. Lipsom, New College, Oxford University; U. B. Phillips, University of Michigan; M. Rostovtzeff, Yale University; A. M. Schlesinger, Harvard University; Owen D. Young, General Electric Company.

*School of Social Sciences in China.*—The plans for a School of Applied Social Sciences for Yenching University, Peking, have been advanced by the recent gift of \$140,000 from an American foundation and by the decision of the Trustees of Princeton-in-China to concentrate their activities in support of this project. The most significant immediate result of the new program will be the launching of several important research projects by each of the social science departments. Members of the sociology department are already engaged in the detailed study of

several market-town areas, beginning with the town of Ching Ho near the Yenching campus, and are making a study of the women's movement in China, which will be accompanied by the compilation of a yearbook on the present status of Chinese women. They are also planning a study of the tools necessary for sociological teaching, especially endeavoring to standardize Chinese sociological terminology. The economics department has devised a three-fold plan for investigation: (1) a study of the marketing of grain in the Peking area; (2) a study of the economic organization of Wan Ping county; (3) the intensive study of certain native industries, such as the woolen trade, pottery, textile industries, and the tea industry. They are planning to take each of these economic activities and follow through the entire process in an effort to discover where economies may be effected and efficiency heightened.

*American Year Book.*—*The American Year Book*, which is published annually under the editorial direction of Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, aided by an advisory board of representatives of forty-five national learned societies, will hereafter be published under the imprint of the New York Times Company. The volume for 1928, containing more than eight hundred pages, will be off press in March, 1929. The representative of the American Sociological Society in the *American Year Book* is Frank H. Hankins, Smith College.

*American summer session at the Sorbonne.*—In order to meet the special needs of American teachers and students the 1929 summer session will include a six weeks' term of five lecture days a week, three lectures a day; a final examination leading to a diploma; and a system of grades in each course to facilitate the obtaining of American credit. During the fifth week of the summer session beginning July 29, Professor C. Bouglé will give a course of lectures on the subject "The Rôle of Sociology in Contemporary French Thought."

*Research in women's professional relations.*—A new research organization, the Institute of Women's Professional Relations, has recently been established with headquarters at the North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, North Carolina. It is under the direction of a Board sponsored by the American Association of University Women but financed by a group of private individuals. The Institute has a five-year program of research looking toward the co-ordination of business and professional requirements with women's education, the cultivation of greater interest in pre-professional courses and the profitable entrance of women into various fields such as merchandising, finance, and specialized professional

service. The object of research is to provide specific facts on occupations open to college women, the aptitudes and training required and the opportunities in various fields. Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, the vocational director of North Carolina College for Women, is also Director of the Institute.

*A survey of persons in search of assistance.*—The urgent need of a central welfare information bureau through which persons could learn exactly where to go for help in personal or family difficulty is shown by a survey made by the Welfare Council of New York City and submitted January 21, 1929, to its seven hundred member agencies. The report is based on a study of sources of information concerning social services and of the experience of 1,766 persons in search of assistance. Forty-seven of the leading welfare agencies of the city participated in the study which was made by Miss Kathryn Farra of the Council's staff. For one week these agencies kept careful records of the people who applied for help of any sort, where they came from, what their difficulties were, what was done for them, and how quickly the assistance was given.

*Indiana economists and sociologists organize.*—The Indiana Association of Economists and Sociologists completed its organization at the Hotel Lincoln in Indianapolis, on December 9. Stimulation of research and productive work is the principal function of the association. The officers are: president, Dr. E. H. Shideler, Franklin College; vice-president, Dr. W. F. Mitchell, De Pauw University; secretary-treasurer, Professor R. Clyde White, Indiana University. The program consisted of reports and discussion of research and research projects. Appearing on this program were: Dr. U. G. Weatherly and Dr. M. C. Mills of Indiana University; Professor J. A. Estey, Purdue University; Professor E. T. Thompson, Earlham College; Dean J. W. Putnam, Butler College; Dean A. H. Woodworth, Hanover College.

*American University.*—Dr. Edward T. Devine, dean of the graduate school and professor of sociology, has resigned to become director of the Bellevue Health Center in New York City, conducted under the auspices of the Millbank Foundation.

*University of Buffalo.*—Professor Niles Carpenter has been granted an additional leave of absence of one semester to permit him to continue as assistant director of the study of the Committee on the Care of Medical Care. Dr. Carpenter's study *Hospitalization for Persons of Moderate Means* is in manuscript. Dr. L. A. White, who has been in New Mexico

making a study of the Acoma Indians, has resumed giving courses in anthropology.

*University of Chicago.*—Professor Robert E. Park is taking a year's leave of absence during 1929. He will spend two months in Seattle before leaving for the Fourth Pan-Pacific Science Congress, which will be held in Batavia, Java, May 16 to May 25. He also plans to visit China, Japan, and Hawaii.

Professor Louis Wirth, of Tulane University, will give courses in historical sociology during the Summer Quarter; Dr. Eyler N. Simpson, who has been studying social, economic, and political conditions in Mexico during the last two years, will give two courses on Mexico during the first term of the Summer Quarter. During the second term, Professor R. D. McKenzie, of the University of Washington, will give courses on human ecology and the family. Professor Ralph Linton, of the University of Wisconsin, will give courses in anthropology during the Summer Quarter. During the Winter Quarter Mr. Paul F. Cressey, who taught sociology in Reed College last year, gave a course on the growth of the city. The University of Chicago Press announces the publication of *Field Studies in Sociology*, by Vivien M. Palmer.

*University of Colorado.*—Professor Frederick A. Bushee, acting dean of the School of Business Administration and head of the Department of Economics and Sociology, has been granted a sabbatical leave of absence for the academic year of 1928-29, and is spending the time in travel and study in Europe.

*Columbia University.*—Dr. Franklin Thomas gave the course on administration in the National Training School for Executives and Other Workers, held at Dobb's Ferry-on-Hudson, New York, during the autumn.

*University of Illinois.*—The University of Chicago Press announces the publication of *The Strike*, by E. T. Hiller, acting chairman of the department of sociology.

Mr. W. T. Watson has been appointed to give courses in sociology, beginning with the second semester.

*Illinois Wesleyan University.*—S. C. Ratcliffe, of Illinois Wesleyan, and L. W. Hacker, of the Illinois State Normal University, have offered to teachers in rural sociology one of the first laboratory manuals concerned with rural life. The manual is based upon "ten of the best known textbooks" which deal with rural community life.

*University of Iowa.*—A new series of college texts and standard works in sociology will be published by the McGraw-Hill Book Company, under the general title "McGraw-Hill Publications in Sociology," under the consulting editorship of Dr. Edward B. Reuter. The tentative program of the series plans the inclusion of books under the following main divisions: principles and processes, social problems, social institutions, and social practice. One volume in the series has already been published, *Principles of Sociology*, by Frederick E. Lumley, Ohio State University. A volume in preparation is *Principles of Educational Sociology*, by E. George Payne and Harvey W. Zorbaugh, New York University.

*Michigan State College.*—Professor C. R. Hoffer has published a report of his study *A Study of Town and Country Relationships* in a special bulletin issued by the college. This study was carried on co-operatively by the Department of Sociology and the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the United States Department of Agriculture. The purpose of the study was to find out how the rural town can best serve the people who patronize it.

*University of Minnesota.*—One of the new publications announced for the late spring of 1929 in the "American Social Science Series," of which Howard W. Odum is the editor, is *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* by Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman. P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman announce the publication of the first seminar study in rural sociology at the University of Minnesota in the September issue of *Social Forces*. The study is entitled *Farmer Leaders in the United States of America*. The seminar research for 1928-29 is devoted to an analysis of rural art as a phase of rural culture. Arnold Anderson has been appointed instructor in sociology for 1928-29, specializing in rural sociology.

*Mount Holyoke College.*—Alfred A. Knopf announces the publication, in the near future, of a textbook, *The Modern Family*, by Assistant Professor Ruth Reed.

*New York University.*—Professor Frederic M. Thrasher gave a course on social psychology in the National Training School for Executives and Other Workers, held at Dobb's Ferry-on-Hudson, New York, October 1, to December 22, 1928.

*University of North Carolina.*—Professor Howard W. Odum is on leave of absence from the University for the year. He is the author with

Katharine Jocher of a book *An Interpretation to Social Research*, to be published late this spring by Henry Holt and Company. Professor L. L. Bernard has been asked to write the history of the social sciences in the United States for the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*.

*University of North Dakota*.—In co-operation with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the United States Department of Agriculture, E. A. Willson, Research Specialist in Rural Social Organization at the North Dakota State College of Agriculture, has completed and the Agricultural Experiment Station has printed a research study of the principal social organizations and agencies in North Dakota.

*Northwestern University*.—H. C. Taylor has been secured to direct over a period of three years a comprehensive survey of social and economic conditions in the state of Vermont, with headquarters at Burlington. The survey has the backing of the governor, the state university, and the state conference of social work.

*Ohio State University*.—Dr. J. E. Hagerty has been made director of the School of Social Administration in addition to being chairman of the Department of Sociology. Dr. A. B. Wolf has been appointed chairman of the Department of Economics.

*St. Lawrence University*.—Professor Albert P. Van Dusen, formerly at Syracuse University, is now teaching sociology at this institution.

*University of Southern California*.—Bessie A. McClenahan, formerly of the University of Missouri and the St. Louis School of Social Economy, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. Dr. McClenahan will have charge of the case work courses.

*Stanford University*.—The Departments of Civil Engineering and Art have arranged for a course of lectures on City Planning to be given before the Senior and graduate students of these two departments, during the present college year, to be given by Dr. Carol Aronovici, City Planner. The subjects to be dealt with include: scientific basis of city planning, constructive organization for planning work, costs and profits of planning, planning facts and planning projects, principles of land subdivision and control, zoning, traffic distribution and control, civic art, architectural control.

*University of Texas*.—A grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund has enabled the School of Education to undertake a study of the education of children of Mexican immigrants in Texas.

*Tulane University.*—A new publication, *The Ghetto*, by Professor Louis Wirth, has been announced by the University of Chicago Press.

*University of Virginia.*—Henry Holt and Company published in January *The Range of Social Theory*, by Professor Floyd N. House. Mr. Carroll D. Clark will give courses in social origins and social problems and public welfare during Associate Professor Frank W. Hoffer's absence in the spring semester.

*Virginia Polytechnic Institute.*—B. L. Hummel, formerly with the Missouri State College of Agriculture, has been appointed extension sociologist, as an assistant to W. E. Garnett, professor of rural sociology.

*University of Wisconsin.*—The publication of *A Social Interpretation of Education*, by Professor Joseph K. Hart, is announced for early in 1929 by Henry Holt and Company.

*Yale University.*—The Yale University Press announces the publication of *Incomes and Living Costs of a University Faculty*, edited by Yandell Henderson, Department of Physiology, and Maurice R. Davie, Department of Sociology. This volume is a report on the academic standards of living made by a committee of twelve members appointed by the Yale Chapter.

*Masters' theses and doctoral dissertations.*—The editors of the *Journal* have sent out requests for lists of theses now in progress in sociology. Any institutions which have not received these blanks, or persons who have not yet been reached, are asked to send in to the *Journal* degrees already received with names of institutions conferring degrees, degree sought, title of dissertation, year of expected completion at given college or university.

#### *Personal Notes*

C. W. Areson, formerly with the Child Welfare League of America, has become Executive Secretary of the Children's Service Bureau, Houston, Texas.

Dorrance and Company announce the publication of a book *The Marry Letters*, by Dr. Philip D. Bookstaber, of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. In this book, through a series of letters from a man to a woman, he discusses women, sex, society, business, love, friendship, and other topics.

Frank Burleson, formerly executive secretary of the San Antonio Community Chest, has been appointed executive secretary of the Norfolk (Va.) Community Fund, succeeding John Melpolder.

Henry Holt and Company announce the publication, early in 1929, of *Essentials of Civilization: A Study in Social Values*, by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Mr. Homer Talbot is Secretary of the Jefferson City, Missouri, Chamber of Commerce.

Dr. Robert M. Woodbury, formerly on the staff of the Institute of Economics, has joined the editorial division of the *Journal of Social Science Abstracts*.

Burr Blackburn, formerly with the Georgia State Council of Social Agencies, is now with the Wisconsin Industrial Lenders' Association, studying the effect of the state small-loans law.

L. A. Halbert, executive director of the Kansas City Council of Social Agencies, has accepted the appointment as secretary of the Charity Bureau, Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, which conducts the annual financial campaign for social work.

Elwood Street has resigned from the St. Louis Community Fund and Council to become executive secretary of the Community Chest of Washington, D.C. Mr. Street was the founder and first president of the St. Louis Sociological Society.

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#### A CORRECTION

Through an error in the list of Current Research Projects in the January *Journal*, for which the undersigned offers apology, the study under the heading "Delinquency—Correctional Education" was designated as being a product of the joint authorship of Mabel Elliott and Susan M. Kingsbury. Although the study was made under the direction of Dr. Kingsbury, the authorship should have been credited exclusively to Miss Elliott.

HORNELL HART, *Chairman*  
*Committee on Social Research*

## BOOK REVIEWS

- The James Gordon Bennetts, Father and Son. Proprietors of the New York Herald.* By DON C. SEITZ. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1928. Pp. 405. \$5.00.
- W. R. Hearst: An American Phenomenon.* By JOHN K. WINKLER. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1928. Pp. 354. \$4.00.
- Lord Northcliffe: A Study.* By R. MACNAIR WILSON. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1927. Pp. 304. \$5.00.
- Ballyhoo: The Voice of the Press.* By SILAS BENT. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927. Pp. 398 (illustrated). \$3.00.
- Covering Washington: Government Reflected to the Public in the Press, 1822-1926.* By J. FREDERICK ESSARY. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927. Pp. xii+280. \$3.00.
- The Law of Newspapers: A Text and Case-Book for Use in Schools of Journalism, and a Desk-Book for Newspaper Workers.* By WILLIAM R. ARTHUR and RALPH L. CROSMAN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1928. Pp. xix+374.

James Gordon Bennett was "the first real reporter" the American press had known. As everything that is unique and characteristically American about the newspaper is due directly or indirectly to the reporter rather than the "editor"—that is to say, the editorial writer—this statement defines Bennett's place in the history of American journalism.

Between them the two Bennetts ruled the *Herald* for eighty-three years, the longest newspaper dynasty we Americans have known. They left no mourners when their hands grew cold. The elder was ostracised by the community, the younger by himself. The *Herald* was equally isolated and without friends. It compelled support by its energy and won its way by force. Buying and selling news was its business. In this it ranked supreme.

It was the elder Bennett more than anyone else who made the buying and selling of news a business. Previous to his arrival on the scene, the newspaper man had been a public servant without a public office; a public functionary with great but ill-defined responsibilities, but without a salary. Subscribers and advertisers alike "supported" the paper be-

cause they subscribed to the views expressed in the editorial column or because the paper "supported" the political party of which they were a member. The conception that a newspaper could or would print news merely because it was interesting rather than because it supported a policy or reinforced a favorite moral principle was a conception of things that was, in 1835, when Bennett started the *Herald*, not only news but shocking.

News was plentiful enough, but it was not the custom to print it. Accounts of social affairs were tabooed. The proceedings of the courts could not be exploited. It was libelous to publish reports of bankruptcies. Murders were described in a half-dozen lines. Political proceedings alone earned space, and these were warped and twisted to suit the policy of the sheet. There were many papers—nothing was easier to start or more difficult to keep going—but they were partisan or specialized organs that filled most of their space by cribbing from or commenting on one another. New York had numerous dailies, small in size and circulation, that voiced the opinions of the editors, who clipped from exchanges and padded from the European mail. Correspondents served them from various parts of the country, but sent more of their own pedantry or opinion than news. Happenings of moment were recorded in paragraphs—there was no "working up" of stories, and much that later became news was left unnoticed.

Bennett changed all that. He reported Wall Street; published the list of bankruptcies; reported public dinners; organized the shipping news and established a sort of associated press by sending *Herald* proof slips to other newspapers throughout the country and receiving the proof slips of these other papers. Bennett invented the war map and was the first to publish illustrations. He reported society events and shocked the country by publishing reports of church conferences. The religious press treated this bit of newspaper enterprise as a sacrilege. Then Bennett began reporting popular sermons.

The effect of all this was to secularize the newspaper, depriving the editorial writer of his pontifical function as interpreter of current events and, by reporting what happened, giving the reader the opportunity to make his own comment on the news. Previous to that the editor had regarded news as valuable so far as it furnished him a text for an editorial. From this time no region of human experience was sacred enough to escape the notice of the press, and nothing human but found its place in the news columns. Incidentally, the newspaper achieved, at the same time, its independence of parties, dogmas, and of powers, temporal and spiritual. It did this by vastly increasing circulation, thereby increasing its value as an advertising medium, relying upon the interest of the public

in the news rather than upon the favor of parties and the subsidy of the public printing to maintain its existence.

The newspaper has become since then what Bennett said he intended the *Herald* to be, a "great organ of social life." It has also become a great capitalistic enterprise. The men who have made and are making the metropolitan dailies have disappeared beneath the vast and complicated structures which they have erected. They are no longer public characters. Except for the legends current in the newspaper offices, they are no longer persons—they are mere names. The press has become a great impersonal enterprise in which men live and work like demiurges, very dimly and only partially aware of the nature of their tasks and of their consequences to the world outside the office. These changes, which began with the elder Bennett, were practically completed before Bennett, the younger, who edited his paper by cable from Paris, died.

With this change in the character of the newspaper has come a change in the attitude of the public toward the news. The earlier newspapers were organs of opinion. Their editors were mainly publicity men for the parties they represented. Most of what they wrote we would now call propaganda. The extent to which our attitude toward the press has changed is indicated by the fact that propaganda has come to be the name for something that is almost indecent. On the other hand, a shrill cry has been raised to warn us that our liberties are bound up not with the opinions of editors but with the news. There is still objection to what news the papers print, but the concern of our intelligentsia is less with the news that is printed than with the news that is suppressed.

Don C. Seitz, having written the lives of Joseph Pulitzer, of the *World*, and Horace Greeley, founder of the *Tribune*, has now filled the gap in the history of nineteenth-century journalism by writing the life of the Bennetts. In view of the fact that he has been during the most of his life a newspaper man and a journalist in New York; that he knows the game and the people and has been close to the sources of history for forty years and more, it is doubtful if the New York press could have found a more competent biographer. It is, however, as he confesses, less the newspaper than the personality of its editors that intrigued the biographer of the Bennetts. The Bennetts were odd characters; they were, on the whole, lonely men. But the same thing may be said in regard to Pulitzer and Hearst. Pulitzer, a blind man seeking to escape the noises of the world, edited his paper from a private yacht. Hearst, the most dazzling figure that the newspaper world has ever known, is "a man of

mystery. Master of the art of attracting attention and swaying the multitude, he holds himself as aloof as the dalai lama."

It is still, however, a question whether these men made their newspapers or their newspapers made them. My own impression, after a careful study of the institution, is that the American newspaper has become what it is today not because of its publishers and editors but, on the whole, in spite of them. Not only Bennett but Pulitzer and Hearst seem to have cherished ambitions that did not fit in at all with the program and the policies which their newspapers eventually imposed upon them. Bennett, a failure as a political writer, was forced to become, as Seitz says, a reporter. Hearst's excursions into politics have probably done more than anything else possibly could to destroy his great newspaper properties. The fact seems to be, given a flock of lively young men eager to get the news and print it; given also a corps of enterprising advertising men determined to sell advertising space, and given the time and the place—what a publisher needs most is courage, courage to let his eager young men do their stuff. The history of the press has been a struggle for circulation. But this struggle for circulation, with its consequences, has had its effects upon the men who grew up with and were responsible for it. It conferred upon them great powers and responsibilities—not, to be sure, as great as sometimes imagined—but it left them lonely. It is the extraordinary and more or less eccentric aspects of Mr. Hearst's career that are emphasized in this sketch. The head of the greatest publishing business in the world has made, and will continue to make, good copy. He is part of the skyscraper age, an American phenomenon whose real significance we shall not fully understand until we are able to look at his career in its historical perspective.

It is curious and interesting to note in how many respects the story of Charles William Harmsworth, Lord Northcliffe, is like that of his contemporary Edward Bok. He early learned "the profound secret of what printers call 'display'"; i.e., to make up a page of type in such a way that "it will leap to the eye." He rode a bicycle and became the editor of a paper called *Youth*. He was at once enterprising and filled with the spirit of humanity. He was stirred by an interest in "the great, patient, voiceless England" and wrote a book which was designed to meet her needs. It was called *One Thousand Ways to Make a Living*. He became convinced that the great, patient, voiceless public was thirsting for information, and he established a penny paper entitled *Answers to Correspondents*. By offering a prize of £1 a week for life to the man or woman who guessed the

most accurately the amount of bullion in the Bank of England on a given date, he made it an immense success. Following this success he established a series of publications, two of which were *Comic Cuts* and *Forget Me Not*. His later successes with the *Evening News*, the *Daily Mail*, and finally the *Times*, it is interesting to note, were due to the fact that he was willing to print and sell the public what it was interested in reading. Says his biographer, "His attitude was that the public had a right to be interested in anything in which it chose to be interested. He did not dispute that interest; on the contrary, he tried to discover it."

The great influence which Lord Northcliffe exercised upon public opinion, particularly during the period of the World War, was based, to be sure, upon the wide circulation of his newspapers, but it was due also to his knowledge of what we sometimes call the public mind. He had grown up with the public and understood it. In spite of the rather sumptuous form in which the book is printed, large type and wide margin, it is in substance thin. If the tone of Hearst's biographer is inclined to be cynical, that of Northcliffe's is sometimes dithyrambic. Both display, nevertheless, a keen insight into the nature and sources of newspaper success and of the influence which the modern newspaper man exercises upon the public through the medium of the news.

If the biographies of Hearst and Northcliffe and the Bennetts show us the sort of men who make newspapers, Silas Bent's *Ballyhoo* exhibits the kind of newspapers they have made. We have had the history of the yellow press. It was written by Will Irwin and published in *Collier's* in 1911. Since then we have acquired the tabloids. *Ballyhoo* is a survey and a criticism of what the author calls the "gargoyle press," the press which to the sober eye has "a fantastic and a leering" look. Mr. Bent wields a trenchant pen. He seems to be a little more surprised and indignant than one ordinarily expects a newspaper man with as much experience as he has had to be. This is due, perhaps, to the fact that he has been a teacher in a school of journalism or that he is lifting his voice to catch the ear of the magazine public. Nevertheless, he writes as one who knows the newspaper from a rather wide and intimate experience. What is more important, he has the facts. One gets the impression, from what he says, that something ought to be done to protect the American public from the rapidly increasing means of communication so characteristic of modern life. There is not merely the newspaper; we have also the telephone, the radio, and the moving picture. They are undermining, with their stimulating and distracting novelties, the continuity of our experience and the very basis of our cultural life. Men who still want to think

have to go into retreat to do so. The rest of us do not think any more; we react. This is not the way Mr. Bent puts it; but that is one way of stating the matter. The best thing that can be said about *Ballyhoo* is that, in spite of its censorious tone, it does actually bring Will Irwin's story of the newspaper up to date.

*Covering Washington* is the story of Washington life as a newspaper man sees it in retrospect. There are none of the high lights which illuminate Silas Bent's trenchant narrative. Mr. Essary is a historian; he is interested in affairs and describes in an interesting way, without agitation, what Washington life looks at in perspective. His account is anecdotal and reminiscent. It describes the town, the Supreme Court, the newspaper man's relation with the White House, the evolution of the lobby, and the proceedings of the Gridiron Club, all in a very entertaining way and without hard words. One gets the impression that somehow the continuity of our national life is maintained not only in spite of the newspapers, but more or less with their assistance.

"There are few professions other than that of the law," according to the authors of *The Law of Newspapers*, "that bring their practitioners into contact with the law so frequently or that have so many legal hazards as that of journalism." One would gain the impression from the newspapers that legal hazards either did not exist or that they were so slight that they were not worth recording. There are, however, not merely laws that restrain the license of the press, but there are cases in which this law has been interpreted in the courts. These cases are interesting and instructive reading. This volume is built largely upon cases and upon the decisions of the courts in respect to the issues which they raise. It is not, however, a legal textbook. It is a book for newspaper men and for students of journalism. One of the joint authors is professor of law in the University of Colorado, and the other is head of the department of journalism in the same institution. One of the most interesting chapters in the volume discusses "the right of privacy." Few of us have been aware that we had any such right. Even if we did, it seems to have been rendered migratory by the telephone and the radio, which break in peremptorily upon the most sacred privacies. But the right of privacy does exist in certain states. It is, however, limited at present to the publication of photographs for advertising purposes without permission. This is an important evolution in law, and the volume which calls attention to it assumes a new importance for that reason.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*An Introduction to the Study of Society.* By FRANK H. HANKINS.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. xiii+760.

According to the author, this volume is designed for Freshman and Sophomore classes in college departments of sociology. Since the study of sociology cannot be postponed until students have taken courses in geography, biology, and psychology, a preliminary survey is necessary. The purpose of the book, as further stated in the Preface, is to give an "essential background" which a student must have in order to advance with profit, to be "the base course in sociology," to provide "a preliminary survey of the field," and to give "some insight into human origins and institutions." Since there is here some essential contradiction, the real purpose of the author must be inferred from his performance rather than taken from his statement.

On examination the book proves not to be in the field of sociology. After a little preliminary skirmishing, the author has two chapters devoted chiefly to questions of physical anthropology. There is then a brief interlude followed by chapters on the geographical, biological, psychological, and cultural antecedents of social life. The final chapters of the book deal with selected phases of social anthropology—the evolution of material culture, religion and related phenomena, marriage and the family, and social organization. It appears obvious that the author is not concerned with sociological subject matter. This inference is confirmed by a careful reading of the volume: neither its subject matter nor its point of view is sociological.

This is not intended as an adverse criticism, but the nature of the book must be understood. To apply the title sociology to the content of this book would be to make necessary some other designation for the distinctive group of scientific problems and procedures called sociological. The book really discusses some of the problems that lie within the field of social anthropology.

The first pages of the volume are devoted to an analysis of bias, its causes and consequences, and to warnings against its dangers; the remainder of the volume might well be treated as a documentary exemplification of bias in its effects on the observation and reporting of social reality. The author's fundamental position emphasizes the determining effects of race and heredity in human affairs. Races and classes differ in physical, mental, and temperamental characters, and these influence and condition, when they do not absolutely determine and control, culture, tradition, character, and achievement. In the expression of this general viewpoint the author vacillates between the position of the race deter-

minists and that of modern scholarship, but in the end he always casts his anchor closer to the former than to the latter.

It is inevitable that there should be some confusion and frequent contradiction in any effort to force the facts of reality into conformity with this racial and eugenic doctrine. From a score of cases at hand, we may take a random illustration. At various places it is pointed out that the recent American immigrants are mentally inferior. At other places it is pointed out that the migrants from the rural areas are selected and superior. Now there happens to be no essential difference in the two movements except that, in the one case the migrant crosses a national boundary and in the other case he does not. In each case he is moving from a rural district to an urban center. Mr. Hankins nowhere explains how, or why, the step that carries the migrant across a national boundary changes him from a superior to an inferior person. It might also be pointed out that the individual migration from country to city cannot operate to the deterioration of the country population unless we materially modify or give up Mr. Hankins' other position that spontaneous, fluctuating variations are not heritable. The mental tests prove, to the author's complete satisfaction, that the Negroes are grossly inferior to the whites in mental ability. But when he undertakes to demonstrate a similar gross inferiority of women to men, he makes no mention of the tests. A technique is to be used, apparently, only in those cases where it gives the right results.

It does not seem unreasonable to demand that a book, intended as a text for elementary students, be reasonably accurate in the factual detail presented. But so much cannot be claimed for the present volume. Let us take a series of consecutive pages, chosen at random, and cite a few examples. The statement (p. 50) that embryology furnishes the most convincing single piece of evidence in regard to the animal ancestry of man is not in harmony with the best thought. The author (p. 51) confuses natural and sexual selection. The legend of the chart (p. 62) does not describe it, and the table itself is in error: if it is a table of all fossil men, it has omitted Rhodesian Man; if it is intended to include only the finds made in Europe, it should not include *Pithecanthropus erectus*. The author appears to accept (p. 65) the unacceptable endocrinal view of mutational change. Paleontological history will not support his predictions (p. 66) that fossil types of man will doubtless be found in the Americas. On the same page he speaks of fossil man being killed by several causes, among them their distant relatives of "higher" form. The orang is declared to be as close to man as the gorilla and the chim-

panzee (p. 70). Pithecanthropus and Rhodesian man are said to be the two most ancient, definitely *human* fossil remains yet discovered (p. 75; see also p. 77). Most students deny, of course, that Pithecanthropus was a man, and they put Heidelberg before Rhodesian Man. *Australopithecus africanus*, a type of fossil ape, is classed as an extinct type of man (p. 88; see also p. 77). M. Boule's position in regard to the Piltdown remains is completely misunderstood and misconstrued: neither the first nor the later edition is subject to the interpretation given. It is perhaps an unimportant matter, but since the author goes to the trouble of giving the exact figure (p. 80) it may be pointed out that the Mauer jaw was not found 69 feet below the surface. The figure usually given is about 80 feet: Boule says 24 meters, Hrdlicka says over 80 feet, Burkitt says 80 feet. The Java man was not found in 1892 as stated (p. 90). Thompson is not the author of *What Is Man*, as stated (p. 91). Contrary to the statement (p. 94), stature is not very important as a racial trait. The Eskimos live in village groups or bands; they have hardly any tribes (p. 99). It has been a very long time since competent anthropologists have said "probably the most fundamental of all marks of racial distinction is what is called the cephalic index" (p. 102). It is slightly amusing to find cranial capacity taken up under racial traits (p. 102). The reviewer is unable to determine what is meant (p. 119) by the Europeans as a mixture of three or possibly more primary races. Nor is he familiar with the "anthropological opinions" which tend to support arguments against race mixture "because of the frequent observation of an unusual amount of social dereliction and general inefficiency in certain areas or classes where there was also much crossing of racial types" (p. 123). These are random samples; there is a gem to every page.

Mr. Hankins' manner of writing English is not the best for textbook purposes. A book for that purpose should give an orderly presentation, in lucid English, of the best modern thought on the field covered. The present book is lacking on each of these points. Nevertheless it will probably have considerable sale as a text. Its disposition to glorify the whites and the economically prosperous classes is in line with the prevailing popular prejudices; from the point of view of many teachers this will more than compensate for any and all its shortcomings.

E. B. REUTER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

*Allgemeine Soziologie—als Lehre von dem Beziehungen und Beziehungsgebilden der Menschen.* By LEOPOLD VON WIESE. Part II, *Gebildelehre*. Munich and Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1929. Pp. xiv+282.

If it has been mildly irritating to have Part II of Professor von Wiese's *General Sociology*, the *Gebildelehre*, or theory of social structures, appear five years after Part I, *Beziehungslehre*, or theory of human relationships, there are some compensations. The interval has permitted the author to take into account criticisms of the earlier volume. Chapter i of the present volume contains a restatement of the position taken in the *Beziehungslehre*. The student who is pressed for time might gain a very fair idea of von Wiese's general theoretic system by a hasty examination of the *Beziehungslehre* followed by a more careful reading of the *Gebildelehre*. It has been suggested that the earlier volume was unnecessarily lengthy, and Part II can almost be taken as a compressed statement of the whole. Inasmuch as the *Beziehungslehre* was ably reviewed by the late Professor Small in this *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> the present reviewer may take for granted a knowledge on the part of the reader of the general plan of that volume. Here Professor von Wiese starts from the proposition that neither *Beziehung* ("connection, relation") nor *Gebilde* ("form, structure") is, strictly speaking, a definable term. They are ultimate categories. One can, however, describe what is meant by a social structure, and point out certain things about it, thus giving by indication a clue to its sense. The term *Beziehung* is employed simply to designate the substantive or relatively permanent aspects of an action of one person or group which affects, or terminates upon, another person or group. In the theory of social structures, we are concerned first with the antithesis between the concept of social process as the active, dynamic aspect of social interaction, and social structure as the substantive aspect. Professor von Wiese uses the term structure (*Gebilde*), however, in a somewhat technical sense, to designate complexes or systems of social processes. A social structure, in this sense, consists of a number of persistent social processes marked in general pattern by some sort of permanence of form. Of such structures he distinguishes three general classes: crowds, groups, and abstract collectivities. The present volume is occupied mainly with the analysis and description of the special characteristics of these types and their subordinate varieties.

This book is packed so full of interesting material that the reviewer is constrained to forego the attempt to discuss its implications in any

<sup>1</sup> XXI (July, 1925), 85-89.

detail. Two features, however, merit special emphasis. One is the author's distinction between the crowd (*Masse*) and the mere throng or multitude (*Menge*). A multitude is a mere heap of human beings; it becomes a crowd only when some significant happening initiates interactions among its members (pp. 95-96). The other feature is the use of quasi-mathematical symbols and equations to represent the fundamental analytical hypotheses proposed by the author. No doubt a great deal more experimentation and discussion must take place before the question concerning the validity and utility of this procedure in sociology can be answered decisively, but meanwhile, there is something very intriguing about the idea.

Though the development of sociology in Germany has in some respects lagged behind the similar movement in the United States, German sociologists are producing books which American sociologists cannot afford to neglect. Professor von Wiese's *General Sociology* is one of these books.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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*The Workings of the Indeterminate-Sentence Law and the Parole System in Illinois.* By ANDREW A. BRUCE, ALBERT J. HARNO, and ERNEST W. BURGESS. Springfield, Illinois: Parole Board of Illinois, 1928. Pp. xiv+277.

At the request of the chairman of the Parole Board of Illinois, the president of each of the three principal universities in Illinois appointed one faculty member to serve on a committee to study the indeterminate-sentence and parole system of Illinois. The problem presented to the committee was to determine whether the indeterminate-sentence and parole system should be abandoned or continued, and if continued, how it should be modified. The evidence presented on this problem shows chiefly two facts: that the period of imprisonment under the indeterminate-sentence system has been longer than under the earlier definite-sentence system, and that about 75 per cent of the inmates paroled have no record of violation of parole. The Committee apparently came rather early to an agreement that the problem of abandoning parole need not be considered seriously. Consequently, they presented a descriptive account of the parole system as operating and suggestions for modification.

The greatest contribution in this study consists in the fifth part, which is an analysis by Professor Burgess of the factors which determine

success or failure on parole, and on this basis the construction of an expectancy rate by means of which to predict success or failure on parole. The failures were compared with the successes on twenty-one items, including the following: type of offense, criminal type, previous criminal record, social type, parental and marital status, type of area of residence, previous work record, punishment record in prison, months served prior to parole, age at time of parole, recommendation of trial judge and prosecuting attorney, intelligence rating, psychiatric personality type, psychiatric prognosis. Sub-classifications were made; some of these sub-classes had violation rates higher than the average for the entire institution, others had rates lower than the average for the entire institution. Thus a particular individual might be in twenty-one groups which had violation rates lower than the average for the entire institution, or in twenty-one groups which had violation rates higher than the average for the entire institution, or at some intermediate point. In the final table the twenty-one classes were reduced to nine, and these had rates of violation of parole ranging from 1.5 per cent at one extreme to 76 per cent at the other. The Committee suggests that this expectancy rate should be refined by the study of a larger number of cases. As it stands, it may be regarded as one of the major contributions to scientific technique in the social sciences. It should be quite as useful in the explanation of behavior as in the administration of agencies which are attempting to control behavior.

The principal defect of the expectancy rate, as it stands, is the lack of objective definition and standardization. This can be attained best by the actual use of the rate by various parole boards and other agencies. It is unlikely that standardization can be secured without at least a generation of experimentation.

E. H. SUTHERLAND

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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*Town and Country.* By ELVA E. MILLER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928. Pp. 12+212. \$2.00.

*Rural Sociology.* By JOHN MORRIS GILLETTE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. xiii+574.

Where practical problems touch deeply a vast number of people, it is pertinent that a sympathetic writer strive to foment appreciation and mutual understanding. The book *Town and Country*, by Elva E. Miller, does just this thing; its purpose is to bring understanding between the

village- and town-dweller, and the farmer. It is neither sociology, a treatise on rural problems, nor an attack on any class.

The author had as his primary object the showing of the interdependence of the town and country; at the same time he recognized the antithesis in their relationships particularly as producer and consumer. The towns came into existence as service centers for the farmers; they are the market places for the agriculturist. Likewise, the town cannot exist without the country; when the farmers fail in their prosperity the town merchant cannot succeed. To promote better farming; to provide better accommodations for the farmers in the town; to make the churches, the schools, and other organizations of the town, service-institutions for the country is, after all, the best method of promoting the welfare of the town. The author has used many examples which show decided success where co-operation of townsmen and countrymen has been attempted.

*Rural Sociology*, by Professor Gillette, is a revised edition of his book which appeared in 1922 under the same title. The author states in his Preface:

The factual and statistical statements have been brought up to date in so far as published material permits. Large portions of chapters dealing with population, health, tenancy, labor, and the relation between town and country and considerable portions of many other chapters have been rewritten.<sup>1</sup>

Other aspects have also been changed, though the scheme of the book and the author's general approach have persisted.

This book is a text. It cannot be considered as having made a scientific contribution and it is very questionable if it is sociology. For classes concerned with the problems of rural life, who need perhaps to know something about national welfare and land policy and conservation of forest and mineral resources as well as methods of developing rural leadership, this book answers the purpose. The statistical data are well chosen; the author has spared no pains to acquaint himself with all available information. His bibliographies are unusually complete.

With these good qualities the book is open to serious criticisms. The author assumes that the principles of sociology have been found, but one cannot discover that he in any way has followed them if they have. Numerous conclusions are apparently drawn by the author from his own general observations. A glaring weakness is found in the treatment of villages. In defining his problem the following statement is made: "Towns, for our purposes, will include cities of 2,500 or more inhabitants each, small incorporated places, and all unincorporated aggrega-

<sup>1</sup> Preface.

tions of a non-agricultural character."<sup>2</sup> Professor Gillette proceeds to discuss the village, but the reader is not sure about what he is talking. The second weak aspect concerns the question of village decline. The whole treatment attempts to prove his former position, that villages are declining, rather than to examine the real situation. One is led to believe that Professor Gillette has failed to see that villages as a class lose population by growth out of the class.

After all, this work is encyclopedic, it has its place, and serves as a happy point of attack for all who desire to make rural sociology a real science.

BRUCE L. MELVIN

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

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*Great Britain.* Essays in Regional Geography. By Twenty-six Authors. With an Introduction by SIR E. J. RUSSELL. Edited by A. G. OGILVIE. Cambridge: University Press, 1928. Pp. xxx + 486.

This series of essays, prepared for the twelfth International Geographical Congress by Britain's foremost geographers, aims to give a synopsis of the entire regional geography of Great Britain. The country is divided into twenty-four major divisions, each containing numerous subdivisions. The approach in the main is geological and geographical rather than ecological and cultural. No attempt is made to show territorial or economic integration. Even a general regional map is omitted because "it was felt that such a map might find its way into elementary textbooks where it would mislead."

The essays give an interesting picture of cultural change in this little island of varied geographical formation. Change has taken place very unevenly. Some regions or parts of regions have been passed by in the modern whirl, as for instance the South-West peninsula, which the "era of railways and steamships plunged into relative obscurity," or the southeastern Midlands, which "seems like a surviving fragment of an England of the past," or East Anglia, which so far has "escaped the devastating phases of modern industrialism"; other districts have gone through various successions in economic structure and human settlement. Old centers such as Coventry, York, and Edinburgh have been superseded in importance by great industrial conurbations like those around Birmingham, Leeds, and Glasgow. Likewise many of the "little ports"

<sup>2</sup> P. 427.

that dotted the shoreline have been swept into oblivion by the concentrated shipping centers.

In general the British Isles represent three different patterns of settlement and human distribution, (1) the pre-industrial, determined by topography and soil, (2) the structure of the nineteenth century imposed by railways, steam-power, and international trade, (3) the present pattern of local integration resulting from the motor car and "the new industrial revolution." The ground plan of the first pattern was laid by the Romans through their system of main trunk highways. The railways and steam-power in industry superimposed a new structure characterized by the rise of specialized industrial conurbations near the sources of fuel and the gateways of commerce and by the segregation of business and finance in London. The motor car and the new forms of competition, both from within and from without the country, are effecting a third structural pattern—a sort of revival of the pre-industrial régime but on a new scale of distance. The present era is characterized by metropolitan overflow, changing economies, and by new human migrations.

In the past the region's industrial concentration served as reservoirs for the surplus inhabitants of the agricultural sections but now new migrations are under way. Scotland is being invaded by unskilled laborers from Southern Ireland who are forcing the "cream of the people" to emigrate to other parts of the empire. "The evidence is overwhelming that the Irish in Scotland will increase while the Scottish race decreases."

R. D. McKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

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*Our Oral Word as Social and Economic Factor.* By M. E. DEWITT.  
London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons; New York: E. P.  
Dutton & Co. Pp. 329. \$2.25.

The keynote of this strange and personal book is given in one of the paragraphs of the "Introductory":

Personally we cannot look upon the oral word from a local or even a one-nation point of view. It is far too much a part of our international lives, and with every month our lives are less local, which makes the oral word mean more to the English-speaking people as a whole and, thereby, to the world at large. They are those who are interested in social and economic problems, particularly through women's clubs and the myriad other organisations, who will soon realise that a dozen "best" dialects do not belong to any national programme of education. We no longer educate our nomadic millions for one

state, shire or province, or for one section of a land, or even for one land alone. Why, then, should we give them in the oral word anything which does not sound world-well? We are in a new era, an era in which the air itself connects all villages and far-flung communities within the single moment of the uttered word.

Miss DeWitt is not always easy to follow. This is because of the breathless and emotional quality of her thought and a style which constantly borders on the quaintly pedantic. She is a well-known student of phonetics and of correct English and French speech.

Two main ideas emerge. The first is the paramount importance and indefinite continuance of Anglo-American power, which must not be muddled by any blendings of other races with the Anglo-American race. The second idea is the necessity of perfecting and conserving for this great ethnic unity a noble form of speech, which is correct and uniform in pronunciation, possesses a natural beauty, and is to be made still more beautiful. Miss DeWitt does not approve of the "Western or General" form of American pronunciation, which she dubs "the School of the Curly Tongue," but prefers a common ground of cultivated English speech based on British and eastern American models.

Anglo-American power, the sea, a particular norm of English pronunciation, and beauty of vocal utterance are inextricably blended in Miss DeWitt's planetary dream. Is there a true will, in the unconscious, for such phonetic unity of speech as she advocates? Is not the resistance to such unity a far profounder sociological and psychological fact than most of us are willing to believe? She neither explicitly raises nor answers this question but merely wishes it away. But her book at least suggests its interest and stubborn importance.

EDWARD SAPIR

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Symbolic Process and Its Integration in Children: A Study in Social Psychology.* By JOHN F. MARKEY, PH.D. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928. Pp. xii+192. \$3.50.

Amid the zigzags and meanderings taken by psychology in its historical development one can discover an inevitable return to the problem of thinking. Dr. Markey's treatment represents an approach from the behavioristic tangent. His central tasks are two: to show that reflection is part of a "complex social act," that is, it presupposes co-operative activity and is an aspect of this interlocking behavior; to explain the thought process in terms of an extended and elaborate conditioning pro-

cedure. The concrete material is provided by studies of the appearance of word-symbols among children.

The merit attached to the execution of the first task comes merely from re-emphasizing that symbols arise in joint activity. Of course, this point of view is not novel; it has been held for a long time particularly by the pragmatists in philosophy and psychology. Dr. Markey adds nothing to it, but does restate the position very neatly. Much more interesting is the treatment of the second task. As a behaviorist Dr. Markey shuns the "psyche" as an explanatory principle. Thinking is to be explained by the familiar "conditioning" principle. The task is difficult, but we are presented with an ingenious and interesting interpretation: An individual comes to respond to his own verbal stimulus in the way that he has responded to the verbal stimulus of another, and, in turn, as he has responded to the act of the other. Thus, his verbal stimulus calls out the behavior originally called out by the act of the other. However, his verbal stimulus evokes a second response, by reason of the fact that in addition to being a substitute stimulus, it has a primary value of its own. Then, these two response systems interact in the individual, and in so doing give rise to the integration of the symbol, or the appearance of the thought. Dr. Markey assures us that this is so, although, despite his elaborate and detailed treatment, it is not made evident how the interaction goes on nor how the symbol emerges from it. Where a response is immediate there is no symbol; a symbol always implies an inhibited reaction. Yet there is no place in Dr. Markey's account of the conditioning process, for this inhibited phase or, as he terms it, for the individual to *tend* to respond to the substitute stimulus.

While Dr. Markey is to be admired for his valiant attempt to give a behavioristic explanation of "thinking," one must recognize its inadequacies and weaknesses. It is the opinion of the reviewer that Dr. Markey has added little in theory to what Dewey and Mead have said of the reflective process, and has missed much of what they have written.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Problems of the Pacific*, Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Hawaii, July 15 to 29, 1927. Edited by J. B. CONDLIFFE, M.A., D.Sc. (NZ.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. \$3.00.

This is an invaluable volume not only for persons interested in problems of the Pacific, but also for those interested in the organization of opinion on public problems. The latter group will discover in this book

how the Institute of Pacific Relations functions and specifically what it did at its second general conference at Honolulu in the summer of 1927. Although a verbatim record of the plenary sessions, round tables, and forums of this gathering are not given, the discussion is ably summarized.

Particularly interesting is the report of the round table on the future of the Institute. The speakers, designated by national group membership, frankly express their opinions on the proper objectives of the organization, the relative weight that should be given to research and information, the conduct of discussion, the difference between this and other organizations interested in international affairs, the treatment of press representatives and the knotty problem of publicity, and the expediency of including members from other Pacific countries such as Soviet Russia, etc. A detailed consideration of some of these problems by W. H. Kilpatrick and Herbert Croly is included, while the General Secretary of the Institute presents a brief survey of its history and activity.

The substance of this volume indicates that this organization not only knows what it is about, but is about something worth while. In brief, a better understanding of the problems resulting from the contacts of the diverse civilizations of the Pacific is its object. Its activities involve research, the dissemination of information, and the facilitation of discussion. It does not pass resolutions, make recommendations, nor engage in propaganda.

The first section of the volume reprints the statements presented at the plenary sessions by the leader of each national group. Here one may compare typical attitudes on Pacific problems from Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, China, Japan, Korea, the United States, and the Philippines.

The next section includes skilful summaries of the round-table discussions on such problems as tariff, extraterritoriality, and concessions in China, foreign missions, population and food supply, industrialization and foreign investments, immigration and emigration, diplomatic relations, education and communications, and Pacific mandates.

A selection of documents presented to the conference is then included. Some are highly technical, some popular, but they are sufficiently varied to please both the serious student and the citizen seeking general information. Appendixes list the members of the conference, and the documents presented and reprint the program and the constitution of the organization. Maps and diagrams illustrating fundamental prob-

lems of population and food supply are inserted, and the whole is well indexed.

The Institute and the editor are to be congratulated on this excellent production, which cannot but enlarge general understanding of a group of problems which may dominate the next century.

QUINCY WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Your Growing Child. A Book of Talks to Parents on Life's Needs.*

By H. ADDINGTON BRUCE. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1927. Pp. xii+412. \$2.50.

*Parent Education. Northwest Conference on Child Health and Parent Education.* Edited by RICHARD OLDING BEARD, M.D. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1927. Pp. x+215. \$2.00.

Parenthood, it seems, need no longer be looked upon as an altogether unskilled trade. There are evidences that it may even in time attain the status of a profession, with at least a limited scientific base. Much of the advice with which parents are bombarded, however, still consists of generalities interspersed with plausible anecdotes, always undocumented. Of this type is the volume by H. Addington Bruce, which reflects a far-flung but indiscriminating familiarity with the literature, particularly that current a decade or more ago. The recapitulation theory crops up, unchallenged; instincts of love, fear, play, imitation, and curiosity are casually accepted; and a strong undercurrent of confidence in Freudian theory runs through the book. Chapter headings range from "Care of the Teeth" to "Little Delinquents" and "Teach Tolerance." The topics are unorganized and the style ploddingly unattractive. Though the author stresses the importance of the social heritage and says, "every child, by the time he goes to school, is a partly finished product," there is no mention of nursery schools or of other recent developments in preschool training. Still, valuable bits of counsel do appear throughout.

*Parent Education* represents the sounder modern approach to these matters. Here men and women at work in the laboratories, studying young children at close range, pause long enough to report progress and to offer a finite number of well-buttressed recommendations to the outside world. Twenty-two papers, intelligently organized to cover child life at home, at school, and in the community, present the main problems

faced by every parent, and offer definitely helpful suggestions. The names of the contributors—Drs. Smiley Blanton, John E. Anderson, Richard E. Scammon, Ada Arlitt, Bird T. Baldwin, Miss Lydia Roberts, and others—inspire confidence. These scientists are not neglecting the important task of popularizing knowledge in their respective fields. One of the fine things about the book is its scientific integrity, in evidence of which we may cite the following quotations:

The effect of training upon the underlying growth processes is harder to determine. Relatively little can be said from our present knowledge (John E. Anderson, p. 89).

One of the most remarkable attributes of human beings is their power of adaptive compensation. . . . There is only one means by which innovations in plant and animal life can be achieved, and that is through the agency of variation. Yet when parents or schoolmasters meet an individual who shows distinct tendencies to variation from our present accepted type of satisfactory child, they evidence signs of alarm. . . . It becomes clear that to determine a fixed standard, based upon a system of averages, to which a child must attain to be considered normal, is a dangerous procedure (George Draper, pp. 35-37).

RUTH R. PEARSON

CHICAGO

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*The Origins of the World War: I. Before Sarajevo: Underlying Causes of the War; II. After Sarajevo: Immediate Causes of the War.* By SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. xix+551; xiii+577. \$9.00.

This long expected account is extensive and elaborate, in many parts very thorough, always scholarly, and often testifying to the author's great erudition. If with respect to Germany it is well marked with his feeling and leanings, it is nowhere marred by characteristics that have brought contempt for much "revisionist" writing. The author justly remarks that material pertinent to this subject is now so vast that almost any conclusion can be drawn by selecting some evidence only. This reviewer admits, however, that conclusions reached by conservative scholars about responsibility for the war are supported in astonishing degree by Professor Fay's work.

It remains as true as when first believed, that the conflict that led to the World War began when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, that the larger struggle commenced with declarations of war by Germany on Russia and on France. In the present volumes Professor Fay

brings out in detail, how the German leaders gave to the Austrian government complete assurance beforehand of thorough support in whatever course Austria would follow against Serbia, and he fails not to mention, though this rather briefly, that the decision was taken in connection with the conferences at Potsdam on July 5 and 6. Professor Fay makes it plain that Austria so drafted the ultimatum to Serbia as to render a war with her certain to follow. The author assigns large responsibility to Russia, since she first ordered general mobilization, accepting here the German thesis that "mobilization means war"; but on this important technical and legal point his treatment is brief and perhaps not quite satisfactory.

No extensive scholarly work on the origins of the war contains an abler or more sympathetic treatment of the German case, and it is most desirable that such treatment should be given. Yet with respect to the catastrophe Professor Fay assigns the principal responsibility to Austria-Hungary, and he seems, though less explicitly, to put Germany's responsibility next (II, 550-54). Such judgment may be good, inasmuch as Austria's actions did so much to bring the conflict to pass, but the reviewer has always felt that Germany should bear principal blame, because her power was so much greater that without her support and encouragement Austria would not have ventured to do anything.

RAYMOND TURNER

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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*L'Autorité et la Hiérarchie.* Annales de l'Institut International de Sociologie, Tome XV. Paris: Marcel Giard, 1928. Pp. 365. 45 francs.

When the delegates to the eighth Congress of l'Institut International de Sociologie met in Rome in 1912, little did they think what changes would come over the whole subject of hierarchy and authority in the years that were to intervene before the theme was finally discussed. In October, 1927, delegates met to discuss the theme. Only those papers which seem most important can be mentioned.

Salamon Reinach discussed the origins of sovereignty, and arrived at the startling "explanation" that it has its basis in *mana*, and that any attempt to account for the latter by rational means is foredoomed to failure. *Voilà!*

Descamps found that the origins of sovereignty were in the *shaman*

or medicine-man, and that his original authority was diffused over a wider and wider area as the division of labor becomes more highly elaborated. He attempts no explanation of the shaman's *mana*, but does not seem to lean toward the obscurantist "explanation" adopted by Reinach.

Starcke, of the University of Copenhagen, had a long paper on the difference between Dugit and Kelsen—between the pluralist and the Neo-Kantian.

Next came a trio furnishing a comic interlude: Eduard Sanz y Escartin of Spain, Francesco de Luca, of the University of Naples, and Frederick W. Roman, of our own fair land. The first two dilated on the merits of the dictatorships in their respective countries: a fairly good case can be made out for Mussolini and Primo de Rivera, but not by the two gentlemen whose papers we are now considering! One wonders how they ever got into the Congress, and why their effusions were printed; and when one turns to Roman's attack upon the iniquitous vintners of France, one wonders . . . and wonders. Is this American sociology?

Duprat, of the University of Geneva, had by far the best paper presented; it covers 143 pages of the *Annales* and is worth all the rest put together. *La Sociologie des Hiérarchies Sociales* is free from obtrusive value judgments and heated oratory.

The shadow of dictatorship haunted the Congress, but received little explicit attention except from its Italian and Spanish protagonists. Is it an accident that the next meeting of the Congress will consider this question—"What are the underlying causes of war, and what are the prerequisites for enduring peace?"

HOWARD P. BECKER

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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*Misleaders of Labor.* By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. 2 West Fifteenth Street, New York: Trade Union Educational League, 1927. Pp. 336. \$1.75.

In the United States there are few books on labor written by labor leaders. There are only three such outstanding books: one written by John Mitchell, when president of the United Mine Workers, entitled *Organized Labor*; the second by Samuel Gompers, entitled *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*; and the third by William Z. Foster, *The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons*. Perhaps the reason for the smaller number of books written by American labor leaders is the lack of contact with

intellectuals. *Misleaders of Labor* is a book written by a labor man with the aid of intellectuals. It ranks among the really few good books. Just as the Mitchell and Gompers books are able statements of the conservative trade-union attitude, so Foster's book takes its place as an able statement of the Communist trade-union attitude.

*Misleaders of Labor* is frankly a propaganda book analyzing and interpreting the American trade-union situation from the Communist viewpoint. The facts are not always carefully checked, and there is considerable overstatement. However, since the book was not written by an ignoramus, but by a keenly intelligent man, a practical leader and organizer, and one profoundly conversant with the ins and outs of the labor movement, it is full of substance and makes stimulating reading even for those who do not accept the central Communist theme with which it is embellished.

*Misleaders of Labor* may be roughly divided into three phases. Not content with the recital of the records of leaders that have been publicly branded as corrupt, Foster proceeds to tear the cloak of respectability from prominent labor leaders who have been honored and esteemed by the press, pulpit, employers, and public officials. The second set of criticisms is based upon the ethics of revolutionary working-class philosophies. According to this morality, persons who align themselves with the movement are expected to be actuated by far-reaching principles. Foster turns the limelight on those leaders who lightly abandon the cause of labor for lucrative positions with the "enemy" employer or for business careers, as though changing to business pursuits were merely a shift of jobs rather than a discarding of fundamental ethical principles. What galls Foster and the revolutionary radicals is that the American Federation of Labor accepts such practices as ordinary and even laudable, and continues to honor and respect such labor leaders. The third phase of the book is to prove that other brands of radicals, as the socialists and the I.W.W.'s, are not qualified to save the situation. According to Foster, only the Communists can do the job both nationally and internationally. The scene in Russia is pointed to as evidence of what the Communists can do; and American workers are urged to force the labor movement to hitch its wagon to this new comet.

DAVID J. SAPOSS

BROOKWOOD COLLEGE

*The Scientific Habit of Thought.* By FREDERICK BARRY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. Pp. ix+358. \$3.50.

Philosophers of science have given much time and thought to the problem of scientific procedure, but their achievement is far out of proportion to their effort. The deficiency, the reviewer suspects, comes simply from the failure to study scientists as they are engaged in their scientific work. To interpret the basic ways of scientific thought in terms of formal logic; to construe them so as to bear out a particular philosophical bias; to select some particular scientific technique and project it as the method of science in general; to elaborate in verbose fashion some common aphorism concerning science—such approaches have been legion. But to inquire into scientific thought in a scientific manner is a rare attack, one getting hints of it only in such works as those of Mach, Clifford, and Poincaré.

Dr. Barry is eminent as a scientist, and is equally trained and able in the history of science. His experience and knowledge should fit him peculiarly well to study scientifically scientific thinking; but the reader who anticipates such a treatment in this book will experience keen disappointment. Dr. Barry gives us, instead, a number of essays, constructed and written in true essay form. This type of approach accomplishes his expressed aims but scarcely measures up to one's hopes.

As essays Dr. Barry's discussions are good. They are suggestive, argumentive, clever, and stimulating. He strives to tell us about the nature of science and the scientist, the nature of scientific fact and theory, and the rôle and opportunity of scientific thinking in modern life. In this he succeeds very well, subject to the inadequacies which mark an essay approach to a scientific problem. The depicting of the scientist as a cold-blooded, tough-minded, highly curious individual seems a little odd and unrepresentative. One misses any appreciation of the historical and accidental genesis of the "scientific attitude" which Dr. Barry somehow regards as the inevitable possession of a certain kind of individual. The discussion of the Nature of Fact could be improved by pondering over George Mead's unduly neglected article, "Scientific Method and the Individual Thinker." But such deficiencies are not to be regarded as serious for this type of work. Its reading will amply repay one who approaches it with the proper understanding of its character.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Elements of Rural Sociology.* By NEWELL LEROY SIMS. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1928. Pp. xiv+698. \$3.75.

This text is by a writer well known for his earlier works, *A Hoosier Village* and *The Rural Community*. The book is divided into five sections: an Introduction, which defines rural sociology; a section on the vital element, which deals mostly with population and migration; a section on the cultural element, which is devoted to physical factors and institutions; the material element, which summarizes wealth, income, and consumption; and the structural element, which elaborates the earlier thesis developed in *The Rural Community*, and then sets forth certain "principles" of rural social organization.

Chapter i contains the surprising statement, "Until of late . . . there has been only an urban sociology." Following, is the suggestion that the science of sociology arose because of the appearance of a "host of problems." In the opinion of the reviewer, this correlation between the appearance of social problems and sociology is invalid. Attempts to understand human behavior are as old as society. The definitions of rural sociology in the first chapter vary from a "science of group energy" to a "science of social adequacy." The first is a promise of a behavioristic sociology; the second is an admission that the major conclusions of the work are to be evaluative. Later (p. 511) sociology is defined as a "science of human grouping." But neither the term "group energy" nor "human grouping" differentiates sociology from other social sciences. In spite of the definitions and the predication of a "unitarian approach," this book is almost identical with a composite of the previous texts in rural sociology. Its merit lies merely in its greater comprehensiveness of specialized studies and a slightly more critical handling of the material.

The thesis favoring the return to the village or compact community is opposed to the conclusion drawn earlier by Dr. J. M. Gillette. The interpretation given by Dr. Sims may be reduced to two theories: first, that there has been practically a perfect correlation between "time" and the appearance of the "separate family-farm," or a high negative correlation between the first variable and the disappearance of the compact farm village; and, second, the disappearance of this compact farm village has a high correlation with the appearance of the economic, social, and political disfranchisements of the rural classes, or the debased status of the farmer-peasant class. This first theory has been challenged by a number of historians and geographers who show that the "dispersed farm" has been characteristic of nearly all agricultural societies, fluctuating from time to time, often without understandable rhyme or reason.

The second theory is still more thoroughly contested. If anything, in the opinion of the reviewer, there is more validity to believe that the isolated farm has been associated in many cases with an improvement of the class status of the agriculturalists.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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*Urban Sociology.* By NELS ANDERSON and EDUARD C. LINDEMAN.  
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. Pp. xv+414.

To write a book on "Urban Sociology" and contrast the subject with "Rural Sociology" is like dividing human activities into two parts and using one as a screen on which to display the other. One of the authors was familiar with city life, the other with rural affairs. The latter was invited to participate in the project to lend a touch of barnyard atmosphere to magnify metropolitanism.

The general position is that the "urban community" is the American metropolis with its skyscrapers, subways, apartments, and criminals. The country is the area from which the city gets its milk. The farmer is the serious-minded person whose economic interests are at variance with those of the urban dweller.

The book is prepared as a text; however, it is much better fodder for the general reader than for the student. It gives a rather interesting non-statistical description of different phases of life in the great city. The contents cover far too wide a field to permit of more than the most cursory mention of behavior patterns and social problems. The book is unsatisfactory for classroom use except for an elementary orientation course bearing on phases of metropolitan life. The authors have had to limit discussion to a minimum, thereby introducing a simplification and dogmatism that renders the book of little value to serious students. At the same time, in almost every chapter there is some freshness in point of view. Too often the discussion of subjects outside the direct fields of interest is merely an uncritical digest of some of the literature in the field. For example, more than a page is given to a quotation enumerating the accomplishments of Dayton's city manager, in the list of which it is stated he reduced the "infant death rate from 124 per thousand to 67 per thousand."

With all the limitations, most of which are inherent in the undertaking, the book, in the eyes of the reviewer, is a most interesting treatise on the subject, although not the most informative. R. D. MCKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

*The Danish Folk School: Its Influence in the Life of Denmark and the North.* By OLIVE D. CAMPBELL. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. xvi+359. \$2.00.

For a foreigner, the educational values of the Danish folk-schools are difficult to grasp fully and describe adequately. They involve so much of life and literature of peculiar Danish quality that their meaning is elusive to one not to the manner born. Nevertheless, in spite of the linguistic difficulties, Mrs. Olive D. Campbell accomplished the task remarkably well in her book, *The Danish Folk School*. Her study was undertaken with the purpose of "adapting the principles underlying the Danish schools to conditions of rural life in the Southern Highlands," where the John C. Campbell Folk School has now been established at Brasstown, North Carolina.

The book contains a concise Foreword by Mr. Paul Monroe, an Introduction telling the author's impressions of Copenhagen and of the Danish countryside, sixteen brief chapters, and a valuable statistical appendix. The book is richly illustrated by a series of views of the folk-schools, villages, farms, and interiors, all of which render more adequately than words the significance of a culture area which is radically different from our own. The kernel of the book is the chapters "Five Weeks at Askov" (one of the leading Danish folk-schools), "Lectures at Askov," "Vestbirk—a Typical Folk School," "Christmas at a Folk School," and a chapter "Questions and Distinctions" in which the author shows how fully she has come to master her subject by distinguishing between the spirit of the original folk-school and certain various modern adaptations. On the basis of statistical evidence, the author concludes that the task of the schools is done, the folk-schools "having gained rather than lost in the face of greatly increased opportunities for academic and technical education." She has made a keen survey of problematic adjustments which these rural folk-schools face: (1) the growing industrial, urban trend; (2) the difficulty of reaching and appealing to the more exacting and critical Danish youth of today; (3) the problem of tempering this peculiarly Danish, national-cultural movement with internationalism; and (4) retaining the vital idealistic content of their teaching and at the same time satisfying the demand for exact information. Of treatises and publications concerning the Danish folk-schools, this is in the reviewer's judgment the best available to American readers.

JOHN JOHANSEN

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

*Adult Learning.* By EDWARD L. THORNDIKE and associates. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. x+335. \$3.00.

This is a heartening book for the sociologist, the educator, and the human race in general. Professor Thorndike has assembled in accurate scientific form about everything that is known concerning the ability to learn of persons of ages twenty-five to forty-five. Most of the evidence has been assembled by his own investigative groups during the past two years.

His facts, which are drawn from many different sources and which corroborate each other, show that the ages twenty-five to forty-five are greatly superior to childhood in ability to learn almost any kind of thing; that they are equal or superior to early adolescence (fourteen to eighteen); that during these twenty years there is slow decline in ability to learn from a maximum at about the age of twenty-two of only 13 to 15 per cent in a representative group of abilities. This is a decline during the middle years of life of less than 1 per cent a year. And this applies to the various levels of general ability. The frequent failure to educate during childhood and youth is, therefore, in this age of growing leisure, a completely remediable matter.

For the most part the volume is a technical statistical presentation of the results of the several investigations. To keep the abundant technical material from too much obscuring the conclusions, much of it is relegated to appendixes which constitute almost half the volume. His chapter on "Practical Applications" is like rain in the desert. It is in striking contrast with the usual aridity and fatuity of the professional literature on education.

FRANKLIN BOBBITT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Marriage Crisis.* By ERNEST R. GROVES. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. Pp. xi+242. \$2.00.

It is not very often that the hardened reviewer reads a book twice but Professor Groves has given us an essay here which entitles it to such consideration. To our way of thinking it is the best thing he has yet produced. It is not statistical and bears none of the ordinary marks of research technique. It is written directly out of rich experience and sound judgment. While Groves does not find that marriage has "cracked," he does recognize that habitual sanctions have been breaking down and need to be "replaced by thought and conscious questioning of practices that

once went on automatically." The specific causes of this crisis Groves declares to be the popular emergence of a pleasure philosophy and the development of an effective and widely disseminated knowledge of birth control. Groves disposes of the plea that sex is a private matter of no social concern. He rejects trial marriage because all the trial alliances he has known "have been formed by persons who have had exceptional preparation for life and enjoyed unusually favorable circumstances, [yet] not one such union has proved satisfactory over a two-year period." Moreover, "in practice the experimental alliance invites the living together of persons who have no other expectation than the opportunity to satisfy themselves in sex relations." Trial marriage adds to rather than reduces the hazards of marriage because of the experimental attitude which it fosters and because it neglects the very fundamental of modern marriage, namely, the play of affections. The author does not satisfy his conscience by mere scolding but suggests certain ways out of the crisis. This part of the book is a restatement of his familiar plea for education for marriage and parenthood; bureaus of family counsel; standardization of household equipment and operations; painless childbirth; elimination of the atmosphere of criminal procedure from the divorce court; wholesome sex education; and new experiments in insurance designed to offer family security and stability.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada.* By HAROLD A. LOGAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. xiv+427. \$4.00.

*Wage Arbitration: Selected Cases, 1920-1924.* By GEORGE SOULE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. xiv+298. \$2.00.

*The Labor Problem.* By J. A. ESTEV. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1928. Pp. x+378. \$3.00.

Dr. Logan has contributed an excellent, original monograph which fills a gap in sources for the study of the western labor movement. His method is mainly chronological and descriptive. Because of an uneven supply of original materials, the earlier stages of the Canadian labor movement receive a minimum of attention. The sociologist will be interested in the fact that Canadian labor organization arose long before the factory system, that it was distinctly spontaneous and indigenous,

that, although about the middle of the nineteenth century, it took its cue largely from British practice, after 1880 it responded more to American leadership and at the present moment, while preserving a certain autonomy, is an integral part of the North American labor movement. For many reasons Dr. Logan's chapter on "The Federation of Catholic Workers" is, perhaps, the most illuminating. His judgment as to the weakening and retarding influence of mixing church administration and labor policy is both sound sense and clear warning.

Soule's book consists of a reprinting of briefs cited by employers and labor organizations in wage cases, together with the arbitrators' decisions and awards. These cover the book and job-printing cases in New York, 1920-22; the Chicago Packing House cases, 1921; railroad cases, 1920-22; Cleveland Garment cases, 1922-23. The sociologist will find here materials on the technique of discussion, on industrial common law and institutions in the making, on standards of living, and the use of psychological appeal.

In contrast with the two other volumes under review, *The Labor Problem* is a textbook, a good, faithful compilation, but with nothing original either in matter or arrangement. Professor Estey discusses fairly and intelligently problems like restriction of output, the open shop and injunctions; but the chapter on personnel work is very scanty; there is very little citing of original documents and the material is nearly all second-hand. Perhaps worst of all the discussion is scattered; i.e., some topics are discussed at considerable length in different places with little or no cross reference.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*The Psychology of Learning: An Advanced Text in Educational Psychology, Revised and Enlarged.* By WILLIAM HENRY PYLE. Baltimore: Warwick and York, 1928. Pp. ix+441. \$2.32, postpaid.

There are two quite distinctive types of learning: learning which is conscious, purposive, and employs a definite mastery technique; learning which comes relatively unconsciously as a by-product of experience. The first most resembles a manufacturing process with its quantitative objectives, definite work-periods, time-studies, measured results, and the like. The other is most like the unconscious process of growth. The first kind of learning was institutionalized by the old education. The second

is the type that is central in the new education. Indeed this is the main difference between the two.

Professor Pyle's book is devoted entirely to the conscious, mechanical type of learning. One would get the impression that education is wholly a manufacturing process. It is scarcely so much as suggested that may be also, or instead, a growth process. It is the educational psychology of the old education. From the point of view from which it is written, it is an excellent presentation, comprehensive, clear, balanced, and well presented. He has summarized an enormous number of the research studies in the field, and presents numerous and extensive bibliographies. Each chapter is followed by definite statements of all of the generalizations that appear to be justified by the more concrete materials of the chapter; and by exercises, experiments, and references for facilitating the use of the volume as a textbook for teacher-training.

Since accompanying the newer education there must be a certain amount of purposive systematic learning, the book can be of service also to the modernists in setting forth the features of a reliable technique.

FRANKLIN BOBBITT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Reading for Honors at Swarthmore.* By ROBERT C. BROOKS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1927. Pp. vii+197. \$2.00.

There is a growing dissatisfaction with the educational accomplishment of our colleges. Some think that it is the curriculum that is at fault. Others accept the current curriculum in the main and ascribe the shortcomings in accomplishment to erroneous methods of administering it. They seek a method of achieving a fuller measure of the accepted academic results, especially in the case of the students of the larger native capacity.

Swarthmore is of this latter type. The plan used is a variant of that employed with the honors men at Oxford, introducing a number of modifications which are believed to be improvements. It is being tried out with those who elect the honors work in Junior and Senior years only. This group during the academic year 1926-27 comprised seventy-two students, or about one-third of the registration of the two upper classes, and about one-seventh of that of the entire college.

Professor Brooks, who has been a zealous participant in trying out the plan presents a clear, though brief description of it, together with objectives, evaluations, problems, costs, and the opinions of faculty, of

students, and of graduates. He sees the new movement as one of the first streaks of the dawn of a new day in collegiate education. If it serves in appreciable measure to liberate undergraduates from the infant-school type of tutelage so much in vogue, it will have justified itself in the world.

FRANKLIN BOBBITT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Norwegian Sailors on the Great Lakes: A Study in the History.*

By KNUT GJERSET. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1928. Pp. 211.

*Peter Tostman's Account of His Experiences in North America.*

Translated and edited by THEODORE C. BLEGEN. "Travel and Description Series," Vol. I. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1926. Pp. 60.

*Norwegian Sailors on the Great Lakes* presents, mostly in the form of short biographies, the activities of Norwegians on the Great Lakes as sailors, shipowners, and shipbuilders. Incidentally, it gives a history of the growth of commerce on the Lakes, the rise and decline of the sailing vessel with its ultimate displacement by the steamer, the competition offered by the railroad, and the various changes in freight rates, wages, and kinds of cargoes which have occurred over the period.

*Peter Tostman's Account of His Experiences in North America* describes the author's voyage to America and the hardships he suffered during his short stay here. He came to America in the summer of 1838 and left for home the following spring, so fully convinced that America was overrated as a land of promise to the European emigrant that he at once sat down and wrote a book to demonstrate it. He found fault with almost everything he encountered. The climate, the cost of food, the hard work, the delays incident to travel and transportation, the disadvantages of the foreigner in competition with the native, all impressed him as being beyond endurance. The account is particularly interesting because of the fact that it shows a side of the immigrant's life which seldom gets into the histories, most of which apparently are written for and about the successful, retired immigrant farmers whose pictures are so liberally shown.

CARL M. ROSENQUIST

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

*Psychology and the Soldier.* By F. C. BARTLETT, M.A., Director of the Psychological Laboratory of the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1927. Pp. viii+224.

The privilege of lecturing at Cambridge on the relation of psychology to military problems is responsible for this book. Mr. Bartlett is interested in applying psychological knowledge and technique to military organization and operation. He is concerned with three fields of application: choosing and training of the recruit; leadership, discipline, and morale; and mental disorders of warfare. The treatment is neither exhaustive nor original. The reader finds a sane, simple, and occasionally suggestive discussion of conventional theories as applied to a new field of human behavior. Sociologists will be interested most in the consideration of leadership, discipline, and morale; the discussion here is mainly naïve, but occasionally startling and provoking. Since it is an approach to a field in which sociologists have muddled with no better success, it is worthy of their consideration. The present book falls considerably below the standard for originality and perspicacity set by the author's earlier *Psychology and Primitive Culture*.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*The Advancing South. Stories of Progress and Reaction.* By EDWIN MIMS. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1927. Pp. x+319. \$3.00.

About 1880, southern writers began to reconstruct southern antebellum society in ideal, romantic terms. For this to happen changes must take place which render the contemporary age very different from the age which is thought of as golden. It was about 1880 that the South had sufficiently changed its economic base to make this contrast more or less real. At the present time, economic changes are bringing in still another order, and the strain toward the newer economic mores is focusing attention upon the old order and calling out speculation concerning the values of the new. The South, especially the piedmont South, is undergoing extensive industrialization, and a part of its new literature announces that it is "advancing." Professor Mims' book does so, after the manner of chamber of commerce documents.

EDGAR T. THOMPSON

EARLHAM COLLEGE

*The Kuhlman-Binet Tests for Children of Pre-School Age.* By FLORENCE L. GOODENOUGH. A Critical Study and Evaluation. By the University of Minnesota. "The Institute of Child Welfare, Monograph Series," No. 2. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. Pp. 146. \$2.00.

This monograph presents one of the most complete and careful studies of the intelligence of small children yet made. Nearly five hundred children between two and four years of age were tested. Three hundred of these were retested after about six weeks. Children were selected from various social classes. The I.Q. ratings "were, in general, distinctly higher" in the second test than the first. The gains were more marked in the children of professional than in those of the non-professional classes. The author sensibly maintains that the predictability of intelligence tests refers rather "to future status than to future rate of growth" of intellectual capacities. And for social organization this is highly important.

The present monograph is another example of its author's painstaking procedure and sane interpretation. The Preface is by Dr. John E. Anderson, director of the Institute of Child Welfare.

KIMBALL YOUNG

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

*The Philosophy of John Dewey.* Edited by JOSEPH RATNER. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928. Pp. xii+560. \$4.00.

This volume is a clear indication of how Dewey's philosophy has performed its work of peaceful penetration. It is perhaps also an unconscious tribute to the fact that certain popular presentations of philosophy have entered the ranks of best sellers. The editor has gone over Professor Dewey's writings, selected a series of excerpts, and arranged them in such a way as to constitute a unified and comprehensive outline of his philosophy. The result might be revealing even to the philosopher himself, because frequently in the preoccupation of the moment with special problems and details even the best of us may lose a sense of perspective. The list of topics discussed is in itself sufficient to reveal Dewey's broad range of human interest as well as of philosophical exposition. The selections included cover the foundations of a naturalistic metaphysics, mind, and consciousness, the instrumental theory of knowledge, the psychology of habit, intelligence in human behavior, education, human progress, the state, art, and religion.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

*Progress in the Law.* By JOHN S. BRADWAY, Editor in Charge, and Others. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1928. Pp. 187.

Twenty-seven writers have contributed to this volume of the *Annals*. The essays deal with changes not only in substantive law but also in procedure and administration, civil and criminal, as well as in the control and education of members of the bar, and in law-making. Indeed the volume goes into a border zone, where it considers conciliation, workmen's compensation, the family court, public defender, and other agencies that have grown up on the fringe of our more formal legal institutions. Hence, almost any of the social sciences or professions can find appropriate subject matter somewhere among the essays.

One of the chief impressions given by the essays is the deepened sense of change and trends in a department of social behavior in which some have been accustomed to expect stability and finality. These specialized changes call for a social philosophy, within which the law will find its meaning and function. Dean Pound's introductory essay on the social and economic problems of the law is a fitting introduction to the volume, coming as it does from one who has attempted to create a sociological jurisprudence. But the several essays themselves give no evidence that Pound's philosophy has deeply penetrated the experience of members of the bench and bar.

WALTER B. BODENHAFFER

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

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*A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement.* Vol. III.

By G. D. H. COLE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. 237. \$2.50.

Mr. Cole adheres strictly to his theme: labor history from 1900 to the Conservative Reaction of 1927. The opening years of the twentieth century are described as a period of industrial tranquility due to: (1) the Taff-Vale decision; (2) the building up of the Labor Representation Committee; and (3) trade conditions which were unfavorable to any sustained conflict. Trade-union activity increased after the Trades Dispute Act of 1906. The years immediately preceding the World War are characterized as the "biggest movement of unrest since the days of Owen and the Chartists." An "epidemic" of strikes occurred in almost every trade. These advanced movements are described as "largely spontaneous and unofficial," whereas those occurring after the war were

conducted with the full sanction of the great trade-union bodies. The former were "a sort of guerilla warfare"; the latter were "confrontations of great disciplined forces."

The war produced important changes in the labor movement, which now swelled into a national party capable of challenging the other two great political parties, and of presenting its own policies in opposition to the governing interests. The war also led to centralization in trade-union management, thus encouraging attempted national labor-union action. At the same time, the coal problem came to dominate all others, becoming the "symbolic issue of the post-war labor struggle." The author, unlike even some radical writers, exonerates the strikers of 1926 from any "unconstitutionality," and charges the reactionaries who were intent on "stamping out unionism" with such illegality.

E. T. HILLER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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*The Story of the Democratic Party.* By HENRY MINOR. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. x+501. \$4.50.

This volume is both a history and the exposition and rationalization of a faith.

As history it is a conventional presentation of the facts, events, and personalities involved in the evolution of the Democratic party. The party is treated as a thing apart, there being little or no recognition of the basic economic, social, and cultural factors responsible for its emergence, evolution, and character.

The book may not be intriguing as history; but, as a confession of party faith, it is revealing. Being of the Democratic persuasion, the author unwittingly selects his facts, and views men and events from the angle of the reverent believer. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Cleveland, and Wilson join the immortals, the gods in the Democratic pantheon. Even Van Buren, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, and Bryan are ennobled, being defended from their detractors who insist on regarding them as average men or less. The author wonders with Woodrow Wilson how a man so essentially a Democrat as Lincoln could have become the patron saint of the Republican party. Like all devotees of a faith, he is sure that the Democratic party is blessed "with immortality and shall not perish from the earth."

W. O. BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

*Egypt.* By GEORGE YOUNG. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927. Pp. 352. \$5.00.

This story of the national movement in Egypt is told with minute detail from the point of view of political changes. The Egyptian people appear only as a shadowy background. The book, significant for the historian, seems on the periphery of interest for the sociologist, unless he is particularly interested in Egypt or in the political side of national movements.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

*Labor Relations.* A Study made in the Procter and Gamble Company. By HERBERT FEIS, PH.D. New York: Adelphi Co., 1928. Pp. ix+170.

This is an objective analysis of one company's labor and welfare policies and practices. It is based upon first-hand investigations by means of observation and statistical research from primary sources. The chief topics relate to the growth and effect of the personnel management, pension and benefit plans, guaranty of employment, and the effect of the policies upon wages, hours, turnover, efficiency, safety, etc. The study confirms the opinion that the relations between the worker and the management are capable of control by techniques such as those portrayed. No sweeping change in the wage earner's position in the industrial system is presaged by the type of policy here presented.

*Postponing Strikes.* A Study of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of Canada. By BEN M. SELEKMAN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1927. Pp. 405. \$2.50.

The author traces the Canadian attempt to settle trade disputes by adjudication, rather than by economic endurance. Employers and wageworkers' spokesmen do not maintain a consistent attitude toward the Industrial Disputes Act, but oppose it when they believe themselves to be in a favorable strategic position, and favor a trade board when they are in an unfavorable position. The topics discussed are: the nature of the law, its operation and constitutionality, the basis of the Board's decisions, the principals' fluctuating attitudes in correlation with the economic cycle, opinions regarding the law, and its applicability to public utilities in the United States.

*The Problem of Indian Administration.* Report of a Survey made at the request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him February 21, 1928. Institute for Government Research. Studies in Administration. Survey Staff: Lewis Meriam, Technical Director; Ray A. Brown; Henry Roe Cloud; Edward Everett Dale; Emma Duke; Herbert R. Edwards; Fayette Avery

McKenzie; Mary Louise Mark; W. Carson Ryan, Jr.; and William J. Spillman. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928.

This volume is a model piece of social research of the survey type. A staff of ten workers is responsible for the report. This staff studied in detail the present administration of Indian Affairs, the economic, health, educational, family, community, social, and cultural conditions and problems among the Indians on the reservations, and, in so far as it was possible, the Indians in the towns and cities detached from the reservation life. Detailed recommendations are given for improving the various phases of Indian life.

*Social Problems of South Carolina.* By G. CROFT WILLIAMS. Columbia, S. C.: The State Co., 1928. Pp. 194. \$2.50.

The writer discusses the problem of the races, country life, public health, the feeble-minded, mental disorders and mental hygiene, the family, child welfare, crime and its treatment, and poverty and its treatment. He states that intelligent prevision in social policy is both essential and possible. His chapter "Inter-Racial Relations" is one of the best. He suggests that race prejudice has its source in a complex of which at least four elements are basic, namely, physical differences, economic conflicts, disparity of culture, and memory of former relations (p. 20). Neither an index nor a bibliography is provided.

*Children Working on Farms in Certain Sections of Northern Colorado:* Including Districts in the Vicinity of Windsor, Wellington, Fort Collins, Loveland, Longmont; Based upon Studies Made During Summer, Fall, and Winter, 1924, in Co-operation with National Child Labor Committee. By B. F. COEN, WILBUR E. SKINNER, DOROTHY LEACH. Fort Collins, Colorado: Colorado Agricultural College, 1928. Series 27, No. 2, November, 1926.

This is a bulletin giving the results of a survey of child-labor conditions in the Colorado beet fields. Among other things, it appears that a large number of little children work long hours at hard labor, are badly housed, lose time from school, and often have inadequate food. The worst situation exists among the children of "contract" families, and the best among the children of owner families. Little is said about the method of conducting the study, except that it included field work which was later tabulated and published in bulletin form.

## CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

RESEARCH IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY, 1928, AS REFLECTED IN PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS  
AT THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL  
SOCIETY, AND IN THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH MONOGRAPH

Since the publication of John M. Gillette's pioneer work in rural sociology in 1913, research in this field has developed at a steadily accelerating rate. Most of the development has taken place within the last decade, and particularly within the past four or five years. The first rural sociology research bulletin prepared by an agricultural experiment station was issued in May, 1915. A strong impetus was given to sociological research in the rural field in 1919 by the creation of a research division in the United States Department of Agriculture, devoted to socio-economic problems of farm life.<sup>1</sup> The passage of the Purnell Act has proved a further stimulus to investigations in this field, the full effect of which will only become apparent years hence.

The papers and discussions at the Twenty-third Meeting of the American Sociological Society ("The Rural Community" was the central topic of discussion), bear witness to the fact that rural sociology is gradually changing from a welfare movement to a science. While the interest in rural improvement has in no way declined, the conviction has grown that this interest can best be served by pure research that is not ancillary to the immediate demands of practical situations.

Many of the studies recently undertaken have as their chief aim the more adequate and systematic presentation of the facts underlying the relationships of rural life, as a necessary prerequisite for generalizations and programs for improvement. In this class belongs the study made by J. H. Kolb of the organization affiliations of members of 300 farm families, in an effort to discover to what extent special-interest groups are superseding locality as the basis for rural organization. Similarly, a study undertaken as a Purnell project by the Missouri College of Agriculture, and reported by Henry J. Burt, seeks to ascertain what proportion of the people of the community are served by the activities of the local community association. C. Luther Fry described methods for the more adequate utilization of the large bodies of rural population data collected by the federal government, and heretofore left largely unexploited in studies of rural migration, racial assimilation, and community surveys. C. C. Zimmerman marshaled data which throw doubt on current theories to the effect that rural-urban migration selects individuals on the basis of innate physical, mental, and social characteristics, gradually leading to the depletion of the farming class.

Other studies have as their aim the refinement of concepts, methods, and techniques of rural scientific research. Clarence A. Perry offered proposals for the more precise definition of "community," and Bessie Bloom Wessel developed the concept of "community area" as the social unit employed in investigations of assimilation and ethnic factors in community life. J. O. Rankin suggested a definite statistical program based on the following five-fold policy:

<sup>1</sup> *Rural Sociological Research in the United States*, p. 3.

(1) continuation of present federal and state work; (2) its more complete utilization as a serviceable auxiliary; (3) its expansion to new territory, and separation of farm population in tabulation of data; (4) co-ordination of statistical work of various agencies; and (5) fuller utilization of data gathered for administrative purposes. H. B. Hawthorn further elaborated his method of measuring the development of personality growth by quantifying the contacts with groups and institutions to which the individual is exposed. E. L. Kirkpatrick advocated comprehensive case studies of farm families as a necessary complement to the studies of standards of living, stressing the fact that the family is an organic whole which can only be understood in its relationship to other groups.

Increasing attention is being given to investigation of the character and composition of rural population, of the ecology of rural districts, and of cultural and psychological factors in country life. Bruce L. Melvin presented the results of studies showing the effect of age and sex distribution of the population as a vital force in conditioning its action. Mexican immigration into the United States was the subject of two interesting studies. The first, an examination of the sociological effects of this immigration, was made by Manuel Gamio, and reported to the section on rural sociology by Robert Redfield. The other was an analysis of the social and psychological characteristics of the Mexican immigrant by Emory S. Bogardus. Of equal interest was a paper by Karl Borders describing the cultural and organizational changes of Russian village life under the Soviets.

The significance of ecological factors in certain rural areas was appraised in studies reported by C. E. Lively, Rupert B. Vance, R. D. McKenzie, and Norman S. Hayner. Lively showed how various types of agriculture condition community organization and group attitudes. Vance described the manner in which social life and institutions in the South have been modified by the cotton culture prevailing in that area. The ecological succession in the Puget Sound region and in the San Juan Islands was traced in two papers by McKenzie and Hayner. Their procedure was to delineate the successive eras of regional settlement and to analyze the factors determining the patterns thereof. Robert E. Park summarized the results of a study of newspaper circulation, showing that the latter may serve as an index of urbanization and a measure of the process of devolution within metropolitan areas and the regions which they dominate.

Studies of a strictly socio-psychological character have been relatively few in the field of rural group life, but judging from the meetings of the division of social psychology, the significance of such studies is coming to be more fully appreciated. C. C. Taylor described farmers' movements as psycho-social phenomena and analyzed their characteristics and the circumstances governing their occurrence. Bogardus traced changes taking place in rural social distance, largely as a result of rapid transportation and communication. Pitirim A. Sorokin undertook an analysis of rural-urban religious beliefs and attitudes with a view to ascertaining the relatively constant differences existing between them, and the factors responsible for such differences.

The meetings of the section on educational sociology revealed that rural sociologists and educational sociologists are alike centering a growing amount of interest on the problems of rural education. Daniel H. Kulp II offered an outline of research investigations that appear practicable and are needed in this

field. The implications of recent rural surveys for the country school and its curriculum were pointed out by Edmund DeS. Brunner. George A. Works presented an analysis of the problems involved in adapting educational administration to the rural community, together with a critical examination of the community district plan as developed in New York state. From data gathered from 871 farm families, Lowry Nelson and N. I. Butt discovered a high correlation between the amount of formal schooling and the possession of certain utilities, such as household conveniences, automobiles, pianos, and phonographs.

The trends of research in rural sociology can be indicated only in a rough fashion by the projects reported at the Chicago meeting. When viewed in connection with the wide survey of sociological studies actually under way during the year ending June 30, 1927, made by C. J. Galpin, J. H. Kolb, Dwight Sanderson, and Carl C. Taylor, and described in the monograph, *Rural Sociological Research in the United States*,<sup>2</sup> a more adequate picture of the research situation and current trends in this field may be obtained. This survey, while not undertaking a complete account of all sociological research in the rural field, gives a detailed analysis of 80 going projects and may be regarded as a representative inventory of studies recently in progress. These projects were being conducted by 24 land-grant colleges, 13 other colleges and universities, 3 government bureaus, and 1 private institution, in 25 states.

The projects were classified under eight general divisions as follows:

		Number of projects
A. Studies in social organization:		
1. Social participation . . . . .		4
2. The relation between villages and surrounding farm population . . . . .		3
3. The effect of industrial development on rural life . . . . .		1
4. Village studies . . . . .		2
5. Locality groups and community organization . . . . .		3
6. General descriptive surveys . . . . .		4
7. Special interest groups in rural society . . . . .		3
Total . . . . .		20
B. Investigation of standard of living . . . . .		
		14
C. Population studies:		
1. Migration . . . . .		8
2. Composition and changes of population . . . . .		5
3. Village population . . . . .		3
Total . . . . .		16
D. Studies of farmers' organizations . . . . .		
		3
E. Social psychology investigations . . . . .		
		6
F. Studies of rural youth organizations . . . . .		
		5
G. Studies of rural institutions . . . . .		
		4
H. Miscellaneous projects:		
1. Rural health . . . . .		2
2. Rural recreation . . . . .		1
3. Rural government . . . . .		2

<sup>2</sup> Prepared under the auspices of the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture of the Social Science Research Council.

	Number of projects
4. Public-welfare administration . . . . .	2
5. Child welfare . . . . .	2
6. Rural immigrants . . . . .	1
7. Vocational origins . . . . .	1
8. Successful farm families . . . . .	1
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Total . . . . .	12

Although the actual volume and importance of the work cannot be accurately gauged by the number of projects in a given division, the outline indicates roughly the relative emphasis given the chief lines of research. Studies of rural social organization, of rural population, and of farmers' standards of living occupy the outstanding position among current research projects. Judging from the reports and discussions at the Chicago meeting, projects dealing with rural institutions (particularly the school), farmers' organizations, and the social psychology of rural life (especially studies of farmers' attitudes), are receiving relatively more attention than the foregoing distribution indicates.

The recent meeting gave ample evidence of the increasing interest in and attention to methodology. More adequate methods and techniques are gradually emerging by a process of experimentation and trial-and-error from concrete research projects carried on in the field of rural sociological phenomena. Perhaps the strongest interest is in statistical methods and their adaptation to this sort of data. Many workers are casting about for more precise and dependable units of measurement, and in the studies of Kirkpatrick, Hawthorn, Kolb, Sanderson, Willey, and others, significant advances in this direction have been made. Where direct measurement is precluded, efforts are made to secure indexes that express quantitatively complex changes, as in the study of newspaper circulation as an index of urbanization by Robert E. Park and Charles Newcomb, and in the quantitative investigation of the opinions of voters as a measure of competence in citizenship by Seba Eldridge.

Interest in the case method, including the detailed life-study, is only second to that in statistical procedure. Cooley's provocative paper, "The Literary Technique Applied to Rural Social Research," produced a skirmish between representatives of two divergent tendencies in research, but the outcome of the discussion was general agreement that quantitative methods and methods of intensive concrete description are both necessary, and complement each other.

The analysis of methods employed in the eighty projects covered by the monograph *Rural Sociological Research* showed that 91.2 per cent used elementary statistical analysis, 26.2 per cent statistical analysis involving correlation, 56.2 per cent the comparative method (comparing area with area or type with type), 16.2 per cent case analysis or detailed life-studies, 12.5 per cent historical analysis, and 20.0 per cent ecological analysis (involving use of maps or plates). The wide use of the personal interview and the survey by field schedule for procuring original data, likewise revealed in this survey, suggests the need for refinement of these techniques, a subject that received considerable discussion at the section meetings.

CARROLL D. CLARK

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME XXXIV

MAY 1929

NUMBER 6

## INTRODUCTION

IN JULY, 1928, the editors of the *American Journal of Sociology* published a record of social changes in recent years, particularly in 1927. The success of the venture was attested by the demand for the issue and the many expressions of approval. It was accordingly decided to publish in May of 1929 a similar record for 1928.

These records, while published annually, are not designed to be a yearbook of the conventional type. Most yearbooks are either mere collections of facts or symposiums of opinions, set forth with a great deal of uniformity and regularity. The method pursued in constructing these annual analyses of social change is in the main neither a mere presentation of fact nor a group of opinions, but it is rather scientific analyses, in which materials are selected, on the basis of the judgment of experts in these fields, arranged, classified, and such deductions and interpretations drawn therefrom as the data warrant.

The aim is to have a volume of research articles which will attempt to measure and assess the various social changes that are occurring. It is not desired to sacrifice this standard in the interest of symmetry or uniformity or regularity. Hence, there is variation in topics and in treatment. Contributors are all, however, addressing themselves to the problem of trying to make a periodic inventory or accounting of the various trends of cultural evolution. Therefore, researches on social change that help us to know the course of our

movements, that aid us to evaluate them, and that point with reasonable probability the direction in which we are likely to go, are welcome.

Never in the history of the world have there been so many changes nor such rapid changes nor such significant changes as are occurring in the present century. It seems very probable that these changes will continue. Nearly all our so-called modern social problems are due to social change. The changes make for a good deal of uncertainty. Occasionally eloquent and ambitious statesmen speak of guiding social change. But it would seem that knowledge is the prerequisite of control, if guidance is ever to be achieved, even in a small measure. But prediction in social science is not so sure as in some of the natural sciences. Science has not advanced so far in the social as in the natural sciences. One of the most satisfactory and reliable methods of prediction in the social field now in practice is the use of accurate measurement of past trends and their projection relatively short distances into the future. Students should find these articles useful in measuring these trends of our time.

## POPULATION

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WARREN S. THOMPSON  
Miami University

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### ABSTRACT

There are three types of countries in the world today as regards their population growth. *Group A.*—These countries have a very rapidly declining birth-rate, and although their death-rates are low their rates of natural increase are declining and they are rapidly approaching a stationary or decreasing population because of the general practice of conception control. *Group B.*—Birth-rates are coming under control in these countries, but rather slowly. Death-rates are declining more rapidly than birth-rates, however, so that natural increase is rising or at least is not declining to any great extent. *Group C.*—In these countries both birth-rates and death-rates are subject to little voluntary control as yet and the positive checks determine the growth of population. *Land for expansion.*—The land needed for the expansion of the peoples now entering upon a period of rapid population growth (practically all of those in Group B and some of those in Group C) is practically all being held by the peoples in Group A, who no longer have an expanding population to settle these lands. One of the most urgent problems of the next few decades is going to be the readjustment in land holdings demanded by this shift in the expanding peoples from northwestern Europe to eastern and southern Europe and to certain parts of Asia.

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A little more than ten years have now elapsed since the close of the World War. They have been momentous years in many respects, but probably the changes of greatest moment, those which will most influence the future history of mankind, are those that are taking place in population growth. We can now discern quite clearly tendencies about whose existence there was much uncertainty before the war. And because they can now be seen so distinctly we may assess their significance more certainly than we have been able to do hitherto.

In Table I, we have brought together data on births, deaths, and natural increase for a number of countries. Our aim here has been to present typical data rather than complete data. We are interested in pointing out what appear to us to be the most significant tendencies in the population movements of different countries rather than in stating with precision the total growth in the world or in any given part of it.

An examination of this table will show that the different coun-

TABLE I

BIRTH-RATES, DEATH-RATES, AND RATES OF NATURAL INCREASE FOR CERTAIN  
COUNTRIES 1908-13, 1920-23, 1924, 1925, 1926, AND 1927.

	1908-13	1920-23	1924	1925	1926	1927
Australia:						
Births.....	27.3	24.8	23.2	22.9	22.0	21.7
Deaths.....	10.8	9.9	9.5	9.2	9.4	9.5
Natural increase.....	16.5	14.9	13.7	13.7	12.6	12.2
Austria:						
Births.....		22.8	21.7	20.6	19.2	17.8
Deaths.....		17.2	15.0	14.4	14.9	14.9
Natural increase.....		5.6	6.7	6.2	4.3	2.9
Belgium:						
Births.....	23.4	21.2	20.1	19.8	19.0	18.2
Deaths.....	15.7	13.6	13.0	13.1	13.3	13.0
Natural increase.....	7.7	7.6	7.1	6.7	5.7	5.2
Canada:						
Births.....		28.4	25.7	25.8	24.8	24.6
Deaths.....		11.9	10.8	10.6	11.4	11.1
Natural increase.....		16.5	14.9	15.2	13.4	13.5
England and Wales:						
Births.....	24.9	22.0	18.8	18.3	17.8	16.7
Deaths.....	14.1	12.2	12.2	12.2	11.6	12.3
Natural increase.....	10.8	9.8	6.6	6.1	6.2	4.4
France:						
Births.....	19.5	20.1	18.7	18.9	18.8	18.1
Deaths.....	18.6	17.3	16.9	17.5	17.4	16.5
Natural increase.....	0.9	2.8	1.8	1.4	1.4	1.6
Germany:						
Births.....	29.5	23.8	20.2	20.4	19.5	18.3
Deaths.....	16.5	14.3	12.1	11.8	11.7	12.0
Natural increase.....	13.0	9.5	8.1	8.6	7.8	6.3
Netherlands:						
Births.....	29.1	26.9	25.1	24.3	23.8	23.1
Deaths.....	13.9	11.1	9.8	9.8	9.8	10.3
Natural increase.....	15.2	15.8	15.3	14.5	14.0	12.8
New Zealand:						
Births.....	26.2	23.4	21.6	21.2	21.1	20.3
Deaths.....	9.4	9.2	8.3	8.3	8.7	8.5
Natural increase.....	17.0	14.2	13.3	12.9	12.4	11.8
Sweden:						
Births.....	24.4	20.8	18.1	17.5	16.9	.....
Deaths.....	14.0	12.5	12.0	11.7	11.8	.....
Natural increase.....	10.4	8.3	6.1	5.8	5.1	.....
Switzerland:						
Births.....	24.7	20.2	18.8	18.4	18.2	.....
Deaths.....	15.2	13.0	12.5	12.2	11.7	.....
Natural increase.....	9.5	7.2	6.3	6.2	6.5	.....
United States:						
Births.....	24.8	23.2	22.6	21.4	20.6	20.4
Deaths.....	15.9	12.3	11.8	11.8	12.1	11.4
Natural increase.....	8.9	10.9	10.8	9.6	8.5	9.0
Bulgaria:						
Births.....	41.0	39.9	39.7	37.0	.....	.....
Deaths.....	22.4	21.5	20.7	19.2	.....	.....
Natural increase.....	18.6	18.4	19.0	17.8	.....	.....

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TABLE I—Continued

	1908-13	1920-23	1924	1925	1926	1927
Czechoslovakia:						
Births.....	31.1	27.7	25.6	25.0	24.4	23.3
Deaths.....	21.0	17.3	15.2	15.2	15.5	16.0
Natural increase.....	10.1	10.4	10.4	9.8	8.9	7.3
Hungary:						
Births.....		29.5	26.8	27.7	26.7	25.2
Deaths.....		20.2	20.3	16.9	16.5	17.6
Natural increase.....		9.3	6.5	10.8	10.2	7.6
Italy:						
Births.....	32.4	30.4	28.2	27.5	27.2	26.4
Deaths.....	20.4	17.6	16.6	16.6	16.8	15.5
Natural increase.....	12.0	12.8	11.6	10.9	10.4	10.9
Poland:						
Births.....		33.9	34.6	35.2	33.0	31.6
Deaths.....		21.0	17.9	16.7	17.8	17.4
Natural increase.....		12.9	16.7	18.5	15.2	14.2
Roumania:						
Births.....	43.1	36.5	36.7	35.2		
Deaths.....	24.7	23.5	23.3	21.0		
Natural increase.....	18.4	13.0	13.4	14.2		
Spain:						
Births.....	32.1	30.4	29.9	29.4	29.9	28.6
Deaths.....	22.8	21.6	19.8	19.7	19.0	18.9
Natural increase.....	9.3	8.8	10.1	9.7	10.9	9.7
India:						
Births.....	38.5	33.0	34.5	33.6		
Deaths.....	32.1	27.6	28.5	24.7		
Natural increase.....	6.4	5.4	6.0	8.9		
Japan:						
Births.....	32.9	35.1	33.8	34.9	34.8	
Deaths.....	20.5	23.3	21.2	20.3	19.2	
Natural increase.....	12.1	11.8	12.6	14.6	15.6	
Russia:						
Births.....	45.6	41.0	42.7			43.4
Deaths.....	28.9	22.0	23.2			23.0
Natural increase.....	16.7	19.0	19.5			20.4

tries fall into three main groups: (A) This includes practically all of Europe west of a line drawn from Trieste to Danzig, north of Italy and Spain, and the countries largely settled by peoples emigrating from this area within the last three hundred years. (B) This includes Italy, Spain, and the Slavic peoples of Central Europe. (C) This group includes Russia, Japan, and India for which data are given here and we shall make no great mistake if we include with them most of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and South America not included in Group I.

Briefly stated, the characteristics of these groups from the standpoint of their vital statistics are: Group A: Very rapidly

declining birth-rate and death-rate with the former declining more rapidly than the latter so that the rate of natural increase is also declining. Group B: Evidence that decline in both birth-rates and death-rates is under way in certain classes, but that the death-rate is declining as rapidly or even more rapidly than the birth-rate with the result that the rate of natural increase will probably for some time remain as great as now, or even become larger in the near future. Group C: Both birth-rates and death-rates are less controlled than in either A or B. But in some of these countries, e.g., Japan, there is some indication that death-rates are coming under control faster than birth-rates. In such of these lands as are developing modern industry and sanitation, there is likely to be a very rapid increase in numbers during the next few decades. In many of these lands, however, both birth-rates and death-rates are quite uncontrolled and we may expect either a rapid increase or almost a stationary population dependent upon the harshness of the "positive" checks to population growth, viz., disease, hunger, war, etc.

For a number of years it has been well known that the birth-rate was declining in Group A. About the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it became apparent that a decided change was taking place in the birth-rate in England and Wales. The same phenomenon had been observed in France practically since the close of the Napoleonic Wars, and in Sweden the same movement was apparent as early as 1865, although it has not been continuous since that time. Near the end of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth a number of other countries showed a decline in their birth-rate, and that this was a general movement among the peoples in Group A was quite generally recognized before the war.

Not a great deal of significance was attached to this movement, however, because up to that time the death-rate had fallen as fast as or even faster than the birth-rate in most countries and the growth of population was greater than it had ever been. An examination of the rates of natural increase in Table I will show that in 1908-13 very few countries in this group had a rate of less than ten and that rates of twelve and more were by no means un-

common. The population of the Group A countries was expanding at an unprecedented rate in the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the early years of this century.

The war did not introduce any change in the tendencies of either the birth-rates or the death-rates in these countries. But it did hasten the decline in the birth-rate in most of them, as can be seen in Table II.

TABLE II

DECLINE OF THE BIRTH-RATE IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES 1896-1905 TO 1908-13  
AND ESTIMATED AND ACTUAL BIRTH-RATES 1923-27

Country	Birth-Rate in 1900 as an Average of the Birth-Rate 1896-1905	Birth-Rate in 1910 as an Average of the Birth-Rate 1908-13	Average Annual Decline of the Birth-Rate 1900-1910	Estimated Birth-Rate in 1923-27	Actual Birth-Rate in 1923-27
Germany.....	35.2	29.5	.57	21.0	19.9
France.....	21.8	19.5	.23	16.1	18.7
England and Wales.....	28.6	24.9	.37	19.4	18.3
Italy.....	33.2	32.4	.08	31.2	27.3
Sweden.....	26.4	24.4	.20	21.4	17.8
Australia.....	27.0	27.3	+.03*	27.7	22.7

\* Increase.

Of the six countries given here France is the only one in which the birth-rate is higher today than one would have expected if he had estimated it for 1923-27 from data available at the outbreak of the war, on the assumption that the downward tendency would continue at the same absolute rate as it had shown from the beginning of the century to 1913. Of course, one cannot say that the war was the causal factor in increasing the absolute decline in the birth-rate which has taken place in the last fifteen years, but certainly it may be regarded as a turning point of very great significance.

Furthermore, in the Group A countries engaged in, or greatly affected by, the war there was no compensation for the deaths suffered in and the lack of births resulting from the war, such as is commonly supposed to take place. The average birth-rate for the years 1920-23, the years of highest birth-rates following the war, was lower in every case, except in France and Holland, than the average for pre-war years. Not only did this compensation fail of achievement, but, after this brief period of a fairly high

birth-rate, the decline became more marked than ever in almost all of these countries. It became so rapid that it overhauled the death-rate and, for the first time since vital statistics became fairly reliable, the rate of natural increase began to decline in practically all of these countries.<sup>1</sup> The net result of these recent movements in Group A countries is that the rate of natural increase is far less than it was in 1908-13. In England and Wales in 1927 it was only 40.7 per cent of what it was in 1908-13, in Germany only 48.7 per cent, in Australia only 73.9 per cent, in New Zealand only 69.1 per cent, in Sweden only 49.0 per cent, and in France, though it is a trifle higher, it is so low absolutely that it is negligible. Clearly the Group A countries have entered upon a new era in their population growth which is worthy of the most careful consideration.

Dublin and Lotka have shown that, with the specific birth-rates and death-rates of 1920, our own rate of natural increase was really only 5.47 instead of 10.99 as the crude rate indicated.<sup>2</sup> This comes about by reason of the changes which are taking place in the age constitution of our population as a consequence of our declining birth-rate. Since the same sort of change is taking place in all the countries in Group A, it may be worth our while to pause for a moment to notice the effects of a declining birth-rate upon the age constitution.

In Table III, we have given the proportion of the population in certain age groups at different periods for several countries. The general tendency of Group A countries is to have fewer children (0-19), fewer reproductive adults (20-39), and more in middle life and over (40 and above), as time goes on. For France<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> In several countries the birth-rate had declined faster than the death-rate at a somewhat earlier period. In France there is clear evidence that this happened at about twenty year intervals during the nineteenth century, 1830, 1850, 1870, and 1890. In this country the marked changes in increase of population shown in the censuses of 1870 and 1900 undoubtedly reflect a marked decline in the birth-rate without a similar decline in the death-rate.

<sup>2</sup> L. I. Dublin and A. J. Lotka, "On the True Rate of Natural Increase," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, September, 1925, pp. 305-39.

<sup>3</sup> Alfred Sauvy, "La Population française jusqu'en 1956," *Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris*, December, 1928, pp. 321-27.

the United States<sup>4</sup> in addition to current data, we have estimates for a considerable period in the future. They show clearly the inevitable result of the tendencies now at work in all of these Group A

TABLE III  
SHOWING AGE GROUPS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES AT  
DIFFERENT TIMES

COUNTRY and DATE	PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION IN GIVEN AGE GROUPS AT SPECIFIED DATES			
	0-19	20-39	40-59	60 and over
England and Wales:				
1901.....	42.40	32.35	17.85	7.40
1911.....	39.89	32.56	19.52	8.04
1921.....	36.9	30.7	22.8	9.6
Germany:				
1900.....	44.23	30.10	17.86	7.80
1910.....	43.73	30.28	18.11	7.88
1925.....	36.2	32.5	22.1	9.2
France:				
1901.....	34.62	30.33	22.59	12.45
1911.....	33.89	30.50	23.04	12.57
1921.....	31.2	29.7	25.3	13.8
1956*.....	29.1	28.3	26.7	15.9
Sweden:				
1900.....	41.89	27.12	19.07	11.92
1910.....	40.99	28.07	18.98	11.95
1920.....	38.8	29.5	19.5	12.2
United States:				
1900.....	44.3	32.1	16.9	6.4
1920.....	40.7	32.4	19.4	7.4
1975*.....	30.9	30.6	21.9	16.6
Australia:				
1901.....	45.1	32.7	15.7	6.2
1911.....	41.7	32.7	18.7	6.4
1921.....	40.2	32.1	19.9	7.4
Spain:				
1900.....	43.6	29.4	19.5	7.3
1920.....	43.9	28.7	19.1	7.9
Italy:				
1901.....	43.45	27.26	19.60	9.69
1911.....	43.17	27.32	19.01	10.15

\* Estimated.

countries. It is just because of these changes in the proportions of people in the various age groups, approximately one-half of whom are women, that Dublin and Lotka find that the true birth-rate in

<sup>4</sup> Estimated from data prepared by my colleague, P. K. Whelpton, in working out his estimates of our future population, *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1928, pp. 253-73.

1920 was 20.9 instead of 23.4. It will, of course, still further decline as the proportion of women 20-39 becomes still smaller, even though every woman on the average bears as many children as at present.

Likewise the death-rate will increase as the proportion of the population over forty years of age increases. This statement needs little proof, for it is quite obvious that a population like Australia's in 1921, having only 27.3 per cent of its population over forty, will have a lower death-rate than France, which had 39.1 per cent of its population in this group. It may, however, be worth while to give some concrete examples of what these changes in age constitution means in terms of deaths.

The death-rates of 1921 for England and Wales show that approximately 15,200 children out of each 100,000 born will die before they reach twenty years of age. The wastage between birth and twenty years is then 15.2 per cent. In the next age group, 20-39, the wastage is only 8.3 per cent, in the third group, 40-59, it is 20.3 per cent, and in the first twenty years of the next group, i.e., 60-79, it is 69.9 per cent. Between 80 and 100 the wastage is approximately 100 per cent. Now it is easy to see that if we apply these wastage rates to 1,000,000 people divided into age groups as in England and Wales in 1901 and 1921, we shall get quite different results. Up to the eightieth year of age the total wastage would be greater in the 1921 population by about 8.7 per cent, owing entirely to differences in age constitution. If, instead of comparing the population of England and Wales in 1901 and 1921, we were to compare the population in England and Wales in 1921 with that in France in 1956 or in the United States in 1975, it is evident that the wastage would be very much greater in these latter populations.

In adjusting the age groups in the United States to the specific birth-rates and death-rates of 1920, i.e., by stabilizing our population with these rates, Dublin and Lotka found that a death-rate of 15.4 would result. It would be still higher in a population distributed as ours is likely to be in 1975, unless in the meantime considerably greater improvements in health take place than we now have reason to anticipate.

Even France, in which the stabilization of age groups to a low birth-rate has already been largely achieved, will suffer still further decline in its birth-rate and rise in its death-rate from future changes. These will not be as great as those that will be experienced by most of the other countries in Group A, but they will be sufficient to create a considerable deficit in births after 1935, as M. Alfred Sauvy has shown.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, in 1945, with present specific birth-rates and death-rates there will be 102,000 fewer

TABLE IV

SHOWING DECLINE IN FECUNDITY OF MARRIED WOMEN 1910-11 TO 1924,  
ALSO NUMBER OF CHILDREN SURVIVING THE FIRST  
YEAR OF LIFE PER 1,000 WOMEN

COUNTRY	LIVING BORN LEGITIMATE CHILDREN PER 1,000 MARRIED WOMEN AGED 15-45			INFANTS LIVING TO ONE YEAR OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN AGED 15-45, 1924-25
	1910-11	1924	Per Cent of In- crease (+) and of Decrease (-) 1910-11 to 1924	
England.....	199	148	-26.6	70
Germany.....	277	146	-35.6	71
France.....	134	141	+ 5.2	74
Denmark.....	226	181	-19.9	76
Belgium.....	187	160	-14.4	77
Switzerland.....	220	175	-20.4	72
The Netherlands.....	269	239	-11.1	109
Italy.....	265	250	- 5.7	110
Spain.....	249	248	0.0	115

births than deaths in France. This will become somewhat less as the small group of females born during the war passes out of the more prolific ages, but by 1955 the birth-rate will be 17.0 and the death-rate 19.1 and the deficiency of births will amount to about 80,000.

It may be said that the condition in France is fairly well known and that it constitutes an exception among these Group A nations. This is not the case, however, as Table IV clearly shows.<sup>6</sup> There has been a very marked decrease in the legitimate birth-rate in

<sup>5</sup> Alfred Sauvy, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> The data in this table were taken from Henri Bunle, "Chronique de Demographie," *Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris*, November, 1928, p. 310. He gives credit there to *Wirtschaft und Statistik* (April, 1928), p. 300.

practically all of these countries, save France. It varies from about 11.0 per cent in Holland to nearly 36.0 per cent in Germany. But the most significant fact shown here is that the number of children surviving to one year of age per 1,000 women aged 15-45 is even lower in some of these countries than in France and is notably higher only in Holland. (Spain and Italy do not belong in Group A.) There cannot be the least doubt that such a survival rate as shown here indicates a close approach to the time when all of these countries will have fewer births than deaths.

The countries settled by these northwestern Europeans have not proceeded as far in the direction of a stationary or a declining population as the mother-countries, but they are well launched on the same course. This has been clearly shown for the United States by the work of Dublin and Lotka already referred to. In order to see how Australia stood in this matter, we have applied Dublin's formula to its vital statistics with the result that its crude rate of natural increase is shown to be just twice as great as its true rate. There is every reason to believe that this same situation prevails in practically every country where there has been a rather rapid decline in the crude birth-rate during the last twenty-five to fifty years.

We may, then, very briefly sum up the situation in these Group A countries by saying that, since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, they have passed from the state of having a very high rate of natural increase into the state where they have quite low rates of increase and will shortly become stationary and start to decline in numbers.<sup>7</sup> In this part of the world a new era in population movements has begun which cannot but exert a profound influence upon the future of mankind. We shall undertake to point out the significance of this change after we have discussed the growth of population in Groups B and C.

In Group B, we have placed those countries where there is clear evidence of a decline in both birth-rate and death-rate but where it appears probable that the death-rate will decline as rapidly or even more rapidly than the birth-rate for some time yet.

<sup>7</sup> In this whole discussion we have assumed that there was no immigration into this group from other groups.

The condition in these Group B countries today is much the same as existed in the Group A countries thirty to fifty years ago.

Spain and Italy together have birth-rates and death-rates about the same as those in England and Wales thirty-five or forty years ago, but, since they have about twice as many people, they are of course adding to their numbers at about twice the rate of England at that time. The Slavic countries of Group B have higher rates than Spain and Italy. They have approximately the same birth-rates that prevailed in Germany forty years ago, but, since they have lower death-rates, they are increasing more rapidly than ever Germany did. Besides they have about twice the population of Germany in 1880, hence they are expanding more than twice as fast as Germany ever did. As a whole, then, this part of Europe is adding to its numbers at a rate never equaled on the continent by Group A peoples. These Group B peoples have also entered upon a new era of growth, but it is quite a different era from that of the Group A countries. The rate of natural increase will now average twelve or a little over for these Group B peoples as a whole. At this rate they will double in numbers in about fifty-eight to sixty years. Since there were about 157 millions of them in 1920, we can readily appreciate some of the territorial difficulties that are likely to arise in this part of the world within the next two generations.

It will, of course, be said that the birth-rate is likely to decline faster in these countries than it did in the Group A countries because the greater ease of communication makes the spread of contraceptive knowledge easier than it has been in the past. This may be true, but we should notice in this connection that these Group B countries are more rural today than the Group A countries were forty years ago. This is a fact of prime importance because everywhere in the Group A countries rural populations show a greater resistance to the spread of birth-control than the city populations, and there is no reason to believe that the same will not be true in Group B countries. As evidence that this is the case we may cite some birth-rates and death-rates in Hungary and Poland in 1927. In Hungary in the cities of over 10,000 the birth-rate was 23.4 and the death-rate 18.2, leaving a natural increase of 5.2. In the rural

districts the rates were 27.9, 16.4, and 11.5 respectively.<sup>8</sup> The increase is more than twice as great in the rural districts as in the cities. In Poland apparently the same situation exists, for in cities of over 100,000 the birth-rate in 1927 was 20.8 while in the country as a whole it was 31.6. Clearly there is the same lag in the adoption of birth-control among the rural people in these B countries as there was in the A countries.

The rapidity with which the birth-rate will fall in these B countries appears, then, to depend on the speed with which their industrialization takes place. That industry is growing in them is well known, but we may be permitted to doubt whether their urbanization will proceed as rapidly as did that of Germany after the Franco-Prussian War.

It should also be noted that the data relating to Spain and Italy in Table III show that the decline in the birth-rate, being altogether offset by the decline in the death-rate, has not yet produced any appreciable change in their age groups. If the decline in the birth-rate continues, as it undoubtedly will, it will affect the age groups in these countries in the same way as in the A countries, but it will take three or four decades for this to manifest itself in any rapid decline of the rate of natural increase from this cause.

The differences in the legitimate birth-rates between Spain and Italy and the A countries shown in Table IV are also clear proof that the former are in quite a different stage of their population growth than the latter, and that the rest of the B countries resemble Spain and Italy far more than they do the A countries can admit of no doubt. These B countries are entering upon a period of growth such as has never been manifested by any population of like size, 157 millions (1920-21), in the history of the world. The population of the A countries in Europe forty years ago was just about what that of these B countries is now, but France even then had almost no natural increase, so that in point of fact the population from which growth is taking place today in the B countries is considerably greater than that of the A countries in Europe in their

<sup>8</sup> Emile Horn, "Annuaire Statistique de la Hongrie," *Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris*, December, 1928, p. 328.

heyday of growth. This fact should be borne in mind, for it has great significance, as we shall see later.

It may well be questioned whether the three countries for which we have vital statistics in Group C should not rather be placed with Group B than with the countries for which there are no data. The reason for placing Russia, Japan, and India in another group is that we do not yet have any clear evidence in their vital statistics that the birth-rates or death-rates are declining in any considerable part of their populations. We do know, however, that in certain sections of the population the birth-rate is declining and we know from their present numbers that their present rates of growth cannot have prevailed for any great length of time. Hence, we can be reasonably certain that there has been some release of pressure on resources in rather recent years. But when these C countries are compared with A and B countries, we are fully justified in assuming that in the former neither births or deaths have come under voluntary control to anything like the same extent that they have in the latter.

As a consequence of this relative lack of voluntary control over births and deaths, it appears that the growth of these Group C peoples, who constitute about 70 to 75 per cent of the population of the world, will, in the near future, be determined largely by the opportunities they have to increase their means of subsistence. Malthus described their processes of growth quite accurately when he said "that population does invariably increase, where there are means of subsistence . . . ." The differences in the means of subsistence are undoubtedly at the base of the differences in the rates of growth of the three countries for which data are given. India has a relatively small rate of increase, Japan has a much higher rate, and, of late, Russia has shown one of the highest rates ever known. Can anyone doubt that the chance to increase the means of subsistence is least in India, that it has increased considerably in Japan with the growth of industrialism, and that it is very great in Russia both because of the new lands available for settlement and because of the possibilities of industrial development.

For the immediate future, then, we may expect that population will increase in these C countries in inverse ratio to the severity of

the positive checks, hunger, disease, war, and any customs calculated to enhance the death-rate.

In order to get any very clear idea of the way in which this 1,250 millions or more of men are likely to grow in the near future, it would be necessary to study the possibilities of increasing the means of subsistence in each group of any importance. Manifestly we could not do this here even if we were competent. But we will take time to call attention to some of the more important facts operative in determining the population growth of the three countries for which we have given birth-rates and death-rates.

Japan is a small, poor country that through modernization of its industry and some improvement in its agriculture has brought about some release of the positive checks (this seems clear even though we cannot prove this from the recorded death-rates) and now has a very great power of expansion. At the rate of natural increase it had in 1926, it would have an excess of births of about 930,000 annually. It is no wonder that Japanese statesmen feel that they must keep their economic footing in Manchuria. They have no adequate colonies and their mineral resources are too small to support any very great further increase in industry. Japan is coming to the end of the relief from positive checks which she found in modernizing and expanding her industries at home. That the Japanese are coming to realize this is indicated by the differential birth-rate of cities and rural districts in Japan.

The cities of Japan having over 50,000 inhabitants had a birth-rate of 27.87 in 1922, while the smaller cities, those having less than 50,000, had a birth-rate of 29.18. The birth-rate for the entire country (including cities) was 34.16. Since about 55 per cent of the entire population was in these cities, it is clear that something is acting to reduce the birth-rate in the industrial communities. Whether it is postponement of marriage, birth-control, or some distinctive trait of social organization in Japan, we cannot say positively, but the Japanese advocates of birth-control are disposed to attribute this difference largely to birth-control. If this is the case and if the fact that Japanese birth-rates do not show any clear downward trend is due largely to better registration of births, then Japan belongs with the B countries rather than with

the C group. But even if this is the case, there appears to be no reason to doubt that Japan's population will for some time to come expand as rapidly as new means of subsistence are opened to it.

India has done but little in developing modern industry and the possibilities of agricultural expansion have been small. Hence the population has not been given the relief from pressure on subsistence that it has enjoyed for a decade or two in Japan, and its growth has been relatively slow. Both birth-rates and death-rates in India appear to fluctuate rather violently, which is, perhaps, the best proof that the positive checks, hunger and disease particularly, are very active in India. Since this is clearly the case, the growth of India's population within its present boundaries can be pretty clearly foretold. It will grow but slowly, and from time to time the increase of population arising from temporary release of pressure will be wiped out by famines or by epidemics, like the influenza of 1918-19, which probably killed not less than ten millions.

Russia, on the other hand, in contrast to both Japan and India, is enjoying a period of relief from population pressure which only abundant new lands with great resources can give to a people. At its present rate of increase, it will add about three millions yearly to its numbers and will double in approximately thirty-five years. Russia's expansion during the remainder of this century bids fair to rival our own expansion from the adoption of the constitution to the Civil War. But, starting with a population thirty-five to forty times as great as ours, Russia may very well rival China and India in numbers by the year 2000.

Of course birth-control is abroad in the world and we cannot tell how soon it will begin to operate rather widely in Russia. It is reported that the Soviet government, unlike many governments, is not hostile to its practice. But a birth-rate of 43.4 in 1927 does not indicate that it is being very extensively practiced there, although in the Ukraine where the birth-rate is 31.5, in Leningrad where it is also 31.5, and in Moscow where it is 33.4, it appears that birth-control is gaining a foothold. But even so there is very good reason to believe that the growth of Russia during the next three or four decades will be one of the outstanding events of the

modern world. Russia is the one nation in the world today whose population appears to have great expansive power, that also possesses the territory to satisfy this expansive impulse.

With this very brief and sketchy outline of world population movements before us, we shall point out what seems to us to be the most important problem arising out of these new movements in world-population growth.

Accepting an estimate of approximately 1,730 millions as the population of the world in 1920,<sup>9</sup> the numbers and proportions in the three groups of peoples into which we have divided the world's population is shown in Table V.

TABLE V  
NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION OF  
THE WORLD IN CERTAIN GROUPS (IN  
MILLIONS) ABOUT 1920

	Number	Per Cent
The world.....	1,730	100
Group A.....	320	18.5
Group B.....	157	9.0
Group C.....	1,253	72.5

The Group A people may be divided into two sub-groups, (1) those living in Europe and (2) those living elsewhere. In the former group there are about 189 millions and in the latter about 131 millions. We have shown that the European part of this group is very rapidly approaching the stage of no increase and that this will soon be followed by its actual decline in numbers. The extra-European part of this group is still increasing considerably but not nearly as rapidly as formerly and within a decade or two it will, no doubt, be in the same position as the European part today. In other words, Group A has practically ceased to be an expanding group.

On the other hand, Group B is just entering on its heyday of expansion, as are also some of the peoples in Group C, notably Russia and Japan. Now, Group B with Russia and Japan have a population of about 360 millions, or 12.5 per cent greater than

<sup>9</sup> This is less by about one hundred millions than many estimates because we do not believe that China's population is more than about 330 millions instead of the 436 millions often attributed to it.

Group A. But, except for Russia, none of these growing peoples has any territory into which it can freely expand, while some of the Group A peoples, particularly Great Britain, France, Holland, and Australia hold enormous land areas which they cannot settle and at present will allow no one else to settle. Here we have in its crudest form the most urgent population problem of the near future. Peoples who have ceased to expand in numbers (France) or almost ceased to expand (Great Britain and Australia) are now holding great areas of unused lands, while the peoples who are just coming into their great period of expansion are confined to rather narrow territories that in some cases are also almost destitute of mineral resources.

Furthermore, in a little time we may see the Chinese and the Indians added to the peoples who now feel the impulse to expand. This would mean that, in the expanding group needing larger resources, we would have over 1,000 millions of people. These peoples are almost certain to feel that they are being badly used if they are not allowed to expand into the unused lands held by the peoples in Group A. Is it probable that the peoples in Groups B and C will sit quietly by and starve while the Group A peoples enjoy the lion's share of the good things of the earth? We shall not try to answer this question here. But we must not forget that the lands these thousand millions of people will want are actually being held largely by the British, the French, and the Dutch, and that together these three peoples number only a little over a hundred millions. The redistribution of the lands of the earth is the problem of problems that we must face in the world today as a consequence of the new population movements that are now taking place. Can it be effected peaceably or must it be achieved by war?

## NATURAL RESOURCES

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GEORGE OTIS SMITH

Director of the United States Geological Survey and Past-President of the American  
Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers

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### ABSTRACT

America's industrial primacy depends upon its use of power. One-third of the world's developed water power, one-half of the coal mined, and more than two-thirds of the oil produced explains the degree of prosperity enjoyed. Progress in electrification continues. An increase of 10 per cent in electric output and in water-power development, in 1928, keeps the United States far in the van of other nations. Industry is speeded up by this larger use of power. In wheat-raising, brick-making, coal-mining, and manufacturing generally, machines are taking the place of men. Coal remains the chief source of energy. The arrested demand for coal is due to competition of oil and water power and to noteworthy increase in fuel efficiency. Petroleum production in 1928 was more nearly balanced with consumption. Conservation policies are more popular with oil industry, and self-control is more effective. Control of production for all branches of raw-material extraction is a topic of general discussion. Efficiency in use and prevention of waste are not effected by unrestricted competition. The interest of producer and consumer alike may be promoted by avoiding overdevelopment and excess production.

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In its happy recovery from the world-disaster the United States stands in marked contrast with other countries, and a significant index of our advance in prosperity during the last ten years is found in our unique use of nature-given energy. Few other nations possess a fraction of our share of energy resources; no other nation has harnessed its water powers or drawn upon its fuel supplies to anything like the same extent as the United States. America's industrial primacy depends upon its use of power.

The simple mathematics of adding together one-third of the developed water power of the world, one-half of the coal mined, and more than two-thirds of the oil produced in both hemispheres during 1928 gives a grand total of energy consumption that explains the degree of prosperity enjoyed by our citizens. Rapidly revolving wheels, whether automotive or driven from some distant source of power, have come to be the symbol of modern America, whether those wheels are doing man's work or serving his pleasure. It is because the workman of today has at his command the energy

of the waterfall, the coal mine, and the oil well that he can accomplish more in a short day than scores if not hundreds of his ancestors could do working from dawn to dark. These social consequences give significance to the record of 1928 in the harnessing of power for the use of man.

The central power stations in 1928 put on their wires nearly 88 billion kilowatt-hours of electric current, an increase of 10 per cent over their output in 1927. This increase in the consumption of electricity is not at all exceptional, for the annual output of electric current in the United States has more than doubled since the end of the war, and there has been an even greater increase in number of customers.

Typical comparisons with other countries in the use of electricity are the facts that a month's output of the electric public utilities of the United States now equals a year's output for England, Scotland, and Wales, and that the annual output for the United States equals the annual output for the rest of the world. Even at that, the power users of the United States had to import in 1928 more than 1½ billion kilowatt-hours from Canada.

This rapidly growing demand for electric service called for an increased generating capacity during 1928 of about 2 million kilowatts, requiring nearly a billion dollars of new capital. At a single center like New York City the last year's expansion in generating capacity was measured in terms of 160,000-kilowatt generators, and in 1927 the investment "in the streets" for additions to the distribution system amounted to \$30,000,000. The need of financial and engineering vision in planning for the future is illustrated by the fact that the newest generating station in New York City, when finished, will have more than double the capacity of the original plans, drawn up only four years ago. In 1940 the capacity of this single station will be 1¼ million kilowatts, larger than the whole present development at Niagara and nearly as large as the capacity of the whole country at the beginning of this century.

There has been, this past year, a revival of activity in planning for railway electrification, projects being renewed that had been interrupted by the war. The electrification of industrial plants and their connection with central power stations continues apace, and

so does the extension of electric lines to reach the farms of the country. About 350,000 farms now have electric service, and the use of automotive power on the farm is steadily increasing. There is far less man and more machine in the bushel of wheat from the United States than in that from any other country in the world.

All along the line industry is being speeded up by its larger use of power. Increased productivity for the individual workman has become the rule of progress. For example, the commissioner of labor statistics has shown that if all the brick-making establishments in the United States used machines of the type now used by a few, eight out of ten men now employed in making bricks could take up other work, though possibly the result would be that bricks would become so cheap as to require most of these workers back at their old jobs with the new methods.

In one branch of the manufacture of electrical equipment the engineers at a Chicago plant have so changed methods and improved machinery that 90 operators now produce what 330 formerly produced, and the quality of their product has increased many fold. It is by reason of such increases in efficiency that this and other industrial organizations do not have to increase their plants or working-forces at all proportionately with their increase in business. More and better machines take the place of more men. So, too, in the coal mines mechanical loaders are being installed without attracting much notice from the public, whose interest in coal-mining is aroused only in times of fuel shortage.

Since the war, while coal consumption has fallen off notably, gas and water power have doubled, and oil has increased more than 150 per cent. Nevertheless, the coal mines keep their place as the chief source of energy for industry and transportation, as well as for general heating and illumination. Competition by oil and water is specialized rather than general, and coal must be the mainstay of the future. In the generation of electricity at the 3,826 public-utility power stations in operation in 1928, coal furnished 53 per cent of the energy, water 40 per cent, natural gas 4 per cent, oil  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and wood about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In the total energy budget of the country, however, coal would have a more dominant position than is indicated by these figures for central stations,

where water power makes its chief showing. Mr. Tryon's latest estimate<sup>1</sup> places coal as the leading source of energy, furnishing over 63 per cent; oil and gas, nearly 30 per cent; and water power, nearly 7 per cent. It is interesting to note that the total consumption of energy from these natural sources in 1927 is believed to have increased about 40 per cent over the consumption in the pre-war year 1913.

The total capacity of water wheels in water-power plants of the United States is now more than 13,500,000 horse-power, of which over 9 per cent was installed during 1928. The chief increase was in the South, as North Carolina took third place among the states away from Washington; California and New York retained first and second places respectively.

A drop in the mining of coal does not seem to accord with the universal advance in the use of power. However, the estimated production of coal for 1928 was the lowest for any year since 1922 and indeed reached the pre-war figure of 1913. This unexpected halt in the progress of the coal industry is most simply explained by the fact of arrested demand. Periodic shortages and high prices for coal have stimulated not only the substitution of other fuels and the development of water power but also a noteworthy increase in fuel efficiency. In the home heating plant, on the locomotive, in the steel plant, in the boiler-room of the factory—everywhere—"save coal" has been a compelling slogan, and the coal user has had the advantage of good engineering advice.

Perhaps the best example of the widespread economy in the use of mineral fuels is furnished by the public-utility companies. The rapid growth in the electric industry and in the consumption of its product by the citizens of the United States is paralleled by the remarkable engineering record set up by the power-plant operators from one side of the country to the other. Each year the coal consumption per kilowatt-hour is slightly reduced. Last year this reduction was only eight-hundredths of a pound, or about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  ounces of coal. Yet this small saving when applied to the 53 billion kilowatt-hours of fuel-generated electricity for the whole country

<sup>1</sup>"Coal in 1927," preliminary statement in *Mineral Resources of the United States*, Bureau of Mines.

amounts to more than 2 million tons, or a saving of about 8 million dollars in the country's fuel bill. In 1928 the average rate of coal consumption in generating electricity was 1.76 pounds per kilowatt-hour. In 1919, when the United States Geological Survey began its compilation of monthly power reports, the average rate of coal consumption was 3.2 pounds, so that in ten years the practical economists of the electric public utilities have succeeded in almost doubling their efficiency in the utilization of fuel. What this means to the public is suggested by the simple calculation that had coal last year been consumed in the central power stations at the average rate prevailing in 1919, the fuel bill, and consequently the charges for current, would have been about 150 million dollars larger, representing the additional 38 million tons of coal necessary under the old methods.

The outstanding competitor of coal as a source of energy has been petroleum. This lusty contender in the fuel market has far more than doubled its contribution of energy since the war. At present oil and natural gas together supply almost half as much energy to the citizens of the United States as coal does, whereas in 1913 the coal mines, with approximately the same output as in 1928, furnished nearly seven times as much energy for the country's use as the oil and gas wells. In short, the increase in annual supply of energy since 1913 can be credited mostly to oil and gas and water power.

The production of petroleum in 1928 was almost exactly the same as in 1927, about 900,000,000 barrels. Only twice in the present century, in 1906 and 1924, has there been a halt in this country's increase, year by year, in the output of oil. Holding the figure for 1928 down almost to that for 1927 expresses some degree of control of output rather than any insufficiency at the source of supply. Some approach toward balancing production and consumption was accomplished by reason of the demand for crude oil increasing more than 6 per cent, so that with a stationary production less than 20 million barrels was added to the country's already large stocks of crude oil.

The present stock of half a billion barrels of crude oil above ground is only a fraction of the known reserves below ground which

are ready when needed. The past year has been notable for the increase in shut-in production, which furnishes a measure of self-restraint by the oil industry, but the large volume of this potential production which would be immediately available is also a real menace to the industry. The campaign for conservation waged for several years has now reached a high point, and enlightened self-interest has a stronger following in the oil industry than ever before.

In its recent report to the President, the Federal Oil Conservation Board comments on the disquieting fact that the petroleum resources of the United States do not bear anything like the same ratio to the world's resources as the production ratio, which was nearly 72 per cent in 1927 and 68 per cent in 1928. The report continues:

The obvious inference is that the United States is exhausting its petroleum reserves at a dangerous rate. If the international comparison is made, this country is depleting its supply several times faster than the rest of the world. How real is the danger expressed in this fact and what remedy can be devised are questions confronting the American people as they plan for the future. At least, the effort should be made to propose measures that will minimize and delay the undesirable future outcome of this excessive drain upon a limited though admittedly large reserve. In this planning for the future the principal units of the oil industry itself, with their large refinery capacity and distribution systems, both domestic and foreign, have a stake second only to that of the Nation and may well be counted on to join forces in the common interest. The depletion rate of our own resources can be brought more into accord with that of foreign resources only in one way—by importing a greater quantity of crude petroleum. The present imports of Mexican and South American crude oil come largely from American operators, and, while not obtained from United States oil sands, they are the product of American engineering and enterprise. Co-operation in the development of foreign oil fields, through technical assistance and the further investment of American capital, would seem to be a logical conservation measure.

Control of production in the raw-material branches of industry has been a topic of current discussion the past year. The American Bar Association in July devoted a special session of its section of mineral law to this subject and brought out the fact that the instability due to the ever-present shadow of excess production is affecting not only the oil business but other branches of the mineral industry. Control of production was recognized as truly a national

issue—not simply the problem of the mining companies. The public interest is far greater than that of the industry and will continue over a longer period than the interest of even the largest corporations. However, there is more of a community of interest between the great mining companies with large reserves of untouched mineral wealth, whose operating officials must plan ahead for many decades, and the public, whose representatives should look ahead for many centuries. This is why the far-sighted executives of big business and the earnest public officials are found standing on the same platform of practical conservation. The representatives of mining companies and of the public alike understand what are the sources of our present wealth and of our future security.

In these proposals for more control of production constant reference is made to the need of removing, at least in part, the obstacles imposed by federal and state anti-trust laws; which are described as out of accord with the present magnitude of business and trend of industry. Not only has the United States doubled its population since the Sherman anti-trust law was passed, but it is a different country. Far less than a quarter of its inhabitants of today figured in the census of 1890; since then most of the great industrial units that contribute so much to our present prosperity have come into being. Yet the prohibitions against collective or co-operative action in industries other than agriculture stand unamended on the statute books. Thirty-eight years is a long time in the growing period of American industry.

We may easily agree that the underlying purpose of exercising some control over a productive industry like the utilization of natural resources is to promote efficiency, to prevent waste, and thus, to lower costs. Unrestricted competition, with its stimulative effect on production, has been found too expensive a policy because in practice too commonly it is wasteful of material, of labor, and of capital. Both coal and oil, as they have been handled, light up a path that should not be traveled much longer.

To be effective the control for the common good must be of such nature as to protect the natural resource against waste and to protect both the producer—a collective term for labor and capital—and the consumer against loss from prices that are too low or

too high. Plainly control of production must start with the extractive branches of the mineral industry, where raw materials are won from the ground and where costs can be affected, and not with the market end, where control would be directed at prices only. Legislative committees far too often confine their investigations to the retail prices of gasoline or anthracite or some metal, with not even a glance at the economic conditions attending activities in the distant oil field or mining district. Undoubtedly there exists the widest field for improvement in the distribution of mineral products, as of most other commodities, but surplus production begins with premature or too extended development, with the drilling of the unneeded well or the opening of the unneeded mine. It is at that end of the long journey from the mineral underground to the consumer of the refined or fabricated mineral product, then, that control would seem most needed and most effective.

It is conceded that popular support is not volunteered to any legislative proposal whose avowed purpose is to put brakes on the development of natural resources. This general opposition to control of development and production seems to be based primarily upon a feeling that unrestricted competition is a privilege of the producer and a right of the consumer; the one seeks profits, and the other hopes for lower prices.

Market price is the acid test that the consuming public applies, but unfortunately only the market price of today is considered of much moment. Competition has too long been looked upon as the life of trade, whereas bitter experience has shown that competition is also the death of trade. A low price that is born in the death struggles of some producer is of only temporary benefit and is not a sign of health in a developing industry. The bankrupt route to low prices is not a safe highway.

The exercise of some control over production need not be feared, nor should it be opposed simply because it is primarily in the interest of the producer. It can well be sought as a step toward that ultimate goal in human economics—the greatest good to the greatest number over the longest time.

## INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES

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WILLIAM F. OGBURN

Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

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### ABSTRACT

Technological inventions and discoveries in applied science are the causes of most of our social changes. The following list contains fifteen such discoveries and inventions from the field of medical progress and health; eleven from the study of vitamins and ultra-violet; three from biology; thirteen from agriculture; ten from commercial chemistry; ten from engineering; six from radio and television; seven from other fields of electricity, and seven from miscellaneous fields.

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The presentation of the compilation of the following inventions and discoveries is based upon the assumption that social changes are occasioned largely by inventions in our material culture and discoveries in the field of science. There must have been vast social consequences of the invention of the automobile and its subsequent wide diffusion. The utilization of steam has affected the divorce rate, and the invention and wide use of the tin can and glass preserving-jar have had an effect on the movement for woman suffrage.

Not all inventions are so significant for social change as these above illustrations. An aeroplane is, of course, a collection of inventions, of thousands that were invented for the particular object, the aeroplane. Inventions are then generally steps in a process of the evolution of an object, and any widely useful object usually embodies many inventions. Inventions and discoveries usually appear as small bits of new knowledge and fragments of useful appliances. These accumulate and make possible the larger objects whose uses have greater social consequences.

The following list comprises less than one hundred carefully selected cases. They were selected because of their possible social significance. They were chosen from the compilations of the National Geographical Society, of Science Service, the register of patents, the records of the *Scientific American*, the *Scientific Monthly*, *Popular Science Monthly*, and the *Literary Digest*. These sources do not, of course, record all the inventions and dis-

coveries. There were 42,376 patents granted in 1928. Reporting of scientific discoveries is poorly developed. Discoveries in education, statistics, psychology, and in the social sciences generally are not reported at all in the usual sources and compilations.

#### MEDICAL PROGRESS AND HEALTH

Succinchlorimide was found by Major Wood, of the United States Army Medical School, to be a positive disinfectant of germ-laden water without boiling.

Eleven lepers were released from the National Leper Home at Corville, Louisiana, by the United States Public Health Service apparently cured and no longer a menace to the community.

Synthetic ephedrine was developed by Dr. Chen, Johns Hopkins University. The drug is used to relieve hay fever and asthma, to dilate the pupils of the eyes for examination, and to contract congested membranes of the nose.

From Chicago and from Leningrad come independent discoveries that nitroglycerin is effective in the treatment of seasickness and in whirling experiences of applicants for aviation study.

Epilepsy was produced artificially in dogs by a brain operation performed by Dr. O. Morgan, of the University of Illinois.

By lifting a patient's scalp with keen-edged instruments, breaking skull bones with forceps, and then cutting away certain brain tissues, a case of epilepsy was recently cured by Dr. Foerster, professor of surgery at Breslau, Germany.

Highly purified inorganic salts or iron did not improve the blood of anemic animals, but they were improved by diets of liver, lettuce, and corn. The ash of these foods was effective and they all contain copper. Other researches show copper to be a most important mineral for our blood.

A diet low in sugar and starch reduces susceptibility to colds, Frederick Hoelzel, of the University of Chicago, announced.

Dr. Helen Hosmer studied the effects on animals of short radio waves of from 12 to 30 meters length. Considerable and rapid increases of temperature were noted. It may be possible to kill the germs of many diseases by electrically induced fevers.

High-frequency electric currents were found to be beneficial in checking cancerous growths in mice and chickens.

A motion picture of certain types of microbes was made by Jean Painleve.

A pneumatic drill, designed for use in difficult bone operations, was invented by Dr. Ogilvie, of London.

The use of respirators with cotton, paper, or fabric filters removes at least nine-tenths of the lead in air containing paint mist, is the announcement of Surgeon-General Cummings, of the United States Public Health Service.

A method of investigating the brain by means of X-ray photographs was perfected by Dr. Max Ludin, director of the Roentgen Institute of the Citizens Hospital of Basel, Switzerland.

Methods of storing ether so that it may be preserved for eight months without deterioration were announced by S. Palkin and H. R. Watkins. Pyragallol and permanganate are the preservatives.

#### VITAMINES AND ULTRA-VIOLET

Beeskow, University of Chicago, found that soy beans increased their calcium and phosphorus content when treated with ultra-violet rays.

An ultra-violet irradiated food was placed on the market, a commercial application of the discovery that ordinary foods exposed to ultra-violet rays promote the formation of healthy bones and teeth in children and young animals.

Irradiated ergosterol, the new rickets remedy which is so powerful that 1 ounce will do the work of 6 tons of cod liver oil, came into wide use, but was withdrawn from the market later until further study is made of its dosage, use, and effect.

The smoke screen over New York City cuts off 42 per cent of the morning sunlight and 18 per cent of the noon rays, as shown by tests of the United States Public Health Service.

The human teeth give off various types of fluorescence under ultra-violet radiation, according to the findings of Dr. Benedict, of Northwestern Dental School. The white spot that marks the beginnings of cavity-forming troubles does not fluoresce.

Dr. Joseph Goldberger, of the United States Hygienic Laboratory, announced the splitting off of a factor P-P from vitamine B that has the distinct property of preventing pellagra. His four-

teen years of research showed that the disease was not infectious but was due to a faulty and unbalanced diet.

That foxglove plants treated with ultra-violet rays will produce 35 per cent more digitalis than untreated plants was discovered by Miss Adelia McCrea.

A practicable device for measuring the dosage in ultra-violet ray treatment was developed by Drs. Pohle and Huxford, of the University of Michigan.

Tests upon students at the Kansas State Agricultural College suffering from nutritional anemia showed that a teaspoonful of cod liver oil daily resulted in every case in an increase in red cells in the blood and a corresponding improvement in physical condition.

Owls and hawks fed on a diet of sparrows and chicken heads with feathers were cured of artificially induced rickets, in experiments by Dr. Rowan, University of Alberta, Canada. The preen gland of the domestic fowl is a rich source of cholesterol, one of the parent substances of vitamine D.

The discovery of a new vitamine, known as vitamine F, was announced by Professor Evans, of the University of California, the discoverer also of vitamine E.

#### BIOLOGY

A new foot was grown on an unmutilated leg of a triton by Dr. Nassenow, of Russia.

Insects that are neither male nor female but combine certain characteristics of both sexes were produced by Professor James W. Mavor, Union College, Schenectady, New York, through the exposure of fruit flies to the action of X-rays. These changes were brought about by the shift of the positions of the chromosomes.

A moving-picture record of the living rabbit's egg which discloses many new phenomena hitherto unknown was obtained by Drs. W. H. Lewis and P. W. Gregory.

#### AGRICULTURE

A heavy waterproof paper carpet spread over a garden crop increases the yield as much as 500 per cent. Such was shown by the three years' experiments of Dr. Flint, of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Experiments with enormous cages, constructed of copper wire screening under the supervision of Dr. W. H. Larrimer on a farm maintained by the United States Bureau of Entomology near Toledo, Ohio, indicated that while it will be impossible to eradicate the corn borer, it can be controlled sufficiently to reduce commercial losses to a negligible amount.

By exposing potted plants to ethyl dichloride or ethylene chlorhydrin in a tightly closed room, Dr. Denny, of the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research, was able to arouse to activity many species that usually demand several months of dormancy before resuming growth.

Cassaba and honeydew melons were added to the list of fruits susceptible to artificial ripening under ethylene gas treatment, though this treatment does not increase their sugar content.

That oats thrive best and ripen earliest when sprouted at a low temperature was the announcement of Dr. Maximow, Russian plant physiologist.

Six cabbage heads from one plant were produced by Miller, of Cornell, in studies of the relationship between temperature and plant growth.

The growing of healthy apple trees from seeds produced in apples developed from unpollinated blossoms was achieved by Dr. S. Wingle, National Research Council fellow in botany.

The Missouri Botanical Garden announced the successful grafting of a tomato vine on a potato stalk, on which tomatoes were produced above and potatoes below the ground.

Dr. George D. Karpechenko, Botanical Institute, Detskoe Selo, Russia, succeeded in making a cross between a radish and a cabbage, the most distant cousins of the plant world whose hybridization has yet been achieved.

By storing apples in chambers containing about 11 per cent of oxygen and 10 per cent carbon dioxide, the apple disease known as brown heart is checked in storage, as demonstrated by Drs. West and Kidd, of the Low Temperature Research Station at Cambridge, England.

Compressed air has been found to assist a tree in overcoming the disturbance due to transplantation when forced in among the

roots. It has also been found to stimulate trees in lawns in which the densely matted grass prevents the terminal roots of the tree from getting their needed supply of oxygen.

German chemists announced the development of a serum against hoof-and-mouth disease in cattle.

Zinc and boron, in minute quantities, are as essential to plant growth as are the vitamins to animal growth, as shown by the demonstrations of Professor Lippman and Miss Sommer, of the University of California.

#### COMMERCIAL CHEMISTRY

The manufacture of seventy thousand tons of synthetic gasoline from soft coal was achieved by the German Dye Trust.

The process for converting wood waste into an edible carbohydrate suitable for hog food devised by Dr. Friedrich Bergins, German chemist, was improved to the point of semicommercial production.

Coal was made out of wood, cabbages, and cornstalks, by Dr. Bergins, of Heidelberg, Germany.

Rubber was produced from coal by Dr. Hoffman, of Germany.

F. X. Zur Nedden, secretary of the Fuel Committee of the National Council, of Berlin, announced the use of coal liquefied by a process of distillation. The method not only tends to diminish the importance of the earth's slowly vanishing coal supply, but it does away with the weight of ash and humidity.

The invention of a method of extracting fertilizer invaluable in the raising of corn, winter wheat, and cotton was announced by the Armour Fertilizer Company, of Chicago. It is a by-product in the manufacture of illuminating gas.

Two new processes involving the purification of anthracene that will give the dye industry a wide wealth of raw material from coke and coal tar were discovered by Dr. Jaeger, an American chemist.

Methods of curing rubber which extend its life to thirty-five years were announced by the United States War Department.

That it is possible with modern dyes to make more than two million separate distinguishable colors is the statement of G. B. Welsh, of Cornell University.

Greater deadliness to parasitic insects and kindred pests and less danger to human beings are claimed for two new spraying chemicals by Dr. Marcovitch, of the Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station at Nashville. Sodium fluoride and sodium fluosilicate are the two new chemicals suggested as substitutes for arsenic.

#### ENGINEERING

Wind motors developed electricity in Coachella Valley, California. Powerful cones turn a draft of air into a ten- or twenty-mile wind. In certain places they may operate 90 per cent of the time. Continuous power may be had by connection in chains.

The development of the use of automatic sorting of freight cars from a central control board occurred during 1928 and replaced yardmen formerly employed in the freight terminals.

Under the auspices of the American Institute of Steel Construction, New York City, a single type steel house frame was erected in three hours. Standard size bolts were used to "button together" the steel sills, plates, and rafters.

A machine for utilizing the power derived from bringing water from the cold depths of the tropical seas into contact with the warm water of the surface was further developed by George Claude, of Paris. He was able to develop 40 kilowatts in addition to the power necessary to operate the machine.

Pulverized coal was applied to the propulsion of seagoing vessels, the initial installation being the United States Shipping Board vessel "Mercer."

A new battery of boilers installed at the Siemens-Schuchert Works, Germany, develops steam at a pressure of 3,375 pounds a square inch.

Wallboard is being manufactured from corn stalks in a special semicommercial plant at Ames, Iowa, by the United States Bureau of Standards in co-operation with the Iowa State College.

A commercial plant for making paper out of cornstalks was built in Illinois, the first of its kind.

Professor D. B. Keyes, of the University of Illinois, announces the discovery of a method of coating metals with aluminum by electroplating. Pure aluminum will withstand the most corrosive

action, most concentrated acids, and all common sulphur compounds that today cost industry billions of dollars.

A thirteen-compartment motor bus sleeper for twenty-six persons was built in Los Angeles, to run on the San Diego-San Francisco route.

#### RADIO AND TELEVISION

Drs. Ives and Gray, of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, have further developed the television apparatus to show motions of objects out-of-doors, suggesting possibilities of viewing athletic contests in the open.

In London a method has been developed for sending fingerprints by wireless to all parts of the world.

The Bell Telephone Company transmitted motion-picture scenes by wire from Chicago to New York.

John L. Baird succeeded in transmitting radio vision pictures from his London laboratory to Hartsdale, New York.

The Bell Telephone Company engineers announced the development of a radio-dialing device for the linking of radio and land-wire telephone systems by which it may become possible to dial ships at sea, aeroplanes, and inaccessible places by radio.

The world's first newspaper radio-vision broadcast program was published.

#### OTHER ELECTRICAL DEVELOPMENT

Professor H. Plauson, Hamburg, Germany, announced the development of a new cathode-ray tube by which the rays are brought into the open and made applicable to industrial progress on a large scale, and stated that with it the waste products of petroleum stills and coke ovens may be transformed quickly into rubber, alcohol, acetic acid, and valuable drugs and perfumes; moist air into nitric acids; a mixture of nitrogen and hydrogen into ammonia, and isoprene into synthetic rubber.

Arthur C. Pillsbury developed a new X-ray movie camera by which he has been able to penetrate the inner secrets of the growth of a rosebud, and to study the processes of generation in plants.

X-rays of unprecedentedly short wave-lengths were produced in a million volt tube by C. C. Lauritsen and R. D. Bennett, California Institute of Technology. They are less than one twenty-

billionth of an inch long, so short that they were observable through steel doors more than one hundred feet away.

Alfred V. de Forest developed a galvanometer with which a flaw no bigger than a pinhead can be detected in the center of a steel wheel without cutting or marring the surface of the wheel.

An inverted vacuum tube by which it is possible to reduce voltage and increase power was produced by F. E. Terman, of Stanford University.

Dr. W. R. Whitney, General Electric Company, demonstrated a 15,000-watt vacuum tube. With it he lit electric lamps without wires or sockets, warmed nearby spectators, and cooked sausage without fire.

The televox, or mechanical man, invented by R. I. Wensley, was further perfected during the year and many new fields for his activities demonstrated.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

The Army Air Corps developed an aerial camera with a range of more than 5 miles. Areas of 4 square miles may be photographed at a single exposure.

The director of Eastman Kodak Research Laboratory made the announcement of a perfected process by which amateur cinematographers could make films in natural color instead of in monochrome.

A new explosive, many times more powerful than T.N.T. or nitroglycerine, was invented by Captain H. R. Zimmer, of Los Angeles. Radiumatomite is safer to handle because it requires a spark to set it off.

It was announced that Hungarian investigators had succeeded in developing a printing process that eliminates the use of metal type. It reproduces letters on reels by photography as its keys are struck.

A practicable method of distributing and marketing small cuts of frozen meats has been worked out which makes it possible for the grocery store to drive the butcher-shop out of business.

An instrument defined as a "breathing device" which experts believe will save the lives of men submerged in sunken submarines has been devised by Lieutenant C. B. Momsev, Chief Gunner C.

L. Tibbals, both diving experts, and F. M. Hobson, engineer in the Naval Bureau of Construction and Repairs.

Teletypesetters eventually may permit one man to set in type the stories of the world's events in the composing room of a thousand widely scattered newspaper plants. The operator, punching the keys of his electric typewriter, perforates a tape seven-eighths of an inch wide, each group of perforations corresponding to a number or numeral. The tape operates the telegraph by sending electrical impulses. This "receiving tape" takes the place of the linotype operator, as it is fed mechanically into the typesetting machine.

## PRODUCTION

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HARRY JEROME

Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin

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### ABSTRACT

Compared with 1927, production per capita increased in 1928. *Period preceding 1928.*—Most of the major lines of production made substantial gains from the post-war depression within two or three years, and continued to grow at a relatively even pace thereafter, with mild recessions in 1924 and 1927. Per capita production in a few major lines, however, has been declining in recent years. *Agriculture and animal husbandry.*—Both the estimated crop yields and the volume of agricultural marketings increased in 1928. *Mining.*—Despite a continued high output of crude petroleum, the volume of mining as a whole declined slightly in 1928. *Manufacturing.*—Eight of the twelve major manufacturing groups, including those associated with building and automobiles, registered gains in 1928, and manufacturing as a whole regained the 1926 high level. *Construction.*—The volume of building per capita reached a new high level.

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Even when reduced to a per capita basis to allow for such increase as is necessary to keep pace with the growth of population, production, on the whole, exhibited in 1928 substantial improvement over 1927, and for several industries reached new high levels. The 1927 level was exceeded for manufactures, building, and the marketing of crop and animal products, but the production of minerals declined 2 per cent owing to the failure of the coal industry to make rapid recovery from the 1927 slump. Crops were, on the whole, above the 1927 level and also better than the average for the preceding ten years. Freight-car loadings stood at almost the same level in 1928 as in 1927, declines occurring in the loading of coal and coke, livestock, forest products, and merchandise in less-than-car-lot shipments. Gains were registered in the loading of grain and grain products, ore, and miscellaneous freight.

### THE PERIOD PRECEDING 1928

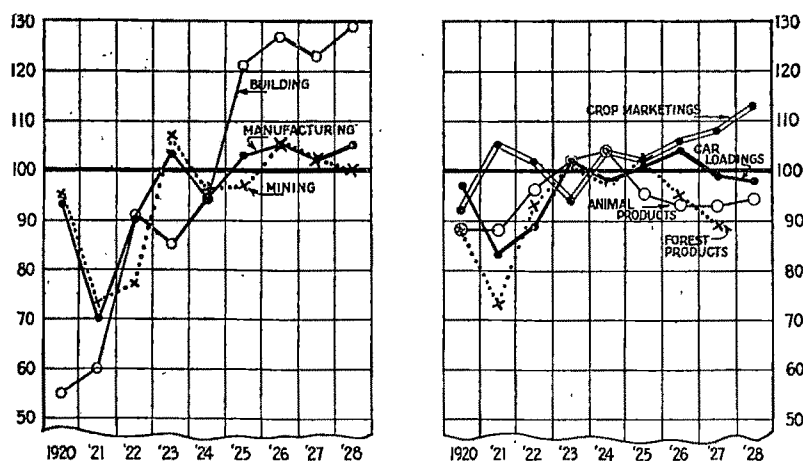
A brief consideration of the movement of production in the few years prior to 1928 affords a convenient starting point from which to study the development of the last year. The major movements in production from 1920 to 1928, inclusive, are tabulated

in Table I, and presented graphically in Charts I and II. Chart I shows, in the left-hand section, the movements in composite indices of the physical volume of production for manufacturing, mining, and building, and, in the right-hand section, the fluctuations in crop marketings, forest products, marketings of animal products, and freight-car loadings. Chart II portrays the fluctuations from 1923 to 1928 in the production of twelve principal manufacturing groups.

CHART I

INDICES OF PRODUCTION PER CAPITA, 1920-28\*

Average 1923-25=100



\* For the numerical data from which these indices are plotted see the first seven series in Table I.

For convenience of comparison, the series shown on these charts are expressed as index numbers with the average for 1923-25 as 100 per cent. Also, the data have been reduced to a per capita basis, by dividing the indices of production by an index of population at the middle of each year as estimated by the Bureau of the Census. The significant growth of an industry is thus made more obvious. An industry which is growing at the same pace as population will have, aside from seasonal and cyclical fluctuations, an index of about 100. An industry which is rapidly outstripping the growth of population will stand in 1928 substantially above 100.

The severe depression of 1921, after the post-war boom, was followed, as evidenced in Chart I, by recovery in almost all lines of production. This movement reached a peak in mining and manufacturing in 1923, slumped somewhat in 1924, and climbed to new levels in 1926; and manufactures reached an equally high level in 1928. Building picked up rapidly in 1922, took another spurt in 1924 and 1925, and by 1926 reached a point well above the 1923-25 average. There was a slight recession in building in 1927, but a new peak was reached in 1928. Crop marketings per capita were low in 1920 and again in 1923, but have been consistently high in recent years, with a peak in 1928 about 12 per cent above the 1923-25 average. The marketings of animal products per capita, on the other hand, rose from 1920 to a peak in 1924 and have since declined several per cent. Forest products also reached a peak in 1926 and have subsequently declined. The incomplete returns on forest products available at the time this article is being written indicate no marked change in 1928 from the 1927 output.

#### AGRICULTURAL AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY<sup>1</sup>

The year 1928 was, on the whole, a good crop year. A composite yield of seventeen principal crops, weighted in proportion to their ten-year average value per unit, was 4.7 per cent greater in 1928 than in 1927, and 7.5 per cent greater than the average production in the ten years 1918-27.

The per capita output in 1928 was 0.7 per cent less than the average for the preceding ten years.

The yield per acre, for forty-four crops combined, weighted in proportion to relative importance, was about 2.2 per cent above the 1927 yield, and 3.5 per cent higher than the average of the preceding ten years.

Of the major crops, the per acre yield of spring wheat, oats, barley, and Irish potatoes was 10 per cent or more above the average of the preceding ten years; winter wheat was 7.4 and corn

<sup>1</sup> The discussion in this section is based chiefly upon estimates compiled by the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, published in *Crops and Markets*, December, 1928; and upon indices of crop marketings published in the *Survey of Current Business*.

1.4 per cent above, but cotton was 2.6 per cent below the ten-year average. Only rye and some of the truck and fruit crops declined 10 or more per cent from the ten-year average.

The acreage in corn increased over two million acres, and the total crop for 1928 was about seventy-seven million bushels in excess of the 1927 crop. Despite a decline of over a million acres in wheat, the total yield exceeded the 1927 crop by some twenty-four million bushels. Cotton acreage jumped to 45,326,000 acres, an increase of over five million acres above the 1927 acreage, and the crop exceeded the 1927 crop by 1,418,000 bales.

It may be noted that despite an increased acreage for the total of all crops, the estimated farm value of 1928 crops was less than that of 1927 by about sixty-five million dollars.

The preceding figures refer to crop yields only. The index of crop marketings shown in Table I and Chart I represents agricultural production from a different angle; and the index of marketings of animal products represents a phase of farm operations not covered by the crop estimates. Crop marketings reached a new high level per capita in 1928. The marketing of animal products also rose to slightly above the 1926 and 1927 level, but was still 6 per cent below the average of 1923-25.

#### MINING

Bituminous coal production did not fully recover from the 1927 slump occasioned by the extensive strikes which began in April of that year, and when allowance is made for typical seasonal variation 1928 production did not quite reach the 1923-25 level in any month, and for the year as a whole was below the 1927 total.

A rapid increase in crude petroleum production had been checked in the second half of 1927 by the efforts of the producers to curtail production; and, allowing for the usual seasonal differences, production fell slightly in the first half of 1928; but higher gasoline prices stimulated the development of new producing areas, and in the second half of the year production rose continuously with the result that the total production for the year is estimated at nine hundred million barrels, or slightly in excess of the 1927 output.

While the production of bituminous and anthracite coal, and also lead and silver, was lower in 1928 than in 1927, substantial increases occurred in the production of iron ore and copper, and slight gains in crude petroleum, as noted, and in zinc.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE I  
INDICES OF PRODUCTION PER CAPITA, UNITED STATES, 1920-28\*  
(Average of 1923-25=100)

Industry	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Building.....	55	60	91	85	94	121	127	123	129
Animal products marketings.....	88	88	96	102	104	95	93	93	94
Crop marketings.....	92	105	102	94	104	102	106	108	113
Forest products.....	88	73	93	101	97	102	95	89	†
Freight-car loadings.....	97	83	89	102	98	101	104	99	98
Mining.....	95	73	77	107	96	97	105	102	100
Manufactures:									
Total.....	93	70	90	103	94	103	105	102	105
Petroleum refining.....	68	67	77	87	99	113	121	130	144
Rubber tires.....		58	80	87	98	114	113	116	136
Tobacco manufactures.....	93	89	92	98	99	103	111	113	117
Iron and steel.....	106	48	86	107	88	104	110	100	113
Cement, brick, and glass..	70	66	83	97	95	108	110	104	111
Paper and printing.....	93	73	88	97	99	104	112	109	111
Non-ferrous metals.....	83	41	71	96	99	105	109	104	109
Automobiles.....	62	43	68	104	90	105	106	82	107
Textiles.....	90	91	102	107	91	102	101	108	101
Leather and shoes.....	104	94	105	112	94	95	95	99	98
Food products.....	90	87	97	101	103	96	94	92	93
Lumber.....	84	71	92	101	96	103	97	90	84

\* Computed from indices given in the *Federal Reserve Bulletin* and the *Survey of Current Business*, February, 1929, and earlier issues. The index for building represents the value of contracts awarded, as compiled by the F. W. Dodge Corporation, deflated by dividing by the index of construction costs compiled by the Associated General Contractors of America. All of these indices have been reduced to a per capita basis by dividing by an index of population at the midpoint of each year as estimated by the Bureau of the Census.

† Unavailable at time article was written.

#### MANUFACTURING

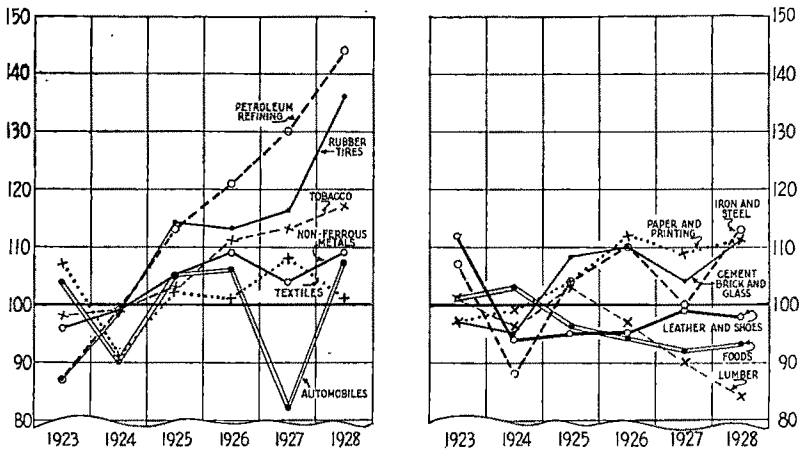
The manufacturing industry as a whole has prospered since the depression of 1921, with a recession in 1924 and a moderate decline again in 1927. The year 1928 witnessed a recovery which carries the index for manufacturing, even when adjusted for population growth, to the high level reached in 1926, 5 per cent above the 1923-25 average. This gain, however, has not been equally distributed among the several industries. A perspective of the rel-

<sup>2</sup> Monthly and annual indices of mineral production, 1919-28, for eight minerals and their composite are given in the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, March, 1927, p. 177, and February, 1929, p. 118.

ative movement in the leading manufacturing industries may be obtained by an examination of Chart II, based on Table I. For each industry the curve represents the estimated quantity volume of production per capita in the industry as compared with the average for the years 1923-25. In arriving at these estimates, the indices of production compiled by the Federal Reserve Board were

CHART II

VOLUME OF MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION PER CAPITA, BY INDUSTRIES, 1923-28\*  
Indices with average of 1923-25 = 100



\*For the numerical data from which these indices are plotted see the last twelve series in Table I.

adjusted to a per capita basis with the aid of the annual estimates of population made by the United States Bureau of the Census.

Let us consider the separate manufacturing industries, taking them in order of the extent to which they had increased by 1928 from the base period (1923-25).

Despite the efforts on the part of producers in the last year or so to check the rapid increase in production, the 1928 output of crude petroleum, as previously noted, reached a new high level, and petroleum refining increased from 130 per cent of the 1923-25 average in 1927 to 144 in 1928. Likewise, the production of rubber tires took a new spurt in 1928 to a point 36 per cent above the base-period average. The output of tobacco products continued to show the steady increase which it has evidenced each year since

the depression of 1921. Other industries that showed by 1928 a gain of 10 per cent or more above the 1923-25 average were iron and steel, cement, brick and glass, and paper and printing. Iron and steel had reached a new high point in 1926, but in 1927 declined sharply in the second half of the year, this decline and the subsequent substantial recovery in 1928 being largely due to similar movements in the automobile and building industries.

The production of automobiles, which had fallen off sharply in 1927 from the peak of 1926, owing partly to the stoppage of the Ford output for much of the year after May, recovered to a per capita level in 1928 slightly above the previous peak of 1926.

The textile group, which has recovered slowly from the post-war slump, showed substantial improvements in 1927 but declined again in 1928.

The per capita output in one group of industries, foods, lumber, and leather goods and shoes (shown in the lower part of the right hand section of Chart II), has fallen below the 1923-25 average. Leather and shoes, which had been making moderate gains since 1924, declined slightly in 1928. Food products showed a slight gain in 1928, but are still 7 per cent below the 1923-25 average; and lumber continued in 1928 the steady decline evident in the two preceding years.

The consumption of electric power, one of the best indices of industrial activity, increased about 10 per cent in 1928, to a level 46 per cent above the 1923-25 average. Part of this gain, however, is doubtless due to an increasing substitution of electric for other types of power.

#### CONSTRUCTION

The construction industry affects directly or indirectly a large fraction of the working population, and by some students of the business cycle variations in building activities are assigned a major position among the influences determining fluctuations in general business activity. While unfortunately there is no single series which can be taken as a substantially complete record of the volume of actual construction, there are indices which are useful in forming an approximate judgment of construction activities. One important measure of construction activity is the sta-

tistics of building contracts awarded in thirty-six states, compiled by the F. W. Dodge Corporation, in terms both of square feet and of dollar value. The volume of building in square feet, as represented by contracts awarded, increased 14.6 per cent as compared with 1927. The gains ranged from about 6 per cent for public works and utilities to 16 per cent for residential buildings and 34 per cent for industrial structures. Only public and semipublic buildings registered a decline. The aggregate value of contracts awarded increased 12.7 per cent over the 1927 total.

In Table I and Chart I is shown an estimate of the trend in the volume of building which was obtained by taking the F. W. Dodge figures for the value of building contracts awarded and adjusting these figures, both for population growth and for changes in prices and wages. The latter adjustment was made by dividing by an index of building costs compiled by the Associated General Contractors of America. Comparison of this index with other indices of the growth of building would suggest that it may exaggerate somewhat the increase in the physical volume of building, inasmuch as neither the 1928 figure for contracts awarded in terms of floor space nor an index of the volume of production compiled by the Associated General Contractors of America shows as high a level for building in the last few years as is indicated by the index plotted in Chart I. However, all series agree in showing a substantial gain in building in the last four years as compared with the preceding period.

In 1928 new orders for concrete roads and streets, as reported by the Portland Cement Association, reached a new high level of over twelve million square yards per month, nearly 18 per cent above the previous high figure reached in 1927.

The volume of work on federal aid highways declined in 1926 and 1927 from the 1925 level of 862 completed miles and 12,187 miles under construction, and continued this decline in 1928, to 621 completed miles and 8,879 miles under construction.

#### SUMMARY

With the exceptions noted above, 1928 witnessed a recovery in the physical volume of production from the mild recession of 1927, the most substantial gains being in building, crops, and man-

ufacturing. The manufacturing gains were chiefly in a group of industries associated with building and with the manufacture and use of automobiles, notably petroleum refining, rubber tires, the manufacture of automobiles, and iron and steel.

It may be noted that the relatively high level of production in recent years does not necessarily involve equally satisfactory employment conditions. The employment situation in the soft coal industry is more or less chronically unsatisfactory. In manufacturing, despite the increase in the volume of production, the total number employed, to judge from the available indices of the number of workers on pay-rolls, continues to decline, creating a growing interest in the problem of "technological unemployment."<sup>8</sup> It is urged by some commentators that the observed progress in technical efficiency is seriously aggravating the unemployment evil; others hold that the labor released by technical improvements has merely found employment in expanded and newly developed non-manufacturing occupations. It is a somewhat sad commentary upon the adequacy of our industrial statistics that there should be opportunity for a wide difference of opinion on this point.

In appraising the significance of the continued high level of production experienced in 1928, it should be noted that while the general average of production has run a relatively stable course since 1924 and on a generally rising level, even in this relatively stable period there has been a considerable diversity in the trends of the separate industries and that compared with population, some major lines of production are actually declining.

<sup>8</sup> The Federal Reserve Board index of factory employment on a 1919 base was 91.9 in 1927 and 90 in 1928.

## FOREIGN POLICY

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RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association, New York City

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### ABSTRACT

The outstanding event of the year 1928 was the anti-war pact. The year 1928 saw a renewed effort to secure the participation of the United States in the World Court. It saw new arbitration and conciliation treaties. As far as Latin American affairs were concerned, the year was momentous. For a time there was danger of a conflict between the international principle embodied in the League Covenant and the Monroe Doctrine, but this danger has now disappeared, primarily because of the arbitration and conciliation treaties signed at the Pan-American Arbitration Conference. The settlement of the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute was an example of co-operation between the United States and the League in preventing war in the Western Hemisphere.

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The outstanding event of the year 1928 was the conclusion of the anti-war pact. This agreement was signed in Paris on August 27, by fifteen states and it was subsequently adhered to by about fifty more. The treaty is short. In Article I, the parties agree to "renounce war as an instrument of national policy." In Article II, they promise never to seek the settlement of disputes "except by pacific means." The Senate of the United States finally approved the anti-war pact on January 15, 1929, after an unsuccessful attempt of Senators Moses and Reed to secure the adoption of "reservations." Nevertheless the treaty was approved only after the Committee on Foreign Relations had made a report to the effect that the anti-war pact does not curtail in any way the right of self-defense; that the Monroe Doctrine (as interpreted by the Committee) is part of the national defense of the United States; that the treaty does not provide sanctions, express or implied, nor change the present position of the United States toward the League of Nations.

After the debate in the Senate in which senators minimized the effects of the pact upon the foreign policy of the United States, it is natural to ask the question: does the pact have any concrete value? Basis for a negative answer to this question is found by

some critics in the passage of an act a few weeks after the ratification of the anti-war pact, which authorizes the construction of fifteen 10,000 ton cruisers and one aircraft carrier at an authorized cost of \$274,000,000. From the standpoint of absolute principle there is something incongruous about ratifying a treaty "renouncing" war and then voting to increase the size of the navy. It would seem to indicate that even though we have no aggressive designs, we do not trust the promises of other states not to go to war. In fact the defenders of the cruiser bill state that wars of self-defense remain valid under the anti-war pact and that the United States must possess a navy as strong as that of any other power, in order to be prepared to defend itself against attack.

If the United States already possessed the strongest navy in the world, the 15-cruiser bill would be open to severe condemnation. But it must be remembered that the American fleet has been undersized in cruisers; that following the Washington Conference the British government began the construction of large cruisers; and that for several years the American Congress held back appropriations in order that a further naval limitation agreement providing for parity in cruisers between Great Britain and the United States might be negotiated, just as such an agreement in regard to battleships had been negotiated in 1921. An attempt to secure naval agreement at Geneva in the summer of 1927 failed largely because of the reluctance of the British government to accord parity to the United States. The ill feeling generated at the Geneva naval conference became more tense following the announcement of the Anglo-French naval accord in August, 1928. This agreement, which was negotiated privately, provided for the limitation of large cruisers, but allowed Great Britain to construct as many small cruisers, i.e., those carrying six-inch guns, as she liked. American opinion regarded this agreement as a British attempt to secure French support for the position taken by Great Britain against the United States at Geneva. Had the terms of this agreement been privately communicated to the United States before being announced to the world much of the ill will would not have arisen. But the fact that the accord had been negotiated was blurted out in the House of Commons by Sir Austen Chamberlain

last July in a manner which led many Americans to assume—perhaps unjustly—that he was trying to confront the United States with a *fait accompli*. As a matter of fact, the accord brought forth such a protest from English leaders of opinion that the two governments promptly buried it and there were few mourners at the funeral.

Following such diplomatic blunders, the passage of the 15-cruiser bill by the United States was perhaps inevitable. It is possible that this bill may incite the British and American governments to enter upon a naval race, but it seems more probable that it will lead to a naval holiday. Assuming that the British government suspends further cruiser construction, the British and American fleets will be substantially equal in strength when the United States completes its present cruiser program. The most practical basis for limitation, therefore, is an agreement providing for the *status quo* in naval construction.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of the insistence of Senators Borah and Reed, the cruiser bill as finally passed states that Congress favors the negotiation of treaties before 1931 “regulating the conduct of belligerents and neutrals in war at sea, including the inviolability of private property thereon.” The adoption of this provision has also shocked some friends of the anti-war pact, simply because it does not mention the anti-war pact nor the difference between legal and illegal wars. The very concept of neutrality is based on the principle that war is legal. But this principle is changed by the League Covenant and the anti-war pact. Henceforth all wars “as an instrument of national policy” are illegal. Moreover, members of the League promise to apply an economic blockade against a state which is recognized as an aggressor. Such a state will have violated not only the Covenant but also the anti-war pact. While the United States is not a member of the League, it is the co-author of the anti-war pact. How can we, therefore, claim the right to trade with a state which has flagrantly violated its obligations? The other states could not grant us any such right without violating their obligations under the Covenant to apply a blockade.

In an attempt to make explicit the principle that seems to be

<sup>1</sup> Assuming the construction by the United States of its 15 cruisers.

implicit in the anti-war pact, Senator Capper revived his famous resolution, on February 11, 1929. This provides that the United States will not protect its nationals who attempt to trade with an aggressor and that the president may even impose an arms embargo against the aggressor. This bill has aroused opposition in Washington on the ground that it would be unneutral for the president to decide which of two states is the aggressor, both of which claim to be acting in self-defense. The determination of this question obviously is a task which must be left to some international machinery. It is doubtful, therefore, whether Congress will pass the Capper resolution until the United States is willing to co-operate with the League Council in determining which belligerent has violated its obligations.

The year 1928 thus saw a debate in regard to the attitude of the United States toward the next war. The assumption of this debate is that the "next war" will take place. This assumption may be correct. But surely the debate misplaces the emphasis. The only real way to protect American property and to guarantee international trade rights is to develop machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes before they lead to hostilities. When the newspaper reader learns of the existence of a conflict it is usually only after it has leaped into the headlines, but in practically every case these conflicts arise out of a deep background of submerged grievances. International machinery which sits idly by until guns are fired and then attempts to enforce peace inevitably will break down. What international machinery should do is to bring grievances into the open before the parties reach the breaking point.

During the past year the opinion seems to have grown that, if the anti-war pact is to have concrete value, it must be implemented by agreements in regard to machinery for the prevention of war. Whether or not as a result of the anti-war pact, the year 1928 saw a renewed effort to secure the participation of the United States in the World Court. It will be remembered that in January, 1926, the Senate consented to adhere to the Court subject to five reservations the most important of which provided that the United States should participate in meetings of the Council and Assembly of the League for the purpose of electing judges and that the United

States should have a veto over requests for advisory opinions in which we "have or claim an interest." In September, 1926, a conference was held at Geneva at which the other states accepted all of our reservations except the one about advisory opinions. Here they merely proposed that the United States should have the same voice in objecting to an opinion as members of the Council, leaving to the future whether or not the request for such an opinion should be made by unanimous or by majority vote. The fear was expressed that, if the United States had the right to veto a request for an advisory opinion, the work of the Council in the conciliation of disputes might be seriously hampered. The Geneva compromise was not, however, acceptable to the United States. And the question was stalemated until the election of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes as a judge of the court in September, 1928, and the appointment of Mr. Elihu Root as a member of the committee of jurists to revise the Court statute. In February, 1929, Mr. Root arrived in Geneva, where he proposed a formula which provided that Council members and the United States should exchange views in regard to a request for advisory opinions, and, if after this exchange of views the United States still maintained its objection, it should have the right to withdraw from the World Court "without any imputation of unfriendliness to co-operate generally for peace and good will." The formula thus safeguards the interests of the United States without necessarily impairing the usefulness of the advisory opinion. In practice, it is doubtful whether the United States will wish to veto many advisory opinions, or whether the Council will wish to press the request for an opinion to which the United States is resolutely opposed. The Root formula will probably bring the United States into the World Court.

The year 1928 saw the signature of an increasing number of arbitration treaties, the most important one of which was the Pan-American Arbitration Treaty discussed later. While arbitration is important, it is usually confined to legal questions which even if unsettled would not provoke a war. The really serious questions are "political." And for the settlement of these questions a different method, of conciliation, has been devised, a method which the United States has accepted in the Bryan Peace Commission Trea-

ties. In fact, as a result of our arbitration and conciliation treaties, we have accepted the principle of pacific reference of all disputes to which we may be a party. These treaties are, however, merely self-denying ordinances; they do not pledge the United States to a conciliatory effort to prevent other states from going to war. If we take the anti-war pact in earnest, we must agree to place our influence alongside that of other powers in inducing third states to settle their disputes by peaceful means and in preventing such disputes from leading to hostilities. The most effective conciliation machinery in the world is the Council of the League of Nations, and sooner or later we may expect the United States to co-operate with this body for the purpose of preventing the violation of the anti-war pact.

As far as the relations between the United States and Latin America were concerned, the year 1928 was momentous. At the beginning of the year these relations had been strained by the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua and by the interventionist stand of the United States at the Havana Conference. A few weeks after the Havana Conference a representative of Argentina told a League of Nations commission that his government did not recognize the Monroe Doctrine. In July, the little state of Costa Rica requested the League Council to interpret the Monroe Doctrine in relation to Article 21 of the Covenant. Even today Argentina and Brazil have refrained from adhering to the anti-war pact out of fear that it sanctions the Monroe Doctrine, by which they mean the right of the United States to dictate to the other nations of the Western hemisphere.

In its reply to Costa Rica the League Council quietly said that, while it could not interpret the policy of any government, it could state that every member of the League had the same rights as any other. This meant, therefore, that a Latin-American state might appeal to the guaranties of the Covenant in case of dispute with the United States. For a time at least there seemed to be the danger of a conflict between the international principle embodied in the League Covenant and the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine under which the United States could—as judge and party in the same cause—decide for itself the obligations of states in the

Western hemisphere. Happily the year 1928 saw the disappearance of the likelihood of any such conflict and the improvement of our Latin-American relations generally. The difficulties with Mexico were appeased in the oil settlement of January, 1928.<sup>2</sup> The difficulties with Nicaragua were softened by the successful supervision of the Nicaraguan elections of November, 1928. The basis of the fears directed against the Monroe Doctrine and our Latin-American policy generally was removed, or at least reduced, by President Hoover's journey to Latin-America and by the Pan-American Arbitration Conference held at the end of 1928. At this conference two important agreements were signed. The first agreement provides for the obligatory arbitration of legal disputes, which are defined to include questions in regard to the interpretation of a treaty; questions of international law; the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of international law; and the nature and extent of the reparation to be made for any breach. Exceptions to arbitration include controversies over domestic questions and questions affecting states not a party to the convention. It is to the credit of the United States that our delegates signed this agreement without any reservation pertaining to the Monroe Doctrine or to any other question. The arbitration treaty provides that, if the parties cannot agree within three months upon the definition of the particular subject to be referred to arbitration, the court may draw up an agreement or *compromis* containing such a definition. This provision overturns the practice hitherto followed in the United States of giving the Senate a veto over the special agreement. While the Upper House on the Hill has already approved the Pan-American conciliation agreement, it has failed as yet to act on the arbitration treaty, apparently because of the *compromis* question.

According to the conciliation convention all disputes not referred to arbitration must, in case they threaten to disturb the peace, be referred to conciliation commissions. Here the 1929 conference merely revised the Gondra Convention of 1923 by providing that diplomatic committees at Montevideo and Washington

<sup>2</sup> See "Foreign Policy of the United States in the Year 1927," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1928.

may take the initiative in conciliating a dispute "when it appears that there is a prospect of disturbance of peaceful relations."

Once these agreements are ratified, it will be untrue to say that the United States is judge and party of the same cause—that it declines to refer to international tribunals the extent of its own rights and obligations in the Western hemisphere. For example, if the United States threatens to land marines in Nicaragua, the diplomatic committee at Montevideo may raise the question whether or not the United States has lived up to these treaties. The conciliation convention in principle places the intervention policy of the United States under some form, however vague, of international control. In accepting these conventions, we have to a certain extent converted the Monroe Doctrine from a unilateral to an inter-American understanding. Further evidence of this view is found in the settlement of the Bolivia-Paraguay boundary dispute, which almost led to war in December, 1928. Both Mr. Hughes and Mr. Kellogg declined the suggestion of the Pan-American Arbitration Conference that the United States undertake to mediate the dispute. Instead it was agreed that the question should be referred to a joint commission.

Bolivia and Paraguay are members of the League of Nations, and when the dispute broke out the Council of the League, then meeting in Lugano, sent several telegrams reminding these states of their obligations under the Covenant. Although the dispute was finally referred to an Inter-American commission, there is no doubt but that the quick and firm action of the Council had a profound effect in inducing these states to resort to pacific settlement. The fact that the dispute was not submitted to a Geneva tribunal did not mean a defeat for the League. The Covenant favors regional agreements and local conciliation boards. But when these bodies fail to bring about an agreement, the Council reserves the right to intervene. The joint action of the Council and of the Pan-American Arbitration Conference is the first example of co-operation between the United States and members of the League in preventing war in the Western hemisphere. It is an example which will probably be followed in the future.

Shortly after the signature of these notable arbitration and

conciliation agreements, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations attempted to clear up the misapprehension of the outside world in regard to the Monroe Doctrine. In its report on the anti-war pact, the Senate Committee set down what it regarded as the "true interpretation" of the Monroe Doctrine. Instead of quoting with approval from the Minneapolis address (1923) of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes upon this subject, the Committee quoted, among others, Professor Theodore Woolsey, to the effect that when the Monroe Doctrine "oversteps the principle of self-defense, reasonably interpreted, the right disappears and the policy is questionable because it then violates the rights of others. . . ." This statement seems to throw overboard the Rooseveltian interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine under which the United States has undertaken to stamp out revolution in Central America. The Senate seems to have returned to the original interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine—namely a Doctrine that merely authorizes the United States to come to the aid of a Latin-American state when attacked by a European power.

The year 1928 has seen, therefore, an improvement in the relations between the United States and the remainder of the world. Prospects for a new understanding with Latin-America are bright. The conclusion of a treaty last July with China in which we recognize Chinese tariff autonomy has seemed to give us a special place in the good will of the Chinese people. Our renewed interest in the World Court and our daily co-operation with the League denotes a more sympathetic attitude on the part of Washington toward all forms of international organization. So far, however, the really vital economic matters, which are at the source of the majority of international differences, remain scarcely touched. The questions of tariffs, shipping wars, trade promotion, and commercial policy generally must soon be grappled with if peace is to be permanently maintained.

## LABOR

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DAVID J. SAPOSS  
Brookwood Labor College

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### ABSTRACT

The year 1928 was one of comparatively normal activity for labor as a whole. The membership has virtually remained stationary, and attempts at increasing it by organizing the unorganized brought no results. The old procedure in collective bargaining is, with some exceptions, still followed. There has been a slight decrease in strikes. Labor banking is marking time, and the results of labor's effort in politics are uncertain. Workers' education has stirred up considerable controversy, leading to assertion of dormant minority elements. As a result of the continued "expulsion" policy of the unions, the Communists have modified their "boring-from-within" policy by organizing "dual unions."

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In general labor followed a normal course in 1928, although a few developments, which at present do not lend themselves to evaluation, may prove of great significance in future years.

### MEMBERSHIP, ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Union membership has virtually remained stationary. Indeed there may have been a decline, but, when unions are encountering reverses, it is difficult to secure accurate membership figures. To illustrate, the United Mine Workers still show a membership of 400,000, whereas the loss of the bituminous coal strike has shattered its forces in some of the most important mining areas. Furthermore, membership figures for 1928 are not available for all the unions. However, the figures for the American Federation of Labor show the slight increase of 83,537 over 1927. For the latter year the paid up membership was 2,812,526, and it is given as 2,896,063 for 1928.

In order to recoup its membership the Federation is urging its affiliated bodies to "double the membership in 1929." This is a rather ambitious program in view of the fact that the problem confronting the American union movement is not increasing membership in shops and areas where the unions already operate, but in the

unorganized areas, and chiefly in the so-called basic industries employing predominantly semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Since the collapse of the war boom, the Federation unions have met with little success in these areas of large-scale and integrated industry, where welfare work, company unionism and the labor spy are resorted to by the financially powerful firms to counteract unionism. The latest unsuccessful attempt was in the automobile industry. In 1926 plans were laid to organize this industry and the Metal Trades Department was entrusted with the responsibility. The president of that department in his annual report acknowledges that thus far no headway has been made. Having encountered a snag in this industry, the Federation has now turned its attention toward organizing the textile workers of the South.

Although the new form of collective bargaining in which labor assumes a responsibility for production is being featured, it is not being rapidly extended. Some of the largest railroad corporations have introduced it in their railroad shops, where the workers are strongly organized. Outside of these instances the new practice is resorted to on a limited scale, chiefly by the smaller firms where unions still exercise influence in a number of the less important industries. This mode of union-management co-operation has received little consideration from either labor or employers in the best organized industries, as building trades and coal mining. Of course, in the unorganized industries like automobile, iron and steel, it is not even considered.

#### STRIKES REACH THE TROUGH

It seems that the trough has been reached in the strike cycle. Table I shows that the downward trend is gradually spending itself. Not only has there been a slightly smaller number of strikes, namely 576 for 1927 as against 580 for 1928, but there was also a decrease in the number of workers participating in strikes from 362,495 in 1927 to 342,341 in 1928.

The two outstanding strikes of the year were those of the bituminous coal-miners and the New Bedford textile operatives. The former strike began on April 1, 1927, and officially terminated July

8, 1928. It involved something like 200,000 workers in the central and southwestern coal fields. The coal-miners were among the few groups of even organized workers that had not suffered a wage reduction from the war peak. The operators demanded concessions and the union resisted. The strike was one of the most bitterly contested and of unusual duration, exhausting the resources of the union. It was finally called off by the union permitting the various districts to effect settlements with operators "upon a basis mutually satisfactory." The settlements that followed resulted in wage reductions of from 10 per cent to 25 per cent. The forces of the union were badly shattered, so that it has not succeeded in re-establishing itself in some of the most important coal-mining areas.

TABLE I  
NUMBER OF DISPUTES AND EMPLOYEES  
INVOLVED, 1927-28

YEAR	DISPUTES IN WHICH NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES INVOLVED WAS REPORTED	
	Number of Disputes	Number of Employees
1927.....	580	362,495
1928.....	576	342,341

Chiefly as an outgrowth of the strike situation, internal union strife developed, leading the opposition elements, consisting of progressives and Communists, to form themselves into a "Save-the-Union Committee." But the controlling union officials would not permit them to function as an organized opposition within the United Mine Workers, expelling their leaders. Consequently some of the progressives withdrew, but, under the inspiration of the Communists, the organization was turned into an independent union of coal-miners as a rival to the United Mine Workers.

The New Bedford, Massachusetts, textile strike was a protest against an announced wage cut of 10 per cent by the textile manufacturers. It started in April 16, 1928, and ended October 8th in a compromise, the workers accepting a 5 per cent wage reduction. Some 25,000 textile operatives were involved, with only a small proportion, being chiefly the skilled, belonging to the union. Never-

theless the walkout was virtually 100 per cent effective. The Communists immediately entered the arena as the champions of the unorganized and unskilled, succeeding particularly in winning adherents from among the immigrant workers. Throughout the strike there was rivalry between this group and the old union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and known as the United Textile Workers. Now that the settlement which the Communist-led group opposed has been made, both sides are striving to win the confidence of the workers.

#### LABOR BANKING AND POLITICAL ACTION

Labor banking is also at a standstill, as Table II, compiled from figures issued by the Industrial Relations Section of Princeton University, indicates.

TABLE II  
SUMMARY OF STATISTICS OF LABOR BANKS, 1927-28

Date of Statement	No. of Labor Banks	Capital	Surplus and Undivided Profits	Deposits	Resources
December 31, 1927..	32	8,282,500	3,751,176	103,322,214	119,815,386
December 21, 1928..	27	7,487,500	3,848,718	99,018,502	116,309,227

From Table II it is evident that the number of banks has declined, and so have the capital, deposits, and resources; but surplus and undivided profits show slight increase. The financial conditions of the remaining banks having improved, the financial status of labor banking has not been materially affected. While these remaining banks are prosperous, the original aspirations of the devotees of labor banking is farther from its achievement than ever, when their resources of \$116,309,227 are compared with the \$69,439,471,224 of resources for all the banks of the country. Moreover, a future additional shrinkage in labor banks may be looked for since the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is continuing its policy of curtailing its financial interests.

Labor political action has virtually reverted to its pre-war standing. The American Federation of Labor pursued its old policy of non-partisanship in the last campaign with the exception that the Executive Council, after much study and bitter debate, decided to

remain neutral in so far as the presidential candidate is concerned. This was a blow at Smith, since the Federation had supported the Democratic candidate from the inception of its non-partisan policy, except in 1924 when it supported La Follette. Besides, Smith had always had the support of labor and more closely approximated the Federation's ideal of a candidate. However, most of the outstanding subsidiary units of the Federation supported Smith, and President Green of the Federation spoke favorably of his record. It is not known for a certainty what actuated the Executive Council to assume this attitude of neutrality, nor was it a unanimous decision. However, it is in accord with the post-war tendency of organized labor to disassociate itself from the democratic elements in the country and instead cater to what is commonly termed the "big interests." Nevertheless, the non-partisan policy was carried out with reference to candidates for congressional and state office. Too many other factors entered into the recent election to make it possible to gauge the influence of labor as a political force.

The elements that favored independent political action were badly and traditionally divided into four parties, and in the aggregate made a poorer showing than ordinarily. Their combined vote netted 343,635, being less than 1 per cent of the total vote cast, and entirely out of proportion to the 5,000,000 votes drawn by La Follette. This small vote is indeed a surprise and indicates a serious setback in view of the extensive and systematic campaigning of the Socialist and Communist parties. Norman Thomas, the Socialist standard bearer, a college man, an able campaigner with an appealing personality and polished manner, appealed to the La Follette supporters and the general independent voter in addition to the worker vote. He made 250 speeches in 39 states in the course of four major tours which included the "solid South." But the unresponsiveness was overwhelming and even the lone Socialist congressman, Victor Berger, was defeated, although by a very small vote. The party polled 267,835 votes as against 920,000 (4 per cent of the total) in 1920, when it last placed an independent presidential ticket in the field.

The Communists also carried on an extensive campaign, encountering "obstructions by super-patriots, police authorities and

hoodlums." In 1924 the Workers (Communist) party ticket was on the ballot of only 14 states, and in 1928 it succeeded in placing its ticket on the ballots of 43 states, among which were counted several southern states. The increase in vote, however, was not in proportion to the effort in activity. The party polled 33,076 votes in 1924, and increased its total to only 48,228 in 1928.

Notwithstanding the severe setback suffered by the elements favoring independent political action, the usual gloom and pessimism seem to be absent. Indeed, among the non-Communist elements there appears to be greater enthusiasm for a new party than before the election, and these groups are quietly laying plans for the launching of a new party in the near future. The Communists feel encouraged by their ability to enter their ticket on so many more state ballots and by the increased vote, and are carrying on optimistically.

#### WORKERS' EDUCATION AT THE CROSSROADS

In so far as internal conflict in the labor movement is concerned, workers' education has held the stage since the middle of the year. It became the haven of refuge of the so-called progressives, who enjoyed such a prominent position in the movement during the first half of the post-war decade. Gradually their strength was cut into until they ceased to function as an organized opposition. But their scattered forces exercised considerable influence in workers' educational activities. They were good naturedly tolerated by the controlling group, although hindered in their activities here and there. Functioning with moderate success, this minority element kept the spark of progressivism alive, even occasionally cautiously criticising the policies and tactics of the dominant administrative forces. During 1928, the progressives asserted themselves more boldly. This act, coupled with other circumstances, led the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to launch an attack on Brookwood Labor College, the only resident institution, but exercising influence and leadership among the few remaining non-resident labor colleges and classes. The usual charges that a dominant political group hurls at those who are in its disfavor were directed at Brookwood. It is accused of being Communist, anti-religious, disloyal and so on. These accusations are denied by

the college. But its sponsors and officials acknowledge that in trade-union policy they and the college are not in complete accord with the official labor leadership. On the other hand, they maintain that in its educational policy Brookwood Labor College pursues the highest academic standards of a free educational institution, emphasizing the factual approach to the study of social problems through dispassionate but critical presentation and discussion of the subject matter, in order to give the student a working fund of knowledge and at the same time prepare him to cope independently with problems. Hence, while the college is permeated with a labor loyalty, it is studiously aimed not to favor factions, and students are admitted regardless of point of view. The controversy reached the floor of the Federation convention held at New Orleans in November. There the action of the Executive Council in condemning the college was sustained. An interesting sidelight at this convention was the attack by some of the outstanding labor leaders upon Professor John Dewey, who had in the meantime sided with Brookwood, as a Communist propagandist. Professor Dewey has since more vigorously entered the controversy on the side of the progressives. As a member of the American Federation of Teachers, which is affiliated with the Federation of Labor, he considers it his duty to interest himself actively in the internal affairs of the labor movement.

In the meantime Brookwood has also drawn the fire of the Communists. Some of their sections are quietly discouraging those of their disciples who are either not sufficiently well grounded in Communist philosophy or are not sufficiently positive minded, from attending the college. The Communist leaders and press have also openly attacked the institution as sponsoring "yellow social reformism" and being, therefore, "counter-revolutionary." To clinch their argument they have characterized the faculty as "petty-bourgeois social democratic professors."

#### PERSISTENCE OF OPPOSITIONS

The opposition groups in the labor movement, although weaker than ever, seem to be even more persistent. The Communists are continuing their aggressive and defiant attacks on the dominant leadership, taking out time occasionally to criticize and ridicule the

other opposition elements. On the other hand, the expulsion policy of the unions is still vigorously, although not as extensively, applied. This situation has made it difficult for the Communists to work within most of the unions, leading them to modify their "boring-from-within" policy by organizing separate "revolutionary" unions wherever they have a sufficient following. They have thus, in part at least, reneged on their former unequivocal opposition to "dual unionism," justifying themselves on the ground that the "radicalization of the workers" has reached the stage where it is desirable to organize "revolutionary industrial unions." Thus far the Communists have founded such unions in the needle trades, mining, and textile industries. They also dominate an independent shoe workers' union, an independent union in the automobile industry, and a few miscellaneous and scattered unions, as well as workers' leagues and clubs organized on industrial or trade lines. They also aspire to bring into being a central co-ordinating organization that will bring these unions together and act as a rival to the American Federation of Labor. Although the chief excuse of the Communists for organizing "dual unions" is the need for organizing the unorganized, their prime union activity at present is among organized workers. The real test of their achievements must, according to their own admission, be the degree to which they organize the unorganized in the basic and highly integrated industries. At present they have "nuclei" scattered throughout these industries and, therefore, have a substantial base of operation.

In the meantime there rages a bitter factional fight within the Workers (Communist) party, the dominating and co-ordinating agency of all Communist activity, which consumes much of the time and energy of the leaders and members and to that extent affects their effectiveness in furthering their objectives. In accordance with the policy of "Communist self-criticism," their press is clotted with "theses" and "discussions" in which the different factions accuse each other of having wrongly diagnosed conditions, thereby predicating faulty prognostications which resulted in "right deviations" and hence the negation of "Marxist-Leninist tactics." These "oppositions" have been "liquidated" at past party conventions in order to assure a "united Party." However, they seem to

trickle out and congeal shortly after the 'liquidation' ceremony if they have actually succumbed to the dissolution process.

Largely as a result of the Brookwood-Federation controversy, the non-Communist opposition elements have taken new courage. For the past six years there had been no organized opposition at Federation conventions, but the Brookwood dispute gave these scattered dissident elements a new rallying point. And no one was more surprised than they at the effective fight they put up. They had discovered that they could rise on the floor of the convention in order to oppose the "high lights" of the administration "without being struck dead." Since then these progressives have begun to assert themselves anew and are crystallizing into a rejuvenated "minority," as some of their more timid prefer to label themselves. If they are to become a real positive force they will probably find it necessary to become an aggressive "opposition." Indeed, if the controversy continues as it likely will, they will find themselves jockeyed into such a position no matter how they maneuver to the contrary.

The outcome of this controversy has also stirred an element among the Socialists to renewed aggressive assertiveness. Since the war it had become the policy of the Socialists to refrain from attacking the labor leadership with the hope that they would be permitted to carry on their propaganda in peace, gradually making converts among the high and low. The fortunes of the Socialist party do not prove this to have been an efficacious policy. Now a group centering around Norman Thomas, the party standard bearer, and the editorial staff of the official organ of the party, the *New Leader*, have begun an aggressive and critical attack upon the "reactionary labor officials," which does not meet with favor from some of the "old Guard." If this militant faction has its way, there is likely to be an alliance with the progressives. If this new faction encounters insurmountable opposition within the Socialist party, it is likely to drift into the ranks of the progressives either through open revolt or through individual defections.

## WAGES

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PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Professor of Industrial Relations, University of Chicago

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### ABSTRACT

The real wages of the employed workers in manufacturing, after having remained on a virtual plateau from 1923 to 1927, inclusive, rose by 6 per cent during 1928. This increase was composed of a 5 per cent advance in average money earnings and a decline of 1 per cent in living costs. Some of the increase was, however, more apparent than real, since the decline in employment was probably heavier among the less efficient and hence lower-paid workers than among the upper groups, and this in itself would raise the general average. Among specific industries, glass and automobiles fared particularly well. The average increase in the real weekly earnings of unskilled labor was approximately 5 per cent, and in hourly earnings 2 per cent. The wages of farm laborers, on the other hand, remained virtually constant. The average union hourly rates in the building trades and in other industries rose by less than 1 per cent, which was a much smaller rate of gain than had been obtained in previous years.

The general increase in the real earnings of the employed workers must, however, be considered in connection with the probable slight decline in the volume of employment if we are to appraise the welfare of the working class as a whole.

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During 1928, the average money and real wages of the employed workers showed an apparent increase above the average for 1927. In that year the average annual earnings of employed wage-earners<sup>1</sup> in manufacturing was \$1,266. This was 118 per cent above the average for 1914, or if 1914 be taken as 100, the relative for 1927 was 218. Since the relative for the cost of living for urban workers in that year was, according to my revision of the Bureau of Labor Statistics index, 171, this was equivalent to an increase in the real annual earnings of 28 per cent. This was in turn virtually the same gain as had been shown for each year since 1923. Real earnings in manufacturing had thus remained on a virtual plateau for five years.

I have spliced the statistics of the average earnings in manufacturing during 1928 as compiled monthly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics<sup>2</sup> from more than 11,000 establishments in fifty-four

<sup>1</sup> Computed from mimeographed release of the United States Census Bureau.

<sup>2</sup> These are published periodically in the issues of the *Monthly Labor Review* under the heading of "Employment in Selected Manufacturing Industries."

industries and employing approximately 3.1 million wage-earners to the 1927 average by the method of chain-indexing, and I have made them comparable with the census figures for that year. Table I shows the average rate of yearly earnings by months in manufacturing as a whole and the relation which these averages bear to the average for 1914. The yearly averages are obtained by multiplying the average weekly earnings for each month by fifty-two, which is a precisely similar method to that followed by the Public

TABLE I  
AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED WAGE-  
EARNERS IN MANUFACTURING 1927-28

Year and Month	Average Rate of Annual Earnings	Relative Annual Earnings (1914 = 100)
1927:		
Average.....	\$1,266	218
1928:		
Average.....	1,324	228
Jan.....	1,267	218
Feb.....	1,329	229
Mar.....	1,337	231
Apr.....	1,321	228
May.....	1,334	230
June.....	1,326	229
July.....	1,300	224
Aug.....	1,329	229
Sept.....	1,321	228
Oct.....	1,360	234
Nov.....	1,324	228
Dec.....	1,337	231

Health Service in showing mortality rates by weeks and months throughout the year.

This shows, therefore, an average increase of 10 points, or 5 per cent, in money earnings for 1928 as compared with 1927. The index rose from 218 in January to 229 in February and, save for a slight drop to 224 in July, fluctuated thereafter between 228 and 234. It should be recognized, however, that this increase was probably in part more apparent than real. There was a decline in the volume of factory employment during the year, and the natural tendency of the employers under such circumstances would be to discharge in the main the less effective workers at each grade. The earnings of these men were undoubtedly somewhat below those who

remained, and their removal therefore would of itself raise the general average, even though the money earnings of those who continued to be employed were still as before.

In order to measure the real progress of the wage-earners, however, we must also measure the changes in the cost of living which occurred during the year. This is shown by the following index given in Table II which differs from the semi-annual index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the following ways: (1) The semi-annual index for the country as a whole is built up by weighting the index for each of the thirty-two cities covered by its population instead of weighting the national index for each group of commodities

TABLE II  
INDEX OF RELATIVE LIVING COSTS OF URBAN WORKERS  
1927-28 (1914=100)

Year and Month	Index of Living Costs (1914=100)	Year and Month	Index of Living Costs (1914=100)
1927:		1928:	
Average.....	171	June.....	168
1928:		July.....	169
Average.....	169	Aug.....	169
Jan.....	171	Sept.....	171
Feb.....	169	Oct.....	170
March.....	169	Nov.....	170
April.....	168	Dec.....	170
May.....	169		

by its relative importance in workers' budgets. (2) The probable relatives for the intervening months are found by interpolation, using the monthly cost-of-living index of the National Industrial Conference Board to determine the *relative* monthly changes on the assumption that any differences in the amount of change as between the indexes of the Bureau and of the Board were evenly distributed over the six months' period. (3) The relative for the year as a whole is then the simple average of the relatives for the months.

Living costs declined, therefore, by 2 points in 1928 as compared with 1927, or by slightly more than 1 per cent.

The indexes of real annual earnings can now be obtained by dividing the index of money earnings by the index of living costs and these are shown for manufacturing in Table III.

This shows a gain of 7 points, or approximately 6 per cent, in the real earnings for 1928 as compared with those for 1927. The

TABLE III  
RELATIVE REAL ANNUAL EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED WAGE-  
EARNERS IN MANUFACTURING (1914=100)

Year and Month	Relative Real Annual Earnings	Year and Month	Relative Real Annual Earnings
1927:		1928:	
Average.....	128	June.....	136
1928:		July.....	133
Average.....	135	Aug.....	136
Jan.....	128	Sept.....	133
Feb.....	136	Oct.....	138
March.....	137	Nov.....	134
April.....	135	Dec.....	136
May.....	136		

rise in February was particularly abrupt since the index advanced from 128 to 136. The index remained, however, at about this point

TABLE IV  
THE AVERAGE MONEY AND REAL EARNINGS OF WAGE-EARNERS IN  
SPECIFIC MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES 1927-28

Industry	Average Annual Earnings in Dollars		Relative Annual Money Earnings (1914=100)		Relative Real Earnings (1914=100)	
	1927	1928	1927	1928	1927	1928
Slaughtering.....	\$1,357	\$1,372	216	218	126	129
Confectionery.....	902	895	226	224	132	132
Baking.....	1,373	1,371	221	221	130	131
Knit goods.....	989	983	249	248	146	146
Shirts.....	752	738	201	201	118	118
Furniture.....	1,267	1,253	225	223	132	132
Paper and wood pulp....	1,313	1,331	218	221	128	131
Planing mills.....	1,306	1,308	203	203	119	120
Glass.....	1,236	1,267	220	225	128	133
Leather.....	1,283	1,276	225	223	131	132
Automobiles.....	1,712	1,781	213	222	125	131
Automobile tires.....	1,395	1,415	234	237	137	140

during the remaining months of the year, save for recessions during July, September, and November, when it was carried down to 133 and 134.

It is of interest to note the changes in a number of specific manufacturing industries as well as in all manufacturing, and these are

given in Table IV, where the absolute averages as projected from the 1927 census, together with the relatives of money and real earnings, are shown for the years 1927 and 1928. Because of reasons of space, the monthly averages and relatives are not given.

This table shows advances of real earnings of 1 point for baking, planing mills, and for leather, of 3 points for slaughtering, paper and pulp, and automobile tires; of 5 points for glass, and 6 points for automobiles. Real earnings were, on the other hand, stationary in the case of the confectionery, knit-goods, shirt, and furniture industries.

TABLE V  
AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED WORKERS ON  
THE RAILROADS BY MONTHS 1927-28

Year and Month	Average Annual Earnings	Year and Month	Average Annual Earnings
1927:		1928:	
Average.....	\$1,677	Average.....	\$1,703
Jan.....	1,702	Jan.....	1,717
Feb.....	1,591	Feb.....	1,655
Mar.....	1,731	Mar.....	1,753
Apr.....	1,663	Apr.....	1,664
May.....	1,667	May.....	1,705
June.....	1,654	June.....	1,666
July.....	1,641	July.....	1,679
Aug.....	1,719	Aug.....	1,739
Sept.....	1,671	Sept.....	1,669
Oct.....	1,720	Oct.....	1,784
Nov.....	1,664	Nov.....	1,701
Dec.....	1,702	Dec.....	1,709

The average annual earnings of the employed workers on the railroads as compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission by months during 1927 and 1928 were as given in Table V.

This shows an increase in average annual money earnings of \$26 during 1928 over the average for 1927. This was equivalent to an advance of 1.6 per cent in money earnings and of 3 per cent in real earnings.

Three other main groups for which comparisons of earnings are available are (1) unskilled labor, (2) farm labor, and (3) the unionized building trades craftsmen. The best index of the earnings of unskilled labor are the monthly averages compiled by the

National Industrial Conference Board<sup>3</sup> for male unskilled labor in manufacturing. Although the absolute earnings of these workers are probably somewhat higher than those of corresponding workers elsewhere, their earnings are undoubtedly a good measurement of the changes in relative earnings of this class of labor in other industries as well. The weekly and hourly average by months have been given in Table VI.

TABLE VI  
AVERAGE WEEKLY AND HOURLY EARNINGS OF MALE  
UNSKILLED LABOR IN MANUFACTURING  
1927-28

Year and Month	Average Weekly Earnings (in Dollars)	Average Hourly Earnings (in Cents)
1927:		
Oct. ....	\$24.21	49.0
Nov. ....	23.42	48.2
Dec. ....	24.12	48.8
1928:		
Average. ....	24.85	49.3
Jan. ....	24.66	49.1
Feb. ....	25.25	49.5
Mar. ....	25.05	49.5
Apr. ....	24.47	49.1
May. ....	24.98	49.8
June. ....	25.17	49.8
July. ....	24.69	49.5
Aug. ....	24.78	49.4
Sept. ....	25.27	49.7
Oct. ....	24.72	49.2
Nov. ....	24.34	48.8
Dec. ....	24.76	48.7

There was thus an increase on the average during 1928 of 93 cents in the weekly earnings of the unskilled workers and of two-thirds of a cent in the hourly earnings as compared with the corresponding averages for the last quarter of 1927. These amounted to increases in money earnings of 4 per cent and of 1.4 per cent respectively. The greater increase in the former as compared with the latter was due to an increase in the average amount of time actually worked. Since the cost of living decreased over the corresponding period of time by a little over 1 per cent, the increase

<sup>3</sup> See *Monthly Letters on Industrial Relations* of the National Industrial Conference Board.

in real weekly earnings was 5 per cent and in real hourly earnings 3 per cent.

The wages of farm laborers during these two years<sup>4</sup> are given in Table VII.

The money wages in 1928 were therefore virtually identical with those in 1927. Owing to the difficulty of determining the relative changes in the cost of living in the rural regions, it is virtually impossible to draw any precise conclusions about fluctuations in the real wages of these rural workers. It seems probable, however, that if any change at all occurred, it was but slight.

TABLE VII  
AVERAGE RATES OF FARM WAGES 1927-28

YEAR AND MONTH	WAGES PER MONTH		WAGES PER DAY	
	With Board	Without Board	With Board	Without Board
1927:				
Jan. ....	\$32.94	\$47.07	\$1.79	\$2.36
April. ....	34.53	48.47	1.78	2.37
July. ....	35.59	49.52	1.89	2.44
Oct. ....	35.68	49.77	1.96	2.51
1928:				
Jan. ....	32.50	46.75	1.76	2.34
April. ....	34.46	48.44	1.78	2.34
July. ....	35.39	49.32	1.84	2.39
Oct. ....	35.75	49.60	1.96	2.51

In the building trades, the average hourly wage rate increased by a fraction of a cent, rising from \$1.323 to \$1.330; or, in terms of the average for 1913 serving as 100, from a relative of 257 to 258.<sup>5</sup> Dividing these by the appropriate cost-of-living relatives with 1913 as the point of reference, we get indexes of net hourly wage rates for these two years of 149 and 151, respectively. The standard number of hours constituting a week's work in the building trades averaged 43.5 in 1928. If we take the average for nine sets of union trades, namely, (1) bakers, (2) building-trades workers, (3) chauffeurs, teamsters, and drivers, (4) granite and stone cutters, (5) laundry workers, (6) linemen, (7) longshoremen, (8)

<sup>4</sup> See *Crops and Markets* (published by the United States Department of Agriculture), V, No. 10 (October, 1928), 370.

<sup>5</sup> *Monthly Labor Review*, XXVII, No. 5 (November, 1928), 10-13.

book and job printing and publishing, and (9) newspaper printing and publishing, we find that the average hourly rate increased slightly from \$1.190 in 1927 to \$1.195 in 1928, or from a relative (with 1913 as 100) of 259.5 to one of 260.6.<sup>6</sup> This was a much smaller increase than had been obtained in the previous years, since the gain had amounted to 9 points in 1927, 12 points in 1926, 10 points in 1925, and to 18 points in 1924. In terms of real hourly rates, the average relatives for the nine combined union trades would be 150 in 1927 and 152 in 1928. There was a decrease of

TABLE VIII  
AVERAGE HOURLY AND FULL-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS IN SPECIFIC  
MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES 1926-28

INDUSTRY	AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS			AVERAGE FULL-TIME WEEKLY EARNINGS		
	Average 1928	Relative (1913=100)		Average 1928	Relative (1913=100)	
		1926	1928		1926	1928
Cotton mfg. ....	\$0.324	221	218	\$17.30	205	203
Men's clothing. ....	0.731	292	284	32.16	251	243
Boots and shoes. ....	0.530	219	220	26.02	195	197
Sawmills. ....	0.371	178*	185	21.00	168*	170

\* 1925.

one-half of 1 per cent during 1928 in the average length of the working week in the union trades, bringing the average full-time hours per week down to 44.9, or a reduction of 8 per cent from the average for 1913. In terms of full-time weekly earnings, therefore, the 1927 and 1928 relatives were identical, being each 141 per cent above that for 1913. This amounted to a real full-time weekly index of 139 in 1927 and of 140 in 1928.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has also compiled data on the average hourly rates and full-time weekly earnings during 1928 in a number of specific industries.<sup>7</sup> These are shown in Table VIII. This shows a decrease of 1 per cent in both the hourly and full-time weekly wages in the cotton industry between 1926 and 1928, and of 3 per cent in men's clothing. There was an increase of 1

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, October, 1928, pp. 89 ff.; December, pp. 173 ff. and 179 ff.; January, 1929, pp. 128 ff.

per cent, however, in the boot and shoe industry, and of 4 per cent in the hourly earnings of sawmill workers between 1926 and 1928, and of slightly more than 1 per cent in their full-time weekly earnings. Expressed in terms of relative real wages, the hourly and full-time weekly relatives for these industries were as given in Table IX.

TABLE IX  
REAL WAGES (1913 = 100)

	Relative Hourly Rates 1928	Full-Time Weekly Earnings 1928
Cotton mfg. ....	127	118
Men's clothing. ....	166	142
Boots and shoes. ....	128	115
Sawmills. ....	108	99

In order to obtain a complete picture of the relative economic welfare of the working class, it is however necessary to consider not only the earnings and wages of the employed workers, as I have tried to do in this paper, but also the relative movement of employment and unemployment. It is possible that the increase in unemployment may have been sufficient to eliminate any gains which the wage data when taken alone may show. But this latter possibility can only be answered by consulting Mr. Berridge's analysis of the employment situation in the succeeding paper.

## EMPLOYMENT AND BUYING POWER

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WILLIAM A. BERRIDGE

Economist, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City

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### ABSTRACT

The problem of measuring unemployment volume.—The direct method, its difficulties.—The indirect method, its inaccuracies and inconsistencies.—Mann's study of occupational shifts.—Brookmire's study of unemployment volume for 1928 and earlier.

Employment and incomes in 1928 compared with previous years.—Their course within the year.—Factory and railroad employees.—Confirmation through labor-turnover indexes.—Recent progress toward covering other employments currently.

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In closing the discussion of employment last year for the *American Journal of Sociology*, the writer took occasion to point out the very serious error to which estimates of unemployment volume in the United States are necessarily liable. Even in cases where it is certain that no deliberate bias is present, unemployment estimates must perforce be made up from data which are not accurate even within wide limits of error. Obviously no analysis, however conscientious, can impart to an estimate dependability which does not exist in the raw data utilized. Only a few of the basic data prerequisite to formulating any satisfactory approximation were available. This year the problem has advanced a little toward solution—but only a little.

The year 1928 was noteworthy in producing an unusually large number of unemployment-volume estimates. Some who have attacked the problem have taken the trouble to marshal certain new basic data; but in the main they have merely re-worked old ground by slightly different methods. There is as much confusion of counsels this year as last, and perhaps more. Hence, much the same cautious attitude should be maintained as heretofore. It is only fair to add that those deriving the new estimates are not so naïve as to deny the extreme frailty of much in their data and in their procedures as well.

Only two main types of procedure are possible: (1) the direct, involving a complete census or a set of suitably planned sample counts; and (2) the indirect, involving a subtraction of the number employed from the number available for and seeking employment.

#### DIRECT EVIDENCE

Neither on the total volume of unemployment in the United States, nor on its distribution among industries, nor on its geographical distribution, nor on its duration, is there any direct evidence worthy of serious consideration. Such unemployment data as are available for organized trades are not representative of the gainfully occupied population as a whole—at least, not representative as to the actual incidence of unemployment. And such intensive local surveys as have been made in scattered places form too thin a sample to yield valid indications of national conditions; moreover, they differ too widely in scope, definition, and other technical respects, to be either merged, compared, or used as a basis for national or other broad estimates.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT CENSUS; THE 1930 CENSUS OF OCCUPATIONS

To define true "unemployment" in a manner both sound from an economic point of view and workable from a statistical point of view in questionnaire or field canvass is difficult. Are the following genuinely unemployed: the temporarily sick or disabled; the permanent invalid or cripple; those dependent upon public aid; those accustomed to a certain wage in a certain occupation who can secure work at another wage or another occupation but decline to take it; those who leave a job voluntarily, in order to "shop around" for a better? Other questions of conception and of definition of terms will readily suggest themselves to the reader.

But even after the problem has been suitably defined, a special national survey by the direct method would be prohibitively slow and expensive. To be sure, the regular decennial Census of Occupations for 1930 might with much less expense include a question or two which, if properly handled, could throw at least some light upon the problem. A movement to do just this has been on foot during 1928-29. The usual census practice is simply to indicate on

the field cards in what industry and in what occupation (if any) a person is usually gainfully occupied—but without distinguishing whether he is or is not employed in that (or in any other) line at the census date. The recent proposal was simply to split the column in order to make possible the essential distinction between employment and non-employment at the usual occupation. It was also proposed to go perhaps one step farther, and designate which of those employed were at work on their jobs at the census date—thus helping to determine the extent of “unemployment within employment.” These are fairly simple, tabulatable facts, even though the resulting data would not indicate *simon-pure* unemployment in the economic sense. These proposals have had responsible backing, but their fate at the hands of the government is uncertain at this writing (March 15).

#### LOCAL SURVEYS

An interesting example of the localized unemployment survey is that made for Baltimore under the direction of Dr. J. Knox Insley, Maryland commissioner of labor and statistics, in February, 1928. The questionnaire and instructions to canvassers were carefully thought out, being largely the work of Ethelbert Stewart, United States commissioner of labor statistics. The field work was done by the Baltimore police force, and the statistical analysis by Miss A. Louise Murphy, statistician. This survey brought to light approximately 15,500 unemployed persons who usually are engaged in some gainful occupation, who could work and wanted to work but were unable to secure employment. Dr. Insley's office estimates that this number constitutes about 4 per cent of the employable population of Baltimore. It is curious to note, in passing, that the figure 15,500 is less than one-half that estimated by a commercial organization, and about one-fifth of that arrived at by a labor organization, both in Baltimore. The results of this survey have been published by the Maryland Commissioner, and a second one was made a year later (February, 1929). It is much to be hoped that the project will be repeated annually over a period of years, like the excellent series for Columbus, Ohio, made by Pro-

fessors Frederick E. Croxton and Mary L. Mark for each of the years 1921-25 inclusive.<sup>1</sup>

Conditions during 1928 were not such as to bring forth any group of surveys, comparable in character, for a number of cities, as was done during 1914-15 by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The scattered and diverse character of those which were made render impossible any formulation of the general severity of the unemployment problem in 1928.

#### INDIRECT EVIDENCE FROM EMPLOYMENT DATA

Owing to the theoretical as well as the practical difficulties encountered in attempting to measure unemployment volume by the direct method, students of the problem are largely thrown back upon the indirect method—that based upon changes in employment. There too the results are by no means conclusive. This method, with all its drawbacks, has two advantages: (1) that the fact of a person's being employed (i.e., on a pay-roll) is inherently easier to ascertain than the fact of his being truly unemployed in an economic sense; (2) that collecting data from employers by mail is far easier than canvassing individual workers. Several investigators have sought to use such employment data as are available, and by estimating the supply of employable labor to determine by subtraction the number employed.

In addition to the two studies outlined below, others resembling them were made by Professor Sumner P. Slichter<sup>2</sup> and Meredith B. Givens.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Lawrence B. Mann, Division of Statistical Research, United States Department of Commerce, has been able to assemble a considerable mass of new evidence on employment changes in

<sup>1</sup> For a comparative summary of the five Columbus surveys see Dr. F. E. Croxton, *U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bull. 409* (June, 1926). See also "An Experiment in the Measurement of Unemployment," *American Statistical Association, Papers and Proceedings*, March, 1929, pp. 58-64.

<sup>2</sup> "Market Shifts, Price Movements and Employment," *American Economic Review*, Suppl., XIX (March, 1929), 5-22.

<sup>3</sup> Preliminary observations on Givens' methods and findings appear in the *American Statistical Association, Papers and Proceedings*, March, 1929, pp. 33-41. The full statistical statement is to be contained in the Hoover study of *Recent Economic Changes*. Givens made use of some recent work by Dr. Willford I. King.

numerous occupations between 1920 and 1927. His study<sup>4</sup> was presented at the December, 1928, meeting of the American Statistical Association.<sup>5</sup> His conclusion was that there had been an increase of over 2,800,000 workers engaged in transportation, distribution, professional service, and personal service, as compared with a decrease of about 2,000,000 in agriculture, mining, manufacture, and United States government service. He also thought it probable that there had been large gains in a number of other employments for which he was unable, even with the resources of the Department of Commerce at his disposal, to secure estimates which were satisfactory to him. Construction, general retail distribution, and real estate selling are among these.

In a letter to the writer, Mr. Mann went by request a step farther, and by deducting his estimated net shift in employment from estimated changes in the total number of persons gainfully occupied (allowing for school attendance, etc.) arrived at results which he tentatively offers in the following words:

In the period from 1920 to 1927, estimates of the Census Bureau indicate that the population of the United States increased by 12,200,000 persons or 10½ per cent. If this same percentage of increase is applied to the total number of persons gainfully employed in 1920, it appears there should have been an increase of 4,400,000 in the working population of the United States. There has, however, been a very decided increase in the amount of higher education in recent years, which has tended to curtail the expansion in the number of persons gainfully employed. From 1920 to 1926, the number of secondary-school students increased by 1,637,000 and the number of students in colleges and normal schools increased 440,000. Assuming that all of the increase in college and normal-school attendance and one-half of the increase in secondary-school attendance resulted in a reduction of the available labor supply, and projecting this development to the end of the year 1927, it appears that the increase in higher education absorbed about 1,500,000 persons who might otherwise have been gainfully employed. This leaves a net increase in the number of available workers amounting to 2,900,000.

The studies which I have made of shifts in occupations indicate that there were increases estimated at 2,846,000 in the number of workers engaged in transportation and communication, distribution, professional service, and

<sup>4</sup> An earlier version thereof appeared in the *American Federationist*, XXXV (June, 1928), 667-69.

<sup>5</sup> The full paper appears in the *Papers and Proceedings*, published by the Association in March, 1929, pp. 42-47. Papers on related subjects by Isador Lubin and Ralph J. Watkins also appear there (pp. 27-32 and 48-57).

domestic and personal service between 1920 and 1927, while there was a total estimated decrease of 1,931,000 in the number of workers engaged in agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and United States government service. Consequently, there was a net increase of 915,000 in the number of workers engaged

TABLE I  
ESTIMATES OF OCCUPATIONAL SHIFTS, 1920-27  
(Mann's estimates, in thousands of persons)

	1920	1927	Increase	Decrease
Agricultural.....	10,953	10,030	.....	923
Minerals (excluding petroleum).....	975	910	.....	65
Manufacturing and auto repair-shops.	10,752	9,960	.....	792
Transportation and communication..	2,916	3,820	902	.....
Railroads (excl. repair-shops).....	1,612	1,325	.....	.....
Pullman Company.....	23	27	.....	.....
Highway transportation.....	940	2,025	.....	.....
Telephones.....	281	359	.....	.....
Telegraphs and cables.....	62	84	.....	.....
Distribution.....	718	1,409	691	.....
Automotive products.....	256	543	.....	.....
Radio.....	25	150	.....	.....
Mail-order houses.....	24	32	.....	.....
Pharmacists.....	80	100	.....	.....
Opticians.....	13	18	.....	.....
Insurance agents.....	120	216	.....	.....
Motion pictures.....	200	350	.....	.....
U.S. government service.....	1,025	804	.....	221
Civil service.....	691	559	.....	.....
Military and naval service.....	334	245	.....	.....
Professional service.....	2,066	2,530	464	.....
Teachers and professors.....	815	1,004	.....	.....
Clergymen.....	199	216	.....	.....
Lawyers and judges.....	123	145	.....	.....
Physicians and surgeons.....	145	150	.....	.....
Nurses.....	301	352	.....	.....
Hospital attendants.....	400	542	.....	.....
Dentists.....	56	67	.....	.....
Dental assistants.....	7	24	.....	.....
Chiropractors, osteopaths, and chi- ropodists.....	20	30	.....	.....
Domestic and personal service.....	1,864	2,625	761	.....
Hotel, restaurants, etc.....	1,500	2,025	.....	.....
Barbers, hairdressers, and manicur- ists.....	216	385	.....	.....
Power laundries.....	130	182	.....	.....
Dyers and cleaners.....	18	33	.....	.....
Net increase all occupations shown	.....	.....	817	.....

in the occupations studied. If this figure is deducted from the increase of 2,900,000 in the available labor supply, it appears that there were about 2,000,000 workers in 1927 who were either engaged in occupations which were not included in my study or were unemployed. It is probable that many of these workers were absorbed by various types of retail distribution, building trades, and real estate selling.

TABLE II  
UNEMPLOYMENT SHOWN AS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FULL AND  
ACTUAL EMPLOYMENT  
(Brookmire estimates)

	U.S. POP. (ooo)	FULL EMPLOYMENT		ACTUAL NO. EMPLOYED (ooo)	UNEMPLOYED (ooo)
		Per Cent	No. (ooo)		
1910*	92,267	41.5	38,167	38,167	.....
1911.....	93,628	41.5	38,856	38,360	496
1912*	95,097	41.5	39,445	39,445	.....
1913.....	96,512	41.6	40,149	39,882	267
1914.....	97,928	41.7	40,875	38,848	2,027
1915.....	99,343	41.9	41,585	40,106	1,479
1916.....	100,758	42.0	42,318	42,206	112
1917*	102,173	42.1	43,016	43,016	.....
1918.....	103,588	41.5	42,989	42,931	58
1919.....	105,003	40.8	42,841	42,766	75
1920*	106,422	40.2	42,809	42,809	.....
1921.....	108,445	39.8	43,161	39,508	3,653
1922.....	109,893	39.3	43,189	40,622	2,567
1923*	111,693	38.8	43,284	43,284	.....
1924.....	113,727	38.0	43,216	41,826	1,390
1925.....	115,378	37.1	42,805	42,418	387
1926*	117,136	36.2	42,433	42,433	.....
1927.....	118,628	36.2	42,943	41,477	1,466
1928 (March).	120,013	36.2	43,445	40,813	2,632

It is of interest to summarize Mann's estimates for the various lines separately, as shown in Table I.

By a different though related method, the Brookmire Economic Service has attempted<sup>6</sup> to estimate the volume of unemployment not only as of March, 1928, but for each year back to 1910. The following discussion summarizes the methods utilized, and Table II summarizes the results attained, by that organization.

Years starred were assumed to be years of "full employment," owing to the high level of business as shown by the Brookmire

<sup>6</sup> *Special Report A-127*, dated April 30, 1928.

Business Index. The percentage of total population employed was computed for these years, of full employment, and percentages for intervening years interpolated on a straight line and used for computing full employment for said years.

"Actual employment" for each year was computed by the Brookmire staff from official data taken from following sources: Census, Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor, Interstate Commerce Commission, Bureau of Mines, and the Federal Reserve Board; also National Industrial Conference Board, Russell Sage Foundation, *New York Times Annalist*, and Paul Douglas.

Unemployment as shown is the difference between probable maximum employment and actual employment. It does not allow for numbers idle even during years of exceptionally high business activity.

In arriving at actual employment, shown above, detailed figures were compiled for each year. For example, in 1927 there were 8,077,000 engaged in manufacturing; 1,780,000 in railroad transportation; 10,900,000 in agriculture; 715,000 in coal-mining; 2,505,000 in known professional and miscellaneous pursuits; and 17,500,000 engaged at work for which complete data are available only in census years. Allowance was made for a marked increase in the last group owing to the growth of new industries during recent years. In 1920, a census year, the number of workers in this group was 16,000,000.

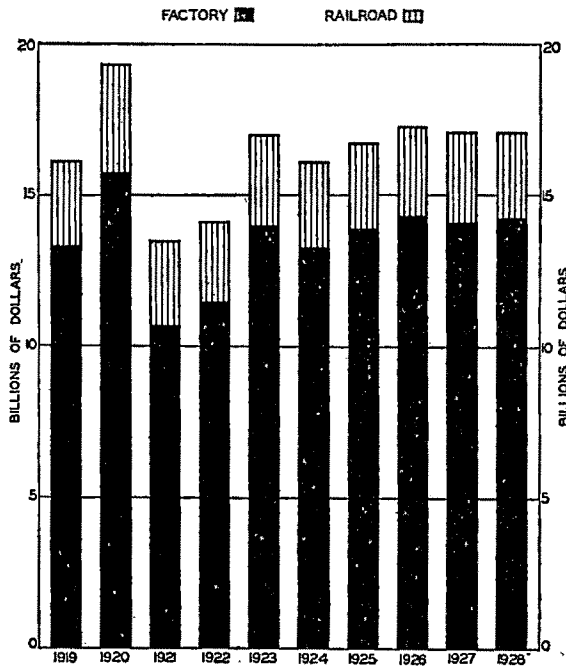
There could hardly be any more convincing commentary on the essential hazards of estimating unemployment volume by this indirect method from data thus far existing, than are the discrepancies between the various constituent estimates by such competent investigators as Mr. Mann and the Brookmire Economic Service.

#### YEARLY INCOME OF FACTORY AND RAILROAD EMPLOYEES

A striking commentary upon the comparative stability of American industry and trade in 1928 and other recent years is afforded by the figures on wages and salaries paid to employees on the railroads and in the factories of the country. Chart I has been prepared from official census figures for factory employees in the

alternate census years, supplemented by estimates based upon other evidence which we think dependable for intercensal years; for railroad employees we have used the totals prepared by the Interstate Commerce Commission for Class I roads. Therefore, there is little likelihood of serious error in any of the items shown on the

CHART I  
YEARLY INCOMES OF EMPLOYEES



chart, either for factory-workers' incomes (dark bars) or for railroad-workers' incomes (light bars).<sup>7</sup> Last year the salaries and wages paid to these two groups aggregated more than \$17,000,000,000. Still more impressive than the bulk size of this 1928 figure is the additional fact disclosed by the chart, namely, that the income totals for each of the past four years have averaged close to the same large figure of \$17,000,000,000. Even in 1924, when general business conditions were slightly curtailed though without be-

<sup>7</sup> As railroad repair-shop employees are represented in both subtotals, they duplicate each other by about \$600,000,000 (in 1927).

ing genuinely depressed, the total was still in excess of \$16,000,000,000.

How agreeable is this sharp contrast between the economic stability which has, in the main, characterized these workers' incomes during the past six years and the riotous instability of the preceding three! The steadying-up of the volume of wage and salary payments is partly a cause, and partly a result, of steadier activity in industry and trade. For if industry had not been steady during this period, the earnings of employees would naturally have suffered more serious curtailment, which in turn would have diminished the volume of goods purchased by them and thereby the volume of industrial activity necessary to produce those goods.

The fourteen-billion-dollar buying power of factory employees, and the three billion dollars earned by railroad employees, have in short been important contributors to, as well as important beneficiaries of, economic stability.

#### MONTHLY EMPLOYMENT AND INCOMES IN 1928

A new and highly commendable venture was launched during the latter part of 1928 by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, for collecting monthly employment and pay-roll data for several lines of economic activity not previously covered by that organization.<sup>8</sup> The lines thus added comprise retail trade, wholesale trade, metal-mining, coal-mining, public utilities, and hotels. The Bureau contemplates adding other lines presently. Building construction is one important activity for which such data are badly needed. Several state bureaus have found it possible to collect dependable employment figures from building contractors; it is much to be hoped that the federal Bureau will do likewise.

The several series above mentioned cover only the last two to five months of 1928—the period differing for the different lines of activity; moreover, the reporting samples are still rapidly growing. For these reasons it is impossible to offer at this time any authentic observations on the movements of employment and earnings in lines other than manufacture and steam-railroad transportation,

<sup>8</sup> For years certain state bureaus, notably Wisconsin and Illinois, have collected such data, covering within their jurisdictions numerous lines of activity, much like those recently taken up on a national scale by the United States Bureau.

for which long and well-tested evidence is available, and in monthly form.

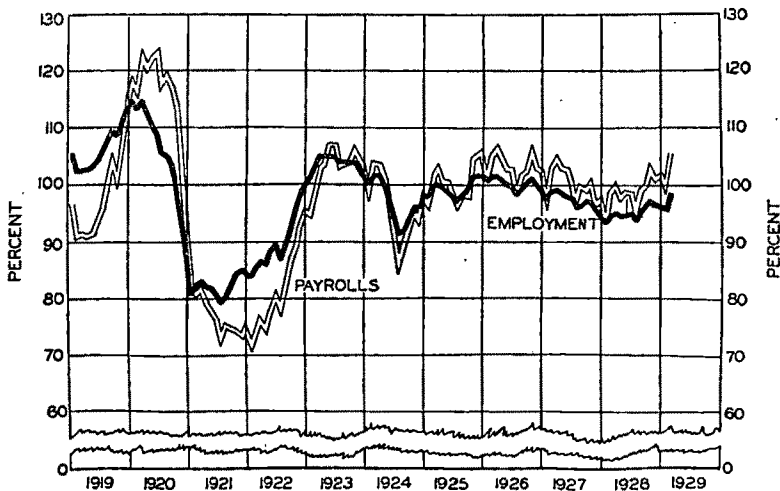
For railroad employees, employment and pay-rolls both averaged lower in 1928 than in 1927 (see Table III), and fail to show the marked upward movement during 1928 easily discernible in the two corresponding indexes for factory-workers given below.

TABLE III  
RECENT COURSE OF RAILROAD EMPLOYMENT,  
EXCLUDING SWITCHING AND TERMINAL  
COMPANIES  
(After Interstate Commerce Commission)

	Employees (Thousands)	Total Pay-Rolls (Millions)
1920.....	2,023	\$3,682
1921.....	1,660	2,765
1922.....	1,627	2,641
1923.....	1,858	3,004
1924.....	1,751	2,826
1925.....	1,744	2,861
1926.....	1,779	2,946
1927.....	1,735	2,910
1928.....	1,656	2,816
1927:		
January.....	1,701	241
February.....	1,697	225
March.....	1,707	246
April.....	1,735	240
May.....	1,770	246
June.....	1,798	248
July.....	1,799	246
August.....	1,772	254
September.....	1,764	245
October.....	1,760	252
November.....	1,706	236
December.....	1,638	232
1928:		
January.....	1,591	227
February.....	1,585	218
March.....	1,603	234
April.....	1,635	226
May.....	1,686	239
June.....	1,711	237
July.....	1,705	238
August.....	1,706	247
September.....	1,698	236
October.....	1,700	252
November.....	1,656	235
December.....	1,598	227
1929:		
January.....	1,595	.....

For factory employees, the year 1928 was one of fairly steady improvement in economic status. The first month of the year was its worst. In that month both the employment and the incomes of this group reached identical low points, each equal to about 93 per cent of the 1923-25 average (see Chart II). From January on, the rise of both indexes has been persistent up to the present time, except of course for the usual seasonal slowing-down in midsummer

CHART II  
FACTORY EMPLOYMENT AND PAY-ROLLS  
Base: 1923-1925 average = 100 percent



and midwinter. That seasonal movement may be readily detected by the reader in practically every one of the ten years shown on Chart II. For obvious reasons, the amount of pay-roll (hollow line) shows the seasonality more sharply than does the number employed (full line) on that chart.

The upswing which began in January, 1928, and is still in progress at this writing (March 15) has carried employment from 93 to 99, and pay-rolls from 93 to 106, per cent of their 1923-25 base. It will be noted that these revised indexes show lows of early 1928 which were appreciably above<sup>9</sup> their respective lows of 1924, as

<sup>9</sup> The chart shown in last year's write-up indicated employment in January, 1928, as a trifle lower than that of 1924. The reason is that the old index contained a slight but cumulative bias, which has now been largely eliminated through adjustment to a later Census of Manufactures than was then available. This adjust-

well as of 1921. While the latest point reached by employment is not quite up even to the 1923-25 average, pay-rolls have attained a

TABLE IV  
RECENT COURSE OF FACTORY EMPLOYMENT  
AND PAY ROLLS  
(After Federal Reserve Board. Base: 1923-25  
average = 100 per cent)

	Index of Number Employed in Factories	Index of Amount of Factory Pay-Rolls
1919.....	106.6	98.2
1920.....	106.3	116.0
1921.....	98.8	75.4
1922.....	90.3	81.7
1923.....	103.8	103.2
1924.....	96.7	96.1
1925.....	99.5	100.7
1926.....	100.3	103.0
1927.....	97.0	99.9
1928.....	95.2	99.0
1927:		
January.....	97.4	97.0
February.....	98.7	103.0
March.....	99.0	104.3
April.....	98.3	103.0
May.....	97.7	102.6
June.....	97.5	100.6
July.....	95.9	96.4
August.....	96.4	99.5
September.....	97.1	98.9
October.....	96.9	100.1
November.....	95.3	96.4
December.....	94.2	97.1
1928:		
January.....	93.2	93.4
February.....	94.6	98.6
March.....	95.1	99.9
April.....	94.5	97.8
May.....	94.6	98.8
June.....	94.8	98.6
July.....	93.6	95.5
August.....	95.2	99.0
September.....	96.4	100.0
October.....	97.2	103.9
November.....	96.9	100.9
December.....	96.6	101.5
1929:		
January.....	96.2	98.1
February.....	98.4	105.7

ment was made by Mr. Woodlief Thomas, who was associated with the writer in setting up these indexes originally for the Federal Reserve Board.

level but slightly lower than any peak in the preceding eight years. Further data on both variables are provided in Tables IV and V.

Confirmation of improvement in factory employment during 1928 is afforded by certain labor-turnover indexes recently constructed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.<sup>10</sup> Chart III shows two of these, the accession or hiring rate (full line) and the lay-off rate (dotted line). It will be seen that accessions were about doubled, and lay-offs about halved, during the course of the last

TABLE V  
RECENT COURSE OF FACTORY EMPLOYMENT IN INDUSTRIAL GROUPS  
(After Federal Reserve Board. Base: 1919 average = 100 per cent)

	1928												1929
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.
Metals and products..	80.9	83.0	84.3	84.6	85.3	85.5	84.7	86.0	87.2	88.2	89.2	89.4	90.1
Iron and steel.....	80.7	82.7	84.0	84.2	84.9	85.0	84.6	86.0	87.2	88.2	89.1	89.4	90.3
Textiles and products.	92.9	93.8	92.9	90.0	87.8	87.4	84.5	85.3	86.8	89.4	90.2	90.6	90.0
Fabrics.....	95.1	95.1	93.6	91.0	88.9	88.6	86.2	86.3	87.0	90.8	92.9	93.8	93.2
Textile products.....	89.9	92.3	92.0	88.7	86.3	85.9	82.2	84.1	86.6	87.6	86.8	86.4	85.9
Lumber and products.	84.9	85.0	86.0	87.0	87.0	87.7	86.7	89.1	89.6	89.5	89.7	87.4	85.1
Railroad vehicles.....	70.5	70.4	71.3	72.0	72.5	72.7	71.7	71.6	71.2	70.6	70.5	70.4	69.6
Automobiles.....	114.0	124.8	130.2	133.6	141.2	141.1	141.0	149.9	154.2	152.1	138.4	136.6	150.4
Paper and printing...	108.6	108.1	107.0	105.9	106.3	106.1	106.1	106.3	106.7	108.1	109.5	109.5	108.3
Foods and products...	83.8	84.8	84.4	82.8	83.0	84.2	84.4	83.9	86.8	88.7	88.3	88.5	85.8
Leather and products.	83.2	84.6	84.1	79.8	77.7	77.6	81.2	82.9	83.1	81.8	77.1	76.6	79.4
Stone, clay, and glass.	101.6	101.9	105.7	109.1	113.8	114.9	112.8	115.7	114.6	112.1	109.3	106.2	99.3
Tobacco products....	73.8	77.1	77.9	76.0	76.8	77.5	73.4	79.0	80.6	82.6	82.4	79.8	70.2
Chemicals and products.....	75.1	77.2	76.9	76.7	74.5	75.1	73.9	73.9	77.0	78.4	79.1	79.0	79.0
All groups.....	87.9	89.4	89.9	89.3	89.5	89.6	88.5	90.0	91.2	92.0	91.6	91.3	91.0

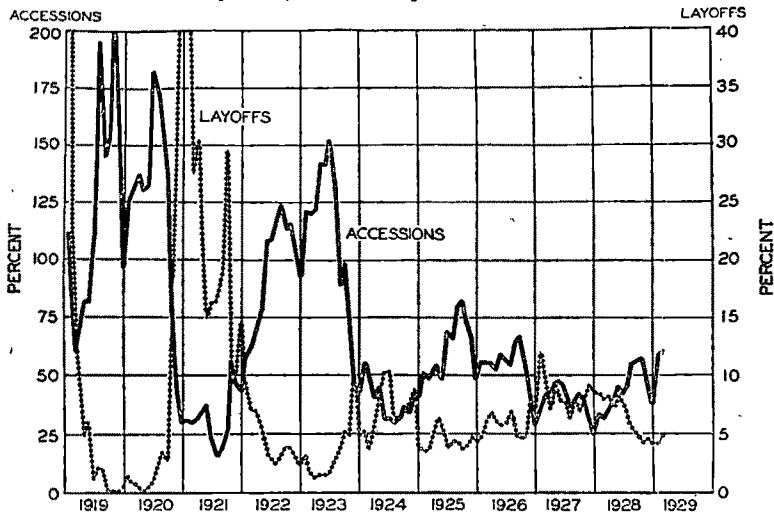
twelve or fourteen months shown on the chart. Contrast the much heavier lay-offs, and lighter accessions, prevailing during the greater part of 1927.

The fact that both the lay-offs and the accessions curves have been running at much lower levels during the past five years than in the preceding five is chiefly due to the much stabler economic conditions prevailing in the later period—a point already referred to earlier in this article. The plain fact is that the administration of business enterprise as it enters a busier or a quieter phase of the economic cycle has been of a much more sane, orderly, and conservative sort during these past few years, as contrasted with the

<sup>10</sup> The data are collected by the Company's Policyholders' Service Bureau, in co-operation with certain outside agencies, from manufacturers numbering at present about 350.

orgy of overdevelopment during 1919-20 and the drastic liquidation and depression of 1920-21. It is only natural that this greater

CHART III  
ACCESSION AND LAYOFF RATES IN FACTORIES  
Monthly Data, Scaled in Equivalent Annual Rates



sanity and stability should reflect themselves in a generally more conservative rate of hiring and laying-off of factory labor since 1921.

## LABOR LEGISLATION

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JOHN B. ANDREWS

Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation

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### ABSTRACT

Labor legislation in 1928 was enacted by Congress and by regular legislative sessions in nine states and insular possessions. Most important were new laws in the field of social insurance, including particularly workmen's accident compensation and rehabilitation of industrial cripples, old-age pension and retirement systems. Legislation to strengthen state regulation of fee-charging employment agencies was made necessary by a Supreme Court case abolishing the regulation of fees charged applicants for jobs. Other legislative topics of importance were child labor, safety and health, wage payments and mechanics' liens.

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In discussing the new labor legislation enacted during 1928, one turns first to the field where the most material advancements were made; namely, social insurance. Workmen's compensation, vocational rehabilitation, and old-age pensions each shared in the general growth and expansion. Insurance is essentially a guaranty to the insured person of material aid in time of loss or incapacity.

### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

During 1928 several important laws were enacted relating to workmen's compensation. It will be remembered that this type of social insurance was the first form to be extensively introduced in America, developing suddenly out of the far less effective system of employers' liability whereby the injured employee attempted to recover his losses by suing his employer. It is readily evident that such a procedure was advantageous neither for the workman nor for his employer. True, the employer could have at his disposal the ablest lawyers, especially equipped to defeat the claims, but this process was expensive for him, and doubly so for the workman, who was also obliged to engage legal aid. The suit was apt to be slow and the small recompense which the defendant might receive was certain to be inadequate. Dissatisfaction with employers' liability was, therefore, keen and eventually resulted in the adoption of workmen's compensation.

Although in sections of Europe this form of social insurance was early put into practice, it was as late as 1911 that the first permanent American state compensation act went into effect in New Jersey. During the following ten years the system spread rapidly throughout the United States. It aims to reinstate the injured man in his work as quickly as possible, and meanwhile to provide for his family during the time he is incapacitated. The question of workmen's compensation has many sides and complexities which cannot be discussed here, but suffice it to say that progress has been fairly consistent since 1911, and more workers constantly are being protected, waiting periods are being reduced, and the allowance for medical attention is on the increase.

The year 1928 has ushered in several important compensation changes, notably in connection with the District of Columbia, Porto Rico, and liberalizing amendments in New Jersey and New York. In 1927, Congress passed the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, thereby bringing under compensation protection a third of a million men engaged in hazardous harbor work. In 1928, Congress put through an extension of this law in regard to the District of Columbia, providing that compensation should apply to all private employees in the District of Columbia, excluding seamen, railway employees in interstate commerce, and employees in agriculture, domestic service, and casual employment. Important provisions include a seven-day waiting period, all necessary medical care, the compensation of all occupational diseases, a two-thirds wage scale, a \$25 weekly maximum with a limit of \$7,500 on the total amount.

Among the important supplementary compensation acts passed during 1928, that of Porto Rico is particularly striking. The law was repealed and re-enacted. The usual provisions were made, for the act is compulsory and applies to all employees except domestic servants and casual workers. Employees of the government and municipalities, except clerks, are covered. All necessary medical care and a seven-day waiting period are provided. The act is administered by an industrial commission of three members created in the Department of Agriculture and Labor.

The Workmen's Compensation Act of New York was also supplemented in several respects, notably as regards the extension of

compulsory coverage to all employments in which four or more workmen are engaged. Meanwhile, in New Jersey the weekly maximum compensation was raised from \$17 to \$20 and the minimum from \$8 to \$10. Similarly in Louisiana, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Virginia, supplementary acts to existing compensation laws were passed, indicative of the liberal trend in workmen's accident compensation in the United States. At present, when this article is written, only five states (North and South Carolina, Arkansas, Florida, and Mississippi) remain without this important form of social insurance.

#### VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

Closely connected with workmen's compensation is vocational rehabilitation, which aims to reinstate the crippled worker in either his original or some other form of employment. Very often extensive medical and educational assistance must be afforded the injured man before he is equipped once more to enter industry as a self-supporting worker. Obviously this may be an expensive process, but in the long run, so far as society is concerned, the expenditure is justified, for it is far cheaper for a community to aid an incapacitated member temporarily than to support him and his dependents permanently as public charges. Vocational rehabilitation legislation developed late, and was introduced here in 1918 by Massachusetts. In 1920 the federal-state plan was adopted by Congress. Eight years later forty states had adopted measures relative to rehabilitation, and though 1928 saw no startling developments, still there were several laws of some interest passed. In New Jersey, a particularly important act was concerned with the redefining of a "physically handicapped" person as someone incapacitated for education as well as for remunerative occupation. This includes all persons, instead of, as formerly, only those over sixteen years of age. Louisiana and Mississippi introduced state boards for the blind, designed to act as bureaus of information and industrial aid for the sightless.

#### OLD-AGE PENSIONS

One of the most important, though at the same time neglected, forms of social insurance in the United States is our old-age pension system. At the present writing there are only six states (Montana,

Nevada, Colorado, Kentucky, Wisconsin, and Maryland), in addition to Alaska, which grant old-age pensions to private employees. When the reader considers that the United States along with China and India are the only three heavily populated countries without this form of social insurance, he will realize the significance of such neglect. The alternatives to the pension system are basically inadequate, especially institutional care for the aged or reliance on family aid. The latter is only too frequently non-existent, and charity, in the shape of institutional care, is often degrading and disagreeable.

Legislation in the pension field during 1928 took place in Massachusetts, where a public bequest commission was organized, and was included in the commissions serving under the governor and council. A public bequest fund consisting of bequests and gifts to the fund was established and put under the commission's control. When the fund's principal amounts to \$500,000, the commission, with the governor's and council's approval, may distribute the fund's income to needy and worthy women citizens sixty years of age and over, and to men citizens sixty-five and over. In 1926, New York State had passed a bill authorizing a joint legislative committee to investigate the condition of the aged poor with the ultimate purpose of devising a state policy and recommending legislation for carrying it into effect. The appropriation for the committee was but \$5,000, which was repeated in 1927. In 1928 a new law was put into effect allowing the joint legislative committee to continue its study of the aged poor until March 1, 1929, with a doubled appropriation. Similarly in Rhode Island the state commissioner of finance was directed to investigate the general subject of old-age pensions and the various state old-age pension systems with a view to their practical adaptability in Rhode Island.

Meanwhile, pension systems for public employees were extended. In Kentucky a state teachers' retirement system was established, to be administered by the state board of education. Funds are to include moneys provided by the state,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the members' salaries and an equal contribution by their employers. Minor laws relating to teachers' pensions were enacted in Mississippi, New Jersey, and Vermont.

## EMPLOYMENT .

In 1928 employment legislation was chiefly concerned with the question of private employment offices. As a result of the now famous Ribnik case of New Jersey, May 28, 1928, that state passed a bill vitally important to the interests of private employment agencies. Briefly, the Ribnik case arose over the refusal of Commissioner McBride of the New Jersey Department of Labor to grant a license for a private employment office on the ground that the fees proposed to be charged were excessive. The United States Supreme Court declared this procedure unconstitutional, stating that such action conferred "upon the commissioner of labor the power to fix the prices which the employment agent shall charge for his services." Thereupon New Jersey made the following important amendments to the law regulating private employment agencies, declaring that the furnishing of food, supplies, tools, or shelter to laborers in connection with the promise or offer to provide employment or help violates this act. Furthermore, all violations of the established provisions regarding licenses and advertisements are to be punished by fine or imprisonment. If after due investigation it appears that without an additional agency the existing public and private offices are adequate to supply industry's needs, licenses may be withheld. Applicants for licenses to carry on an agency, in addition to existing requirements including proof of good moral character, must furnish proof of citizenship of the United States. A schedule of fees must be posted in the office of every agency. Louisiana's 1928 law relative to private employment agencies resembles that of New Jersey in the punishments exacted for violations of the provisions. The commissioner of labor is authorized to supervise the work of labor agents and employment bureaus, and levy on them annually a \$500 tax.

On the subject of employment, it is interesting to note the measure adopted by Porto Rico, in 1928, authorizing the commissioner of agriculture and labor to investigate and report to the 1929 legislature the means of adapting to Porto Rico the Florida and North Carolina system of developing tobacco in order to combat unemployment. Of importance, too, was the 1928 Act of the United States directing the secretary of labor to investigate, compute, and

report to the Senate the extent of unemployment, and also the method whereby frequent periodic reports and permanent statistics of unemployment may be made.

#### SAFETY AND HEALTH

Work done in sanitary, well-equipped factories is apt to be superior both in quantity and in quality to that turned out of dirty, unsafe, and poorly ventilated workrooms. Safety measures for factories and workshops were passed in several states in 1928, such as that of Kentucky regulating polishing and grinding machinery with the aim of protecting the worker. Of more interest were the safety regulations enacted during the past year in reference to mining. The Kentucky law was repealed and re-enacted, now providing that only competent engineers may be in charge of engines used for lowering employees into or hoisting them out of coal mines. In addition, each person riding on a cage or a car must have three square feet of floor space, and all persons are forbidden to ride on a loaded cage or car. But of even greater importance was the act passed by Congress directing the Senate committee on interstate commerce to investigate conditions in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio, especially in regard to injunctions issued, eviction of miners and families from their homes, and abrogation of wage contracts.

#### CHILD LABOR

In reference to child labor, John Dewey, as an educator, has summed up the question tersely and inclusively, when he says: "What the best and wisest of parents wants for his own child that must the community want for all its children." Of particular interest in the child-labor field is the 1928 legislation for the District of Columbia, the main provisions of which apply to the exclusion of children under fourteen from gainful occupation and regulate the hours and working conditions of minors. For example, girls under eighteen are forbidden to work in any retail cigar store, hotel, or apartment house, or as usher, attendant, or ticket seller in any place of amusement. Similarly Rhode Island prohibits boys under twelve and girls under sixteen from engaging in street trades in cities of

over forty thousand inhabitants. In New York State important changes in the Child Labor Law were enacted during 1928; providing that children under fourteen be forbidden to work in any trade, business, or occupation carried on for pecuniary gain. Here also the hours and the types of employment for minors were regulated.

#### WAGE PAYMENTS AND MECHANICS' LIENS

The 1928 legislation in the field of wage payment saw no startling innovations. Louisiana, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Virginia each enacted laws slightly changing existing regulations regarding payments and penalties. Among the earliest forms of American labor legislation appear the so-called "mechanics' lien" laws, the first having been passed in New York in 1830. The aim of these laws is to protect the worker by allowing him to sue for his wages against the value of the building or land on which he is employed. In many states these laws extend to numerous types of employment. In Louisiana the 1928 law extends the mechanics' lien to well-workers and those employed on building, street, railroad, and ditch labor. New Jersey provides for the appointment of a joint commission to revise the present mechanics' lien law, while Mississippi, New York, South Carolina, and Virginia adopted amendments to existing laws.

#### ADMINISTRATION AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Kentucky child-welfare commission was abolished and in its place the Kentucky Children's Bureau was created, the duties of which include the supervision and control of the administration of mothers' aid, the investigation of the needs of Kentucky children, and assistance in the establishment of county children's bureaus. New York amended its penal law to include among misdemeanors a violation or non-compliance with any rule, regulation, or order of the department of labor. In addition, the joint legislative committee appointed in 1926 to investigate industrial conditions and the administration of labor laws was continued to March 1, 1929, with an additional appropriation of \$30,000. Congress added \$100,000 for the fiscal year 1929 to the budget of the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Certain minor and miscellaneous measures have been omitted from this survey in the belief that their detailed and specific nature offers insufficient general interest. The comparative leanness of last year's labor legislation was largely due to the fact that in addition to Congress only nine states and two insular possessions held regular legislative sessions.

## SOCIAL LEGISLATION

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SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

Professor of Social Legislation, Columbia University

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### ABSTRACT

The output of 1928 was meager, notwithstanding only nine state legislatures and Congress held sessions. Social legislation in its comprehensive aspects includes subjects like labor legislation, which is treated in a separate article (*q. v.*), public health, also covered in a general article on "Public Health and Medicine" (*q. v.*), and many important administrative measures, which are treated in a special article on "Government" (*q. v.*). The topics briefly summarized with respect to significant legislative changes in 1928 are: public poor relief, including poor laws, public charities, dependent and defective children, child welfare, mothers' pensions, old age pensions; housing, city planning, and zoning; public health, public education, and recreation; humane legislation, including prevention of cruelty to animals, prevention of cruelty to children, juvenile delinquency, courts, and probation, treatment of prisoners, and prison labor.

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Although the year 1928 was an off year for legislation, only nine states and Congress holding legislative sessions, the output of social legislation seems to have been unusually meager. There also were few outstanding decisions of courts of last resort, dealing with legislative acts in this field.

In any review of American legislation it is well to remember that decisions of courts of last resort, which determine constitutionality and practically define the scope and application of statutes, constitute often the more important part of the legislative process, especially in dealing with social problems through the legislative method.

### PUBLIC POOR RELIEF

The most important legislative proposal dealing with the poor laws in 1928 was the Fearon-Shonk bill in New York, which is an omnibus codification and restatement of the law based on legislative investigations and reports of recent commissions. It would replace the existing Poor Law and 140 amendments, exemptions, exceptions, and special applications which have made such a patchwork of the laws that chaos paralyzed the work of distributing relief to the poor in their homes. It would establish a new public

welfare law for the state. This bill passed the Senate and had the support of the State Board of Charities, the Association of County Superintendents of the Poor, and important private and semi-public associations like the State Charities Aid Association, which has been the active agency in promotion of this great reform. So few states have a poor law in the form of a comprehensive statute regulatng public relief to the poor and its administration that a general codification and simplification of existing state laws, based so largely on the early English poor law, is essential. The New York proposal has been reintroduced in the legislature of 1929 and became law with the approval of Governor Roosevelt, April 12, 1929. It will doubtless become more or less a model for enactment elsewhere.

Massachusetts (c. 155) eliminated the word "pauper" and substituted "person who has no legal settlement," and provided that "overseers of the poor" should be changed to "a Board of Public Welfare."

Several statutes deal with minor matters of administration of public charities, such as tax exemption of children's homes (Va., c. 45, par. 435); tax exemption of charitable and charity organization societies (Ill., 2d Ex., p. 91); how charters can be amended (La., pp. 216-17, No. 156); tax exemption (Miss., pp. 245-46., c. 185); (P.R., pp. 120-22, No. 4); powers of municipal charities (P.R., pp. 336, No. 53, par. 7); trustees for gifts to charities (Va., pp. 25-26, c. 30), and tax exemption (Va., pp. 238-39, c. 45, superseding laws, 1924, c. 289).

Old-age pensions are attracting increasing attention everywhere. In 1928 New York continued a joint legislative committee, appointed under an act in 1926, to investigate the condition of the aged poor with the ultimate purpose of devising a state policy and recommending legislation. Five thousand dollars was appropriated for this committee in 1926 and the same amount again in 1927 and double that amount in 1928. The committee was directed to report not later than March 1, 1929.

In Rhode Island the State Commissioner of Finance was directed to investigate the general subject of old-age pensions and the various state systems, reporting on their practical adaptability

in Rhode Island (see the preceding article, "Labor Legislation"). Many laws relating to teachers' pensions and to pension systems for public employees were enacted, notably in Kentucky, Mississippi, New Jersey, and Vermont.

#### CHILD WELFARE

Child-labor legislation or some modification of existing legislation relating to child labor and compulsory school attendance was enacted by Congress for the District of Columbia in the new child-labor law, which is a great advance over the former law, especially in its enforcement and administrative provisions and its regulation of street trading and dangerous or injurious occupations. It removed the poverty exemption for children twelve years of age or over and established a minimum age of fourteen in all gainful occupations except housework or agricultural work outside of school hours, for the child's parent or guardian. It excepted children twelve years of age and over who may sell newspapers, and children ten years of age and over who may distribute newspapers on regular routes. It fixed an eight-hour day, a forty-eight-hour week and a six-day week for children between fourteen and eighteen, and prohibited night work between 7:00 P.M. and 7:00 A.M. for boys under sixteen and for girls under eighteen, and between 10:00 P.M. and 6:00 A.M. for boys between sixteen and eighteen. It specified dangerous and injurious occupations prohibited for minors under sixteen and under eighteen, and prohibited the employment of any minor at employment dangerous or prejudicial to his life, health, safety, or welfare, and provided for two inspectors appointed by the Board of Education to enforce the law.

Several states, in fact nearly all in legislative session in 1928, amended and improved their existing child-labor legislation, though Massachusetts defeated a bill to raise the standards.

Kentucky and Mississippi enacted laws which authorized public aid to mothers with dependent children, empowering the counties to provide funds. A Kentucky statute (c. 17, L. 1928, amending c. 107, L. 1922) abolished the child-welfare commission previously created, and established in its place a non-partisan state children's bureau of nine members, not less than four of whom shall be women, and with an appropriation of \$5,000 a year for the ensu-

ing biennium. The Mississippi act authorizes the board of supervisors in each county to set aside out of the poor fund, or the county general fund, a "children's aid fund" for the purpose of providing home care and maintenance for dependent and needy children. New Jersey increased the amount of aid authorized, making the maximum now \$16 a month for one child under sixteen, \$30 a month for two, and \$12 a month for each additional child. Louisiana weakened its mothers' aid law by making it optional instead of mandatory for parishes and municipalities to provide funds.

Official child welfare commissions have been active during the year in Georgia, Kentucky, and South Dakota, the latter having made a second survey of mothers' pensions in that state.

Minor changes in the law dealing with offenses against children were made in Kentucky and New Jersey, both of which increased the penalties for kidnapping, and in New York, which provided that the consent of the person kidnapped shall not be a defense unless such person is over sixteen years of age. Various provisions concerning non-support and illegitimacy, adoption and guardianship, but all of minor importance, characterize changes in the legislation of New Jersey, New York, and Kentucky. Physically handicapped children were dealt with in several statutes in New Jersey, which continued the crippled children's commission created in 1926, appropriating additional money and asking it to submit recommendations to the 1929 legislature.

#### HOUSING, CITY PLANNING, AND ZONING

An ambitious attempt to rewrite and revamp the New York Tenement House Law, which has for more than a quarter of a century been a model of restrictive housing legislation, failed of enactment though prepared after extensive study by a Legislative Commission. It attempted too much and antagonized too many elements in the opposition to housing reform. The multiple dwelling bill was a document of 168 pages which completely restated the existing Tenement House Law without regard to the parts that had been judicially interpreted and upheld and without being able to make a technical subject at best any better understood by the average legislator. The Commission has been continued and

has reported a less ambitious measure to the New York Legislature of 1929, which has become law.

There were some amendments to the New Jersey State Tenement House Law (c. 77 and c. 78) and also of the New York State Housing Law of 1926, but they were of a minor character with respect to administration of these laws.

In the matter of city planning and zoning some items are worth noticing, especially California's comprehensive and complete City Planning Act, which puts that state in the lead and follows very closely the Standard City Planning Enabling Act of the United States Department of Commerce.

The city planning and zoning movement has made remarkable progress in America during the last twenty years, and this is likely to be accelerated by the work of the Advisory Committee on City Planning and Zoning of the United States Department of Commerce. This Committee has recently completed a Standard City Planning Enabling Act similar to its Standard Zoning Enabling Act, which before it was issued in printed form already served as the basis for legislation in several states.

New Jersey has already enacted a new Zoning Enabling Act (c. 274, L. 1928), which became effective on April 3 and follows pretty closely the lines of the Department of Commerce Standard Zoning Enabling Act. It made some departures in its provisions for Boards of Appeals. The history of zoning in New Jersey has been extraordinarily interesting, and during the last seven years more than seventy-five municipalities in New Jersey have enacted zoning laws under the authority of a state Enabling Act similar to that recommended by the Department of Commerce and already adopted in other states. The New Jersey courts, however, held that the fundamental principles of zoning, with its consequent regulation of the use of property, did not come within the police power of the state. Under the leadership of the New Jersey State League of Municipalities and with the co-operation of many civic agencies, such as the New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards, the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs, and the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, an amendment to the constitution was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the same election in

the fall of 1927 at which four other amendments were rejected. It has the distinction of being one of two amendments voted by the people of New Jersey in the last fifty-two years. The new Zoning Enabling Act is the first fruits of that victory and was made retroactive to validate all existing zoning ordinances adopted prior to the adoption of the new act. Already many decisions of the New Jersey Supreme Court, showing the influence of the United States Supreme Court decision (272 U.S. 365) in the *Euclid Village Case*, indicate that the new constitutional amendment and the new Enabling Act with its retroactive feature will probably be sustained by the Court of Errors and Appeals, which is the court of last resort if these decisions of the Supreme Court are appealed. Another United States Supreme Court case, *Nectow v. Cambridge* (277 U.S. 183), reversed the lower court and held invalid an arbitrary and unreasonable exercise of the zoning power; and still another case, *Buchanan v. Warley* (245 U.S. 260), decided in the negative an old controversy whether racial segregation can be accomplished by means of zoning.

Kentucky (c. 80, L. 1928) passed an act to provide for the creation and organization of a city planning and zoning commission for cities of the second class and surrounding territory which bears relation to the planning and zoning thereof. The same act empowers cities to approve and effectuate the commission's action in so far as it may concern property within the city limits, and authorizes county fiscal courts to do the same for property outside the city limits: it also empowers cities to provide for the appointment of boards of adjustment, defining their powers and prescribing their procedure, and it authorizes zoning. Another Kentucky act (c. 89, L. 1928) regulates filing of plats and maps for dedication of streets, ways, and easements in corporate limits of cities of the fourth class, and by chapter 90 authorizes cities of the fourth class to purchase or receive by donation, lands and property for public parks or playgrounds.

Louisiana (c. 98, L. 1928) authorizes municipal corporations having one hundred thousand or more population to adopt ordinances condemning buildings or structures which endanger pub-

lic welfare or safety and providing for removal of such at the expense of the owner.

Massachusetts (c. 70, L. 1928) amended section 22, chapter 488 of the Zoning Law of 1924 in regard to exemptions of public service corporations from the operation of that act, and also provided for public hearing, notice, etc., in the procedure under the act. An act relative to the height of buildings in the city of Boston (c. 137, L. 1928) provides that the height may exceed 155 feet provided the volume of building does not exceed the number of square feet of buildable area of the lot, multiplied by 155, and provided further that every part of the building above a height equal to two and one-half times the effective width of the street but not exceeding 125 feet shall set back from every street and lot line 1 foot for 2½ feet of height.

Rhode Island (c. 1240, p. 713, L. 1928) repealed a law of 1927 (c. 1077) which authorized the city of Providence to create a thoroughfare plan commission and passed an act (c. 1277, p. 811, L. 1928) authorizing the town of Narragansett to enact building and zoning ordinances.

Virginia (c. 55, L. 1928) authorized the circuit court of the County of Henry to appoint for the town of Martinsville a zoning commission and board of zoning appeals under chapter 197, Laws of 1926, and also under chapter 277, Laws of 1928, providing a new charter for the town of Winton, authorized a town plan and planning commission and the acquiring of land in the vicinity of parks. Similar legislation for the town of Waynesboro (c. 482, L. 1928) provides a new charter with the same authorization for town plan commission, platting, and acquiring land.

Analogous to zoning and planning legislation affecting property are several acts authorizing counties, municipalities, or other subdivisions of the state government to establish and maintain airports, aerodromes, and aircraft fields, and defining powers of special boards for such purposes (Ky. c. 77, L. 1928; La. c. 24, L. 1928; Mass. c. 350, L. 1928; Miss. c. 63, L. 1928; N.J. c. 181, L. 1928; S.C. c. 919, L. 1928, for city and county of Greenville).

Not less than forty-three cities and towns in eighteen states

were added to the list of zoned municipalities in 1928, bringing the total up to more than six hundred.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND RECREATION

General public health legislation is dealt with in a separate article (*q.v.*), and also problems of health and safety in industry in the article entitled "Labor Legislation" (*q.v.*). Rhode Island passed an act for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy; it also authorized two or more towns to unite in the employment of a health officer. Porto Rico established in the Department of Education a division of child hygiene with a physician as director, and New Jersey amended its law requiring private nursing homes to be licenced, making it apply also to private hospitals.

Important hearings before committees of Congress and constructive discussion of the Newton bill to provide for a continuance of the important work of the Children's Bureau in the administration of the Maternity and Infancy Act of 1921, while not resulting in any legislation thus far, seem to assure the passage of an act either extending the life of the Welfare and Hygiene of Maternity and Infancy Act of November 23, 1921, which expires, under the provisions of existing legislation, June 30, 1929, or substituting for that act a somewhat different but possibly better and more comprehensive provision for co-operation of the federal government and the states, in maternity and infancy protection. This experiment has been one of the most socially useful pieces of public health work of recent years, and its continuance and further development is a matter of major concern in American social work generally.

On the border line between public health, charity, and education are two statutes (Miss. c. 149; La. Act No. 101), creating state boards or commissions for the blind to supervise and provide teaching and training for blind persons and to market their products.

Georgia and Oklahoma were admitted to the Birth Registration Area, which is accorded to states registering more than 90 per cent of their births.

Education legislation dealt in many important particulars with

compulsory school attendance and employment certificate laws, also educational requirements for employment certificates. The standards of the educational requirement were raised to the completion of the sixth grade in specified subjects or completion of a program in a prevocational or vocational school approved by the Commissioner of Education and equivalent to one year beyond the fifth grade in New Jersey, this requirement to become effective September 1, 1929. In New York, the compulsory school attendance and employment certificate laws were rewritten, the former simplified and broadened and its administrative provisions improved, and the latter made to require a physical examination each time the child changes his employment. Similar improvements in standards and methods of enforcement for compulsory school attendance laws were enacted in Virginia, and efforts to reduce standards were proposed but failed to pass in New York.

Regulatory legislation dealing with recreation was passed in Rhode Island prohibiting the admission to motion-picture theaters of children under fifteen unless accompanied by a person eighteen years of age or over, except that children between ten and sixteen are admitted outside of school hours between the hours of 9:00 A.M. and 7:00 P.M. There was no promotive recreation legislation in 1928 aside from power to acquire land for recreation. (See Housing, etc., ante.)

#### HUMANE LEGISLATION AND PUBLIC MORALS

Under the prevention of cruelty to animals we find a few statutes bearing directly on the suppression of cruelty, such as Massachusetts, chapter 347, Laws of 1928, prohibiting the cropping of ears of dogs, and New Jersey, chapter 83, relating to the impounding of dogs, etc., in municipalities, and New Jersey, chapter 115, Laws of 1928, prohibiting the exhibition at roadstands of animals where inhumane confinement is involved, and Virginia, chapter 209, Laws of 1928, providing for permits for kennel dogs to run at large. There is a greater variety of game laws extending or restricting the hunting season, providing for trappers' licenses and restrictions (Miss. c. 114, L. 1928), and the use of pole-traps (N.J. c. 8, L. 1928), also regulating trapping, etc., with respect to squirrels and rabbits (N.J. c. 16), which have an indirect but

less important relation to cruelty. A New York statute (c. 242, L. 1928) provides that cats may be killed if found killing birds; and the Virginia general cruelty statute was amended (c. 241, L. 1928) to include in its regulations birds and fowls, and by another statute (c. 443, L. 1928) the power of arrest was given to humane officers.

Prevention of cruelty to children and provision for public treatment of neglected and delinquent children received only slight and indirect attention in the legislation of the year, as already indicated in the discussion of child welfare. In New York the special juvenile court laws for Buffalo and Syracuse were amended and the New York State Division of Probation was made a statutory division of the Department of Correction, which was given general supervision over the administration of probation throughout the state, including probation in children's courts. Louisiana provided for a state industrial school for colored boys seventeen years of age or under committed by the juvenile courts. New Jersey amended its law relating to guardians of minors, granting to mothers and fathers equal rights to dispose of their children by will with the consent of the other parent.

Little of note in the treatment of prisoners or in legislation for the management of prisons or prison industries occurred during the year. Massachusetts passed an act providing for the payment of wages to prisoners, who are to receive one-half of any increase in profit from prison industries over and above the profit now being made. Much interest has centered in the Hawes-Cooper Bill in Congress, which deals with the fight against the manufacture of prison products for sale in the open market. This bill is a permissive act enabling any state to bar the shipment of prison-made goods into the state, and became a law on January 19, 1929, with the title "An Act to Divest Goods, Wares and Merchandise Manufactured, Produced or Mined by Convicts or Prisoners of Their Interstate Character in Certain Cases." It follows the principle of the celebrated Webb-Kenyon Law of preprohibition days, which attempted to divest intoxicating liquors of their interstate character when shipped into a state contrary to the law of that state. The Webb-Kenyon Act, passed over the veto of President Taft,

who doubted its constitutionality, was later sustained by unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court.

In the enforcement of prohibition many important administrative changes were made by the federal government and under some of the state enforcement acts, but there was little new legislation in 1928. North Dakota voted on primary election day (June 27, 1928) on the repeal of the prohibition clause in the original state constitution. The vote against repeal was 103,696, or 51.7 per cent of the total vote cast.

As far as the vote in the presidential campaign could be analyzed with respect to this issue, the retention and enforcement of prohibition seemed to be strongly favored.

## PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICINE

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HARRY H. MOORE

Public Health Economist, United States Public Health Service

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### ABSTRACT

The people became, in 1928, more conscious of "cultural lag" in the field of medicine and public health. *Mortality and morbidity statistics.*—The general death-rate was higher than for the preceding year, owing partially perhaps to two influenza epidemics. There were decreases in the death-rate due to various diseases of public health importance, according to the experiences of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and increases in the rates among certain degenerative diseases. *Public health measures.*—Eighty-seven new county health departments, established as a result of flood work, were maintained without loss during 1928. Three new enterprises were launched or furthered: the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene, a Committee for Research on Syphilis, and the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory in Panama. *Private practice.*—The number of physicians, nurses, and dentists still appeared to be increasing. *Hospitals and clinics.*—The Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center was opened. The number of hospitals continued to increase, and there was a tendency for certain kinds of clinics to associate themselves with hospitals. *Legal measures.*—While the legislatures of most states did not hold sessions in 1928, several legal decisions of importance were rendered. *Biological research.*—Two scientists, whose work has been responsible for notable progress in disease control, succumbed to disease. Several discoveries of importance were made. *Research in medical sociology and economics.*—Four commissions or committees issued reports of significance.

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Many human beings suffered and died during 1928 from diseases which might have been prevented, innumerable remedial defects remained unremedied, and a host of persons with curable diseases remained uncured. "We know how to do a lot of things," says William H. Welch, "which we don't do, or do on a wretchedly small scale." There are evidences that the people in 1928 became more conscious of this manifestation of cultural lag than ever before; moreover, there was definite progress during the year toward the more effective utilization of modern science, both in the cure and in the prevention of disease.

The important changes during the year may be looked for under the following topics: mortality and morbidity statistics, public health measures, private practice, hospitals and clinics, legal measures, biological research, and research in medical sociology and economics.

## MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY STATISTICS

A recently computed provisional death-rate for 1928 (based on a population of 37,600,000) was 12.3 per thousand, somewhat higher than the rate for the same population in 1927, which was 11.8. The rate for 91 per cent of the population for 1927 (virtually the final rate) was 11.4, the lowest yet reached in the United States.

The infant mortality rate has shown for several years a downward trend, and while the figure for 1928 was not available at this writing, it was announced during the year that the 1927 rate had reached the lowest point in the history of the United States—65 deaths per thousand live births for the registration area, as compared with 73 in 1926.

The outstanding achievement of the year among the eighteen million policy-holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company was a further decline in mortality from tuberculosis, the 1928 death-rate for this disease in all of its forms being 90 per hundred thousand. On the other hand, the National Tuberculosis Association states that the decline of this death-rate during recent years "is showing a tendency to lessen." The Metropolitan Company reports that five other diseases, all of major public health importance—typhoid fever, scarlet fever, diphtheria, diarrhea complaints, and puerperal conditions—showed lower death-rates among policyholders in 1928 than ever before. Of unfavorable developments for the year among Metropolitan policy-holders, the foremost was an increase in the death-rate from heart affections to almost the highest figure recorded; the cancer situation continued to grow definitely worse; and for a fourth consecutive year the diabetes death-rate rose. While, since the introduction of insulin, the rate for this last disease among males under forty-five has gone down, and while the rate among males between forty-five and sixty-five has remained almost stationary, after sixty-five there has been a distinct and significant rise.

The birth registration area was enlarged by the admittance, for the first time, of the states of Colorado, Georgia, and Oklahoma. The state of South Carolina was readmitted to the birth registration, and the state of Georgia to the death registration area.

While the United States Public Health Service and other agencies have continued their efforts to develop morbidity statistics, it is still difficult to secure reliable figures on the incidence and prevalence of various diseases. Two influenza epidemics, however, may be recorded, one early in the year and one beginning in November. From forty-one states having a population of almost 84,000,000, there were reported to the Public Health Service more than 805,000 cases of this disease. The smallpox record of the United States remains a disgrace. While this disease might be virtually wiped out, there were reported during the year from forty-two states, more than 34,500 cases.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH MEASURES

While there remain among official health departments of the United States a lack of trained personnel and an inadequacy of funds, there were significant forward steps during the year. Following the emergency work done in 1927 by the Public Health Service, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the state departments of health in the extensive area flooded by the Mississippi River, there were established eighty-seven new county departments of health, with one or more whole-time officers in charge. All of these were maintained without loss through 1928.

On the part of local health departments, there was a definite effort, according to the American Public Health Association, to win the participation of private practitioners in preventive measures, such as the immunization of children against diphtheria, and this effort appears to have met with some success.

In Washington, the Parker Bill, providing for a more efficient Public Health Service, was passed by both houses of Congress, but was vetoed by President Coolidge. A bill introduced by Senator Ransdell, providing for the enlargement of the Hygienic Laboratory, failed to pass. These two measures, however, stimulated much discussion regarding the importance of the work of the Public Health Service and won the Service many friends. Congress appropriated \$9,000,000 for replacing worn-out marine hospitals, but refused to make available an appropriation of \$75,000 for a special program in cancer research recommended by a committee of eminent scientists.

In the field of mental hygiene, the most significant development of 1928 was the creation of the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene, Incorporated. Its chief aim is to secure a large fund for various types of work in the field of mental hygiene, at home and abroad, and to administer the fund in the interest of the movement as a whole. The closing weeks of 1928 were employed in the completion of initial plans for the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene, to be held in Washington in May, 1930. Several of the states extended their facilities for mental hygiene work. There continues to be, however, a scarcity of adequate personnel for child guidance and other types of mental hygiene clinics.

In the field of venereal disease control and social hygiene, approximately 324,000 cases of venereal diseases were reported to state departments of health, during the year ending June, 1928—a decrease of about 40,000 cases since 1927. There was an increase from 425 to 451 in the number of clinics reporting. The reduction in the number of cases may or may not have been partially due to a decreasing degree of care on the part of physicians reporting. Under the leadership of the American Social Hygiene Association, there was created a committee for research on syphilis with adequate funds to launch an important program of laboratory and clinical studies. Progress was made in the development of sound sex instruction. Parent-teacher associations and religious organizations entered into active participation in this and other fields of social hygiene work.

For the support of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory in Panama, organized to study tropical preventive medicine, Congress provided for an annual appropriation of \$50,000. The Republic of Panama has donated the site and has pledged one-half million dollars for the construction of the laboratory.

The private foundations, including the Carnegie Corporation, the Commonwealth Fund, the Milbank Memorial Fund, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Russell Sage Fund, and the Twentieth Century Fund, continued to make possible pioneer efforts of immeasurable value in the control of disease by providing grants to both public and private enterprises. Details from annual reports are not available because of the early preparation of the present ar-

ticle. In addition, the Julius Rosenwald Fund adopted during 1928 a plan for providing for the establishment of hospitals and clinics, especially for persons of moderate means.

Reports were received early in the year of a dinner attended by several hundred physicians, sanitarians, and social workers in commemoration of the achievements in disease prevention of Lee K. Frankel. Thus, public service was recognized and a useful citizen honored while alive and active among his associates.

The president of the American Child Health Association, in November, 1928, was elected president of the United States.

#### PRIVATE PRACTICE

While private practitioners, especially surgeons and other specialists, continued to perform miracles in the diagnosis and cure of many disorders hitherto fatal, search through medical journals fails to reveal any significant efforts in the establishment of better organization. While specialization is increasing, private medicine in general remains unorganized.

There was an increase in 1928 in the number of physicians in continental United States, a total of 152,000 being reported in the 1929 *American Medical Directory* as compared with 149,500 in the 1927 issue. The number of medical school graduates in 1928 was 4,262, a larger number than in 1927 or in any year since about 1910 when there were more medical colleges than at present.

Approximately 20,000 persons were graduated from nursing schools in 1928 as compared with 17,500 in 1926. The number of dentists in the United States in 1928 was 67,334, while three years earlier there were only 64,716.

#### HOSPITALS AND CLINICS

While a number of new hospitals were opened in 1928, probably the largest institution throwing open its doors was the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center, with several units completed. There was also created, during the year, the Joint Administrative Board of the New York Hospital and Cornell Medical College Association, which has plans for the establishment in New York of another large medical center. Among various other developments

during 1928 was the rising cost of hospital care and the increasing demand for lower priced service.

There were 6,852 hospitals in the country in 1928, with 892,934 beds, an increase of 45 hospitals and 39,616 beds over 1927. Figures also indicate that a growing proportion of hospitals provided themselves with X-ray departments, clinical laboratories, and physical therapy departments.

Clinics have probably increased in number, but no survey was made during the year to show the extent of the growth. In 1927 there were more than 5,700. There has been a notable recent tendency among venereal, cardiac, and prenatal clinics to associate themselves with hospitals, either by transferring an existing clinic to the outpatient department of a hospital, or by inducing a hospital to establish such services in its outpatient department when not previously found in the community.

The Thomas Thompson Trust announced the inauguration, during the year, of two plans for sickness insurance. These provide, in consideration of small payments of cash, benefits to meet the expenses of hospital service in excess of certain minimums.

#### LEGAL MEASURES<sup>1</sup>

While the legislatures of most states did not hold sessions during 1928, and therefore few state laws were passed important to public health and medicine, there were during the year several legal decisions of moment. The principle that a municipality is liable for damages if it permits its water supply to be contaminated was established by a series of court decisions. The Harrison Narcotic Act was upheld in April, 1928, by a decision of the United States Supreme Court. A world-wide quinine monopoly was permanently enjoined in September, 1928, against the further violation of the anti-trust laws by a decision of the Federal District Court in New York.

#### BIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Joseph Goldberger, of the United States Public Health Service, completed in 1928 reports on his notable work in the study of pellagra, and late in the year was attacked by a rare form of cancer

<sup>1</sup> See also the article on "Social Legislation," by Samuel McCune Lindsay in this issue.

which subsequently resulted in his death. Goldberger gave himself freely to science. He once contracted yellow fever in connection with his experiments. A few years later he fell a victim to typhus fever. He was also attacked by dengue fever. Undaunted by these experiences, he responded promptly to a summons to work on pellagra, and discovered the cause of a malady which had brought disability and death to thousands of persons in the United States. Few men of our time, states the editor of a Washington newspaper, have been ushered by death into a more secure immortality than Joseph Goldberger.

Hideyo Noguchi, of the Rockefeller Institute, died of yellow fever, a martyr to his researches on that disease, leaving work which may show later that the malady has two forms.

E. V. Hardy, of the Public Health Service, showed that probably undulant fever, generally known as Malta fever, is of frequent occurrence in rural districts and is responsible for many sicknesses frequently diagnosed as grippe, typhoid fever, or tuberculosis. R. R. Spencer and R. R. Parker, of the Public Health Service, demonstrated that a vaccine developed by them is highly effective in the prevention of Rocky Mountain spotted fever. Oliver Kamm, of Detroit, announced that the important beta hormone produced by the posterior-pituitary gland, which controls the water deposits of the body, may be made artificially from animal glands.

The Nobel Prize in medicine for 1928 was awarded to Charles Nicolle, of the Pasteur Institute at Tunis, in recognition of his researches on typhus fever. The Nobel Prize for chemistry was given to Adolph Windaus, of Goettingen, Germany, for his part in experiments proving that ultra-violet light will activate ergosterol and confer on it antirachitic properties. The gold medal of the American Medical Association was awarded to Edward Francis, of the Public Health Service, for his work on tularemia, the committee on awards believing that his contribution in this field constituted the most important medical work of the year, judged on the basis of originality.

#### RESEARCH IN MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

Three commissions or committees, previously created, issued reports of significance during the year. In addition, there was pub-

lished a report by the Advisory Committee on Burial Survey. The latter report showed that the undertaking business in the United States has been badly disorganized. Undertakers are having a difficult time in making a reasonable income, and funeral costs often are excessively high. Largely as a result of this study, presumably, the funeral directors of the country have organized the Funeral Service Bureau of America to improve the organization and ethics of the business.

The Commission on Medical Education during 1928 issued two reports. They showed that while medical education has been held responsible by some persons for many of the inadequacies of medical service, great progress has been made because of the higher standards of medical schools and of boards of licensure. The second of these reports presents principles which the Commission believes should be emphasized in medical training.

A report of the Committee on the Grading of Nursing Schools, entitled *Nurses, Patients, and Pocketbooks*, contains valuable data on the sociology and economics of nursing. Its chief conclusion is that there are more nurses being graduated than can secure employment at existing rates.

The Committee on the Cost of Medical Care issued in February, 1928, its five-year program of studies. The number on the committee was increased to forty-two persons, including private practitioners, sociologists, economists, and representatives of the public, and a research staff of six was organized. Some six or eight studies have been inaugurated. The various researches are to be carried on with the co-operation of the American Medical Association, the American Dental Association, the National Drug Trade Conference, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the United States Public Health Service, and other agencies.

The more effective utilization of the benefits of modern science and the more efficient functioning of public health agencies, hospitals, clinics, and private practitioners of various kinds await the development of social research, experimentation, and demonstration. If the organizations responsible for these developments do their work well, the health and happiness of the people of the United States may be immeasurably improved.

## COMMUNICATION

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E. W. BURGESS

Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

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### ABSTRACT

During the year 1928 the newer forms of transportation and communication like the automobile, the motion picture, the aeroplane, and the radio continued to increase in numbers and in use more rapidly than older facilities, such as the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, and the newspaper. The rapidity of social changes consequent upon the introduction and extension of these agencies has occasioned serious problems of social adjustment arising from the decline of customary neighborhood controls and the enlarged freedom of the individual. At the same time, readjustments are taking place not so much from social prevision but as a natural consequence of the use of these newer instrumentalities of communication. Through the motion picture, the aeroplane, and the radio, the individual is participating imaginatively and actually more and more fully in "the great society."

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The year 1928 brought a clear recognition to the public of the economic, social, and cultural significance of the newer forms of transportation and communication. The automobile, the motion picture, the radio, and the aeroplane are no longer considered merely as instruments of amusement and entertainment and of adventure and spectacle but as forces of social change rapidly molding a new and different civilization.

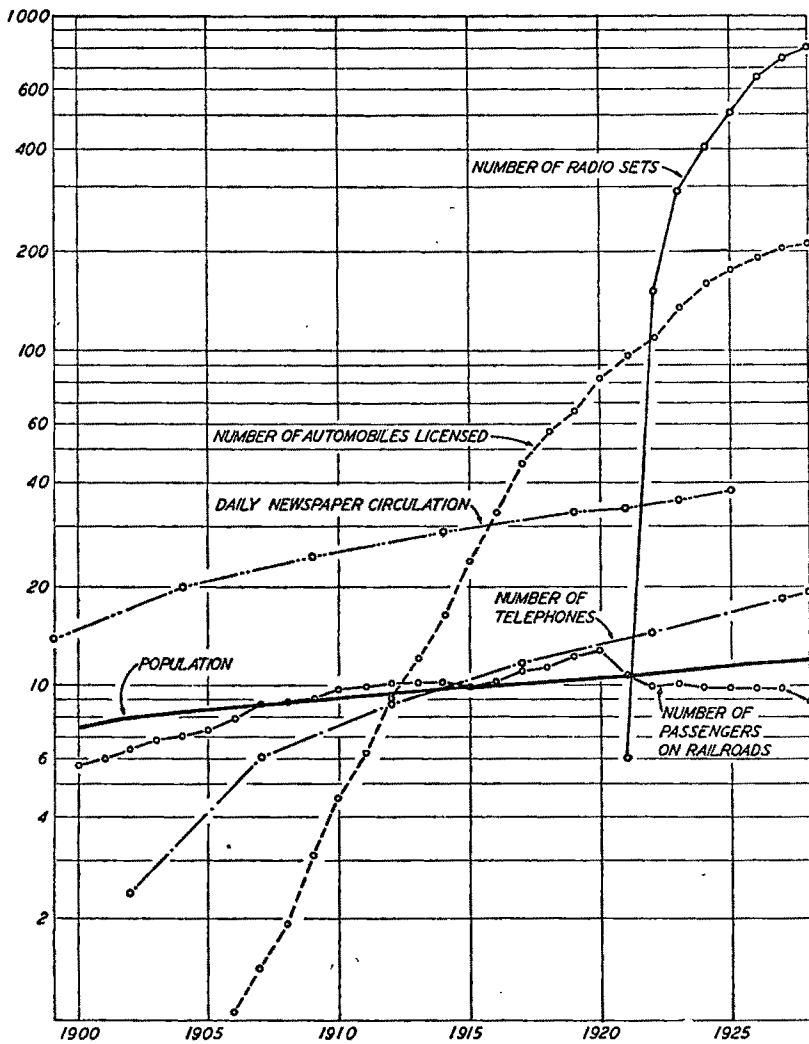
This article, then, will concentrate its attack upon a description and an analysis of the dynamic rôle of these newer forms of transportation and communication in American life. It will also call attention to the many evidences manifest during the last year of the increasing public interest in these effects and of the serious attempts at social control that are in progress.

But before taking up in detail a summary survey of the social transformations taking place through the instrumentality of the automobile, the motion picture, the aeroplane, and the radio, the accompanying graph is presented (Chart I). It indicates that during 1928 the newer forms of communication continued to maintain

a relatively more rapid increase than the older instruments of transportation and communication like the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, and the newspaper.

CHART I

RATES OF INCREASE OF DIFFERENT AGENCIES OF COMMUNICATION, OR THEIR USE, IN THE UNITED STATES, 1899-1928



THE AUTOMOBILE IN SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND  
REORGANIZATION

The automobile and the motion picture developed practically simultaneously. The rapid growth of the automobile is seen in the increase in registered passenger cars from 8,000 in 1900 to 21,379,125 in 1928, or from 0.1 to 178.0 per thousand persons.<sup>1</sup> During last year the production of motor vehicles was the largest in the history of the industry, or a total number of 4,357,384, of which 3,826,643 were passenger cars.<sup>2</sup> According to figures vouched for by the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, the total highway mileage surface increased from 575,000 in 1927 to 625,000 in 1928, and the gasoline used by motor vehicles from 10 billion gallons in 1927 to nearly 11 billion gallons in 1928.

The first serious and comprehensive attempt to gauge the social consequences of the automobile was made by the completion last year of a dissertation, "The Automobile: a Sociological Study,"<sup>3</sup> by Professor John H. Mueller, University of Oregon. He stated, "The automobile is one of the new forces which has disturbed most profoundly the social equilibrium and has made necessary new adjustments."<sup>4</sup> He described the way in which the automobile disorganized the old rural order and is determining the new territorial radius of reorganization. Although, from 1917 to 1928, the mortality rate from automobile accidents increased from 8.9 to 20.7 deaths per hundred thousand population, the deaths per hundred thousand cars declined sharply from 176 to 102.<sup>5</sup>

He traced the history of the public reaction to the problems of accidents and of social disorganization introduced by the automobile as follows: (1) the early period of prohibitory legislation; (2) the intermediate period of exhortation, and (3) the period, just beginning, of rational control based upon the scientific study of the problem.

This pioneer sociological inquiry should stimulate further detailed research. A study, for instance, might well be made of suc-

<sup>1</sup> *Facts and Figures, Automobile Industry, 1929*, National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the United States Department of Commerce.*

<sup>3</sup> Doctoral dissertation (University of Chicago Library).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *ibid.*, p. 93, and *Facts and Figures, Automobile Industry, 1929*, p. 84.

cessful attempts to reorganize rural and urban life on the basis of the new alignments caused by the automobile.

#### THE MOTION PICTURE AND CHANGING MORES

The automobile has greatly increased personal mobility by undermining, even in rural districts, the social control of the neighborhood. The effects of the motion picture upon personality development and cultural life, while apparently quite as profound, are more indirect and subtle. The motion picture is only one of the devices of communication which are at work undermining and modifying the mores and traditional forms of conduct. For years the motion picture has caused lively concern to parents, teachers, social workers, ministers, and moralists. The large attendance at motion pictures, aggregating in 1928, it is estimated, 60,000,000 men, women, and children weekly, indicates the popularity of this modern means of entertainment. The lead of the United States in motion-picture growth is shown by the fact that 20,700 of the 57,431 motion-picture theaters in the world are in the United States.<sup>6</sup> The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America give 20,233 as the number of motion picture theaters in this country, which is practically the same as the number 20,700 given above. Both these figures, however, seem high when compared with the total of 14,991 motion picture theaters for the United States in 1926 as given by J. S. Dickerson on the basis of detailed figures by states and published in a booklet entitled *A Survey of Motion Picture Theaters in the United States* and published by the Motion Picture News Service.

The effects of attendance at cinemas upon the dress, manners, and ideals of youth have for a long time been increasingly evident. The creation of the two social types, the sheik and the flapper, has been attributed to imitation of famous "stars" of the silent drama. The motion picture has undoubtedly played some part in the increasing sophistication of "the younger generation." Both within the motion-picture industry and by outside agencies censorship has been established ostensibly in the interests of the child.

A most significant development in the motion-picture world during the year was the movement to produce talking films and

<sup>6</sup> *American Year Book*, 1928, p. 830.

those synchronized with sound effects. The union of so-called "movies" and "talkies" introduced new factors which must be taken into account in any appraisal of the future of the cinema. By the end of the year, neither the public, the producers, the exhibitors, nor the critics were agreed upon the final rôle of voice and sound pictures. Mordaunt Hall pointed out that fewer than one thousand of the twenty thousand motion-picture theaters in this country were wired for the reproduction of sound pictures, and that not more than four thousand were likely to be so equipped by the end of this year.<sup>7</sup>

#### AVIATION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

If the year 1927 represented the climax of spectacular feats in aviation, the year 1928 marked the transition to an appreciation and realization of its solid practical uses in transportation, in communication, and in international relations. The national celebration at the close of last year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Wright Brothers' original aeroplane flight at Kitty Hawk vividly recalled the succession of brilliant achievements during this short time.

The statistics of civil and commercial aeronautics for the year are impressive, as reported by the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Aeronautics, William P. MacCracken:

Commercial aeronautics has entered into the business world and, without subsidy, it has become an integral part of American business and transportation. . . . In air transport service alone there has been an unprecedented increase. By comparison with a scheduled route mileage of 8,396, which was the total one year ago, the transport companies now operate routes covering 11,191 miles, over which their planes fly a daily mileage of 27,817. Eighty-eight cities are now directly served by these routes, with a total trading area population of 80,000,000. On several of the routes passenger service was inaugurated during the year and preparations are now being made to include it on various others. . . .

But scheduled air transport service, which is the foundation of commercial aeronautics, is only one-tenth of all civil flight in the United States. The remainder is made up of miscellaneous operations such as student instruction, passenger or sightseeing flights, scenic tours, aerial advertising, crop dusting and spraying, messenger service, and many other uses, including private flying for both business and pleasure.

<sup>7</sup> *American Year Book*, 1928, p. 830.

In this class of flying there has been a tremendous increase. It is conservatively estimated that a total of 30,000,000 miles were flown during the year 1927, an increase of 12,000,000 miles over the preceding year. Student instruction alone has taken on unusual proportions and is taxing training facilities to the limit. It is also presenting a problem in the matter of adequate control of such facilities.<sup>8</sup>

According to a report made by the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce in America, the volume of air mail increased from 1,222,843 pounds in 1927 to 3,632,059 pounds in 1928. The 294 planes operated by air transport companies in the United States during the last year flew a total of 10,472,024 miles on regularly scheduled routes and carried 52,934 passengers. According to the figures assembled by the United States Department of Commerce, there were at the end of last year 20,788 miles of airway, of which 9,341 miles were suitable for night-flying; more than 1,600 improved airports, and as many as 3,000 towns scattered over the country which had been "air marked."

In 1928 the duly licensed air pilots numbered 4,690, of whom 34 were women. California led with 894 pilots; New York was second with 472, and New Mexico lowest with 4.<sup>9</sup> The number of accidents reported for all classes of flying in 1927 was 200, in 1928, 1,062, of which 368 were fatalities and 322 severe injuries.<sup>10</sup>

The brilliant international flights of 1928 equaled, if they could not surpass, those of 1927. The round-the-world trip (by steamboat from San Francisco to Tokio) of the French aviators Costes and Le Brix, the pioneer flight across the Atlantic of the Junkers monoplane "Bremen," the trans-Pacific flight of the "Southern Cross" with its Australian and American crew, the non-stop distance flight of the Italian flyers Ferrarin and Delprete, the trip of the Zeppelin across the Atlantic, the Arctic Ocean flight of the Wilkins expedition, and the tragic polar flight of the "Italia" were outstanding aerial events of the year. They all had one common effect, the undermining of national animosities and the increase of international friendship. The first conscious endeavor to promote international relations by aviation was apparent in the

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *United States Daily*, January 12, 1929, pp. 1, 5.

<sup>10</sup> *United States Daily*, February 27, 1929, p. 1.

successful "good will" flight of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh to Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies.

Another aspect of international relations involved with aviation was emphasized in the International Civil Aeronautics Conference held in Washington, December 12-14, 1928, and attended by delegates from forty countries. One subject discussed was that of the law of aerial navigation. "More than five hundred bilateral treaties regulating the conduct of international air navigation and prescribing the conditions upon which freedom of innocent passage has been accorded by each of the contracting parties to the national aircraft of the other have been made."<sup>11</sup>

#### RADIO, POLITICS, AND GOVERNMENTAL REGULATION

Of the 20,000,000 and more radio sets in the world in 1928, it is estimated that there were more than 8,000,000 in the United States, 2,500,000 in Great Britain, 2,350,000 in Germany, and 1,250,000 in France.<sup>12</sup> Accurate statistics on the distribution of radio sets are not available. The estimate of 8,000,000 sets for this country is regarded as conservative. Some estimates place the number as high as 15,000,000.<sup>13</sup> A canvass two years ago of more than 4,000,000 families in country and town districts of presumably representative density of population gave the percentage of families owning telephones as 56.5; automobiles, 55.7; pianos, 40.4; phonographs, 46.2, and radios, 24.1.<sup>14</sup> These proportions, if representative, would indicate that the estimate of 8,000,000 radio sets is more likely low than high.

During 1928 radio attained an established position as an indispensable instrument of communication in our political life. During the presidential campaign the two major political parties uti-

<sup>11</sup> Statement by E. E. Danly, Department of Justice, *United States Daily*, February 12, 1929.

<sup>12</sup> Lawrence D. Batson, "The Extent of the Development of Radio over the World," in *Radio*, a supplement to the March, 1929, issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, pp. 21-31.

<sup>13</sup> *Radio Retailing* estimated in May, 1928, that the number of receiving sets was 12,000,000. Another authority gives 8,000,000 sets with loud speakers, and 4,500,000 with headphones. During last year 2,550,000 receiving sets were sold in this country (the *American Year Book*, 1928, p. 460).

<sup>14</sup> *Facts and Figures*, National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, 1928, p. 6.

lized broadcasting as the chief method of placing the personalities and programs of their candidates before the public. The great increase in the popular vote was in part at least due to the interest stimulated by radio-broadcasting of the principal campaign speeches. In the future the daily paper, which superseded the mass-meeting as the chief channel of political communication, may in its turn be eclipsed by the radio.

The trend of the cultural effects of the radio is not so clearly defined. There are indications of a growing influence of its musical, educational, and religious programs. No study has yet been made to determine the extent to which the radio tends to increase or to lessen attendance at events broadcast or similar events not broadcast.

By the Radio Communication Act of 1912, Congress adopted the first general legislation for the regulation of radio transmission. Under the authority of the Radio Act of 1927, the country was divided into five zones and the Federal Radio Commission was established, with authority, among other matters in the public interest, to classify radio stations; to prescribe the nature of their services, and to determine their locations. The amendment of March, 1928, to this act required a new allocation of licenses, wave lengths, times for operation, and station power so as to give each of the five regional zones equality of broadcasting service, both of transmission and of reception. "Millions of rural listeners in the agricultural sections and in remote towns and villages are the chief beneficiaries of the new arrangement, especially in their ability to hear clearly smaller stations in their own neighborhoods and states."<sup>15</sup>

The operations already licensed on all the various waves of the spectrum are as follows: 600 broadcasting stations; 2,166 ships; 65 shore-to-ship stations; 85 transoceanic stations; 280 point-to-point continental stations; 17,000 amateur stations; 203 experimental stations, and 31 trade and technical schools.<sup>16</sup>

With the growing complexity of the regulation of radio, spe-

<sup>15</sup> O. H. Caldwell, "The Administration of Federal Radio Legislation," in *Radio*, special supplement of *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, p. 51.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

cial attention has been given during the last year to its legal aspects. The Federal Radio Commission established its own legal division on June 25, 1928. Last fall the American Bar Association, which already had an Air Law Committee, concerned with both air and ether, divided the two and created a separate Committee on Radio Law.

#### COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The continued increase in the number and the use of the facilities of modern transportation and communication raises the vital question of social control. Society and human nature are being more profoundly changed by the automobile, the motion picture, the aeroplane, and the radio than by the machine in industry. For the machine and the factory meant routine and repression, but these new devices of communication bring adventure and freedom.

The pertinent question, of course, is whether man and society are to be conditioned by these new techniques of movement and contact or are to limit their scope and direct their expression. No final answer to this question is attempted here. It is realized also that the problem of control may involve manipulation of these powerful instrumentalities for purposes of private rather than of public interest.

The disorganizing and reorganizing effects of these modern instruments of transportation and communication may be realistically stated in terms of the decline of neighborhood and traditional influences and of the rise of cosmopolitan and modern influences. The motion picture, the aeroplane, and the radio have perhaps accomplished as much for world solidarity as has the League of Nations. At any rate, they are becoming indispensable instruments for the successful functioning of a world-society. The motion picture, accused of Americanizing the world, is, without doubt, making the peoples of the earth acquainted with one another. And the radio, with its vivid, concrete, and accurate reporting of dramatic events, is serving not only as a valuable check upon its rival, the newspaper, but also as an instrumentality by which citizens may intelligently participate in a democracy. Through these newer forms of communication the individual is participating imaginatively and actually more and more fully in "the great society."

## GROUP AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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LEROY E. BOWMAN

Columbia University, and Secretary of the National Community Center Association

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### ABSTRACT

Community organization among foreign-speaking peoples in America reflects the results of immigration, showing a shift from mutual aid organizations of adults on the "town society" model to English-speaking organizations in the control of the younger generation. Education and training for participation in American life are emphasized but cultivation of unity within each language group is a chief end. The German groups of pre-war and post-war immigrants find themselves in need of organizations of adjustment to each other. Studies of racial groups have taken the form of inquiry into the complex of relations known as "The Negro Community," "The Jewish Community," etc. Relief and social service organized on a city basis is making an effort to adjust its appeals to the concentration of ownership in business that puts the control of finances outside many of the cities of operation. Public provision for group organization and recreational association developed in scope and importance. City planners formulated principles of subdivision planning involving neighborhood units. Adult education methods in group organization spread. Studies of communities were of the nature of cultural inquiries.

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Communal organization is not separate or different from institutional organization but is rather a reflection of the latter, and in the community will be found face to face organization that reflects the social changes often described in terms of wider relationships. The community, if it could be dissected, would represent a cross-section of institutions dealt with in other portions of this symposium, plus the interrelations between those institutions and the peculiarities that mark any one community in its entirety. The complex of organization and associational contacts within the community forms the matrix within which the forces of extensive institutions work their molding influence on the individual. Primary organization is intimately related to and affected by every large social development. Actually social changes take place in communities, but the effect of developments in industry and in trade, or of new knowledge that affects traditional attitudes, or of movements of population or of critical periods in national history, appears in communal organization only after a perceptible lag. In the

history of face-to-face group changes for 1928, the relation of the community developments to some of the more extensive phases of social change seems to be discernible.

#### LANGUAGE AND RACIAL GROUPS

In the group organizations of foreign-speaking people two influences of large scope seem to have shown themselves in many places, viz., the restriction on immigration and the emphasis on adult education partly due to the first phenomenon, partly to the national interest in the subject. The quota system of immigration regulation has, by reducing the numbers of foreign-speaking adults who arrive, diverted the organization interests in the representatives of the respective nationalities in this country from the older problems of adjusting newcomers in their first trying months to American ways to the problems of more thoroughgoing equipment and training for participation in the industrial, civic, and social life of the country. The new interest is switching also from adults, since adults are the bulk of newcomers, to the children of those who have been here for some time. The control of communal organization is passing into the hands of the younger members. The Foreign Language Information Service sums up the wishes of the representatives of many nationality groups as they were revealed in discussions and interviews in every part of the nation in the last two years. First, they are anxious to promote the education and interests of their own members. Second, they wish to play a larger part in American life. Third, they are eager to interpret their group and its backgrounds to Americans and to preserve for America something of the traditions, culture, and character which they have brought from the old country. Fourth, they are concerned with their own children. This is a far cry from the sort of organization aim exemplified in the "town society" that characterized the first organization efforts of many national groups made up of the older element to maintain the institutions of mutual aid, worship, and even the personnel that was banded together on "the other side." For the various foreign-speaking groups there have been forms of organization, representing the progressive steps in assimilation, and apparently this latest general form organization is taking, is representative of a new step.

Considerable progress toward English speech is manifest. The Poles have turned over many fraternal organizations to the younger groups and have made these lodges English speaking; a list of forty such lodges is printed and an annual convention for them has been advocated. It must not be assumed that there is any desire to get away from nationality ties or to "Americanize" to the extent of neglecting organization efforts to hold the members of the various groups to their respective allegiances. On the contrary, 1928 was marked by a strengthening of organized efforts to keep the foreign-speaking peoples each within its cultural pale. Polish Day was a huge affair in Chicago, partly to secure funds for various educational and charitable institutions, partly to promote a spirit of unity among those of Polish extraction. The Slovenes for the first time organized a national lecture tour to deal with immigrant problems and the differences in the old and the American cultures and to create a better understanding between immigrant youth and its parents. There was distinct recognition of the bidding of foreign language organizations for the interest of their members' sons and daughters in competition with commercial amusements, the settlements, institutions of American ways and traditions such as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., and even public institutions.

A distinct effort to retain a cultural complex exists in the Jewish Center, a well-developed program which has grown in numbers and in diversity recently. There has been an extension of educational and cultural activities and a merging into larger units. In 1922 there were 350 Y.M.H.A.'s, Y.W.H.A.'s, combined Y.W. and Y.M.H.A.'s, and community centers. In 1928 with larger equipment and membership there were 300. Within the Jewish religious organizations a new type of organization came to notice in the Synagogue Center, with aim and emphasis on religion. There was more discussion than heretofore of the Jewish community and the question of co-operation in larger measure with the larger community, but there was little evidence of any merging of the two in the minds of Jewish leaders.

Trips to the "old countries" of children of immigrants have become a feature of advocacy and organization. The order of Vasa, for example, has organized thirty new clubs all over the

country to teach the Swedish language in song and saga and to plan a trip to Sweden. Such trips have been suggested to all foreign-speaking groups.

The war was a cause of changes abroad that necessitated changed community organization in America. For one example, it created a split between the older German immigrants whose traditions were those of the former régime, and the Germans who have come since the war and whose traditions of the Fatherland are of a different sort. There results a need of assimilating German immigrants to each other, a need met in Cleveland by a large new organization devoted to mutual aid between the two factions. Entertainments in the winter and the operation of a recreation farm in summer are prominent factors in the program. There are more than 5,000 members, 56 per cent of the older German immigration; 44 per cent new.

Among Negroes as well as among Jews, the whole complex of relationships of institutions and organizations in a given area has assumed pre-eminence in the approaches of students and leaders to their race problems, and the Negro community is the subject of inquiry. The method of dealing with the problem has brought out the differentiations, rivalries, and distinctions within the Negro community as much as any unity among the colored within a given city or neighborhood. There seems to be a larger number of colored representatives from several communities, among them districts in St. Louis, Kansas City, Cleveland, New Haven, Newport, Chicago, Wilmington, Annapolis, Pittsburgh, Boston, elected to the state legislatures, county councils, and to administrative offices. A negro congressman has been sent to Washington for the first time in a quarter of a century.

#### CHAIN STORES AND COMMUNITY CHESTS

Community organization for relief of distress and the adjustment of social difficulties of many kinds is trying to catch up with changing forms of business organization. Non-resident ownership and management of business has grown with the concentration of capital and the merging of firms. Between 1923 and 1925 manufacturing firms with net incomes of over \$5,000,000 increased incomes 25 per cent on the average, those with net incomes under

that sum suffered decreases averaging 11 per cent. Chain stores in the grocery business belonging to 850 systems are said to do one-third of the business and the chain systems for 5 and 10 cent stores and other "lines" are of importance. But the federations of relief and social agencies are organized on a city basis. Appeals of a local charity federation to a branch office of a huge business concern do not focus social responsibility adequately nor secure results. As a result, a study stimulated by a conference held by the Association of Community Chests and Councils has been undertaken by the National Bureau of Economic Research to bring out the actual practices and to provide the facts on which communal service agencies may reach the institutions of largest surplus drawn from the communities. Conferences of the Association report a belief that the year witnessed a significant shifting of health organizations from private to public auspices, and a like tendency in recreation. Public recreation was said to be supplanting in a measure some of the work of the settlements.

The Community Trusts have recently become a feature to be reckoned with in the present support of social-service organization. Of the sixty-three in the United States, twenty are distributing income.

#### PUBLIC ASPECTS OF PRIMARY ORGANIZATION

Public responsibility for the provision of facilities for certain forms of recreative association was a feature of emphasis as at no previous period. A five-year study by the Recreation Department of the Russell Sage Foundation appeared under the title *Public Recreation*. It was a significant analysis of some trends that can fairly surely be said to exist. Not only are playgrounds and other forms of recreation assumed to be a public responsibility, but space per child per day is calculated as definitely due from city treasury as school facilities. The older areas of New York City left unprovided in the growth of the city are described according to playground adequacy. The report, together with the increase in municipal provision of camps, emphasizes the tendency of municipalities, counties, and states not only to provide at public expense the ground for group meeting, play, and camping, but in several successful instances to furnish personnel or administration for such

association. Professor Jay B. Nash, making a national survey of school properties devoted to community or extra-school activities of children or adults, is finding indications of increase in the use of school buildings for such purposes. Cost of gymnasium, swimming-pool, and locker rooms as percentage of the cost of the entire building is for elementary schools 13 per cent, Junior high schools 17 per cent, Senior high schools 28 per cent. He found one hundred school superintendents unanimous in the feeling that school buildings must be used more intensively. Professor Nash asserts that the newer types of buildings, the more recently adopted curricula and the methods of administration of the school look to a larger responsibility of the school for the social life of the community.

The Playground and Recreation Association has found an increase in the number of cities providing year-round recreation programs or recreation centers, in the size of public recreation budgets, and in municipally provided music.

During the year recognition was given by the city planners to the need and practicability of planning subdivisions for unified and adequate neighborhood life. Clarence Perry made detailed studies of the essentials for school, playground, community center, and neighborhood marketing purposes for a planned community of approximately 5,000 population, studies that were followed by proposals from other sources and a demonstration of the money economy of the Perry Plan by Robert Whitten. The plans involve dead-end streets within the neighborhood and the routing of through traffic past rather than through the community. The American City Planning Institute in a formal statement (July) on the control of subdivision and building development states:

There is an almost complete divorce between the subdivision of the land and an intelligent and socially constructive use of the land. . . . The standardized pattern in land subdivision makes it impracticable to secure permanence in residence neighborhoods. . . . Vast areas are being cut up into streets and lots with no provision whatever for small parks for recreation and amenity.

#### And as a

measure of control there should be prepared, officially adopted, actually developed and enforced, a comprehensive "master plan" for every community. . . . The master plan should provide opportunity in unbuilt areas and, if possible, in the built up areas to create neighborhood units of varying size and charac-

ter, which may be so far as possible self-contained as to community needs for schools, churches, shops and recreation space.

A feature in communal planning was the emphasis in journals, studies and conferences on planning of town and country relationships, and the organization of sympathetic contacts and channels through which projects of mutual concern to farmers and townsmen could be handled.

#### EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF GROUP ORGANIZATION

There has been a continued development of adult education methods in various group organizations including the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.H.A., the Y.W.H.A., the Jewish Centers, Pioneer Youth, and several foreign-speaking groups. Strength has been added to the efforts in certain of the larger cities to co-ordinate the agencies and organizations rendering some form of adult education service. Forums have apparently increased in numbers and in effectiveness. In New York City, a forum speakers' service has been established.

The efforts to adjust the work of so-called character building agencies to the findings of educational psychologists have continued. The Girl Scouts adopted as a chief aim "to keep pace with modern scientific developments in educational psychology and constantly utilize the findings of this group of educators."

#### BOOKS AND RESEARCH

Three significant books have appeared during the year, the first by Arthur Evans Wood on *Community Problems*, the second by Walter Pettit on *Case Studies in Community Organization*, giving the history and a comprehensive description of certain organized efforts to bring about community improvement, and the third *The American Community in Action* by Jesse Frederick Steiner, which consists of a score of histories of development and analyses of factions and co-operative effort in small towns in different parts of the country. The last named book treats the community as a whole from its inception, regarding community organization as the adjustment of the town to new economic or social conditions. It is the first text that deals at all adequately with the sociological concept that underlies the study of community organization, viz., that of adjustment. Work was done during the year on a fourth volume

that did not appear until 1929, describing in minute and exact detail the life of a small town, and using the cultural approach. The book is Lynd's *Middletown*.

The year saw the almost complete capture of community studies by the cultural approach. Mrs. Bessie Bloom Wessel revealed in papers the method of the investigations conducted in connection with the project called the "Study of Ethnic Factors in Community Life," in which the community area has been the regional and social unit adopted for a number of investigations. To quote her:

This approach follows inevitably from the growing realization that sociological studies are depending primarily upon techniques and methodologies borrowed from the fields of social psychology and cultural anthropology. . . . We are concerned particularly with the concept of the cultural area and with the techniques for analyzing the existing or interrelation of cultural traits within the area . . . to the end that the survey itself and the community program may have fuller meaning. . . . Empirical and analytical techniques employed by ethnologists in the study of cultural areas can be carried off bodily to the study of the modern community.

In Los Angeles, Pauline V. Young undertook a study of the Russian Molokan Community as an example of urbanization of a peasant sectarian group, studying the history and backgrounds of the people, all available records, and, through personal interviews and contacts, ascertaining the values held by the sect and the conflicts and differentiations within the community. E. Franklin Frazier studied the Negro community in Chicago by ascertaining figures which give an index to status among the colored. The effort was to study the Negro community as made up of a number of institutionalized relationships, according to any one of which the Negroes, though united as a race, are competing and contending for place in their own and the white community.

John Landesco reports on a study of crime that has been in progress for the last three or four years, a study carried on for the most part among criminals of Chicago, particularly in the Sicilian district. Through the life-history Landesco traced the progress of the formation of the gangster personality and in the gangster personality found the reflection of gang and neighborhood life. A historical study of organized crime was made to supplement the life-histories by utilizing the files of newspapers, and the community was studied through personal investigation.

## RURAL LIFE

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JOHN M. GILLETTE

Professor of Sociology, University of North Dakota

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### ABSTRACT

Mechanical and scientific innovations have thrown populations into disequilibrium and farming people have responded by taking on a high degree of mobility and fluidity. There is a vast exchange of populations between town and country, the net losses on the country side being excessively heavy. This has incremented urban and lessened rural gains. It has finally resulted in an actual decrease of the farm population of the nation. The advent of improved highways, motor vehicles, radios, and other mechanical devices has brought disintegrating effects on rural communities. Small local communities are vanishing, larger interest communities are supplanting them, neighboring and neighborly friendliness among farmers have become less. Divorce is much less prevalent in the country than in large cities. The schools of farmers are still quite backward both in academic standards and in the emoluments of teachers. Nevertheless there are records of some gains in standards. The presence of new unsettling conditions in modern society has registered on the economic status of farmers. They have lost in wealth, comparatively, and have made no gains actually. Relatively, also, their total income has been cut into very severely. Farm land is static commercially.

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If we are to believe many and frequent writers in the literary, scientific, and business press, we would conclude that most profound and remarkable transformations are taking place in our present human world. Some visualize the great mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries of the last decades and find their symptoms in the results they have wrought and are working. Others view the changes in household conveniences and modes of living and thinking and note the great gulf dividing this age from the eighties or nineties of last century. A few, quite submerged by the appearance of new products in the field of practical arts such as the alloys, think that we are entering into a construction era as far in advance of our era of steel as that era was ahead of the ages of bronze and copper. There are statements from sober writers to the effect that a revolution is now in process which is quite as much of an industrial revolution as was that which eventuated from the creation of power machinery. Were we to scale down these various estimates a

great deal, we would still be inclined to believe that tremendous things are coming to pass in our social world today. Then when we turned our attention to the realm of agriculture and the farming population, we would be bound to conclude that agricultural peoples and rural communities must, of course, be participating in these momentous events and that perhaps as marked changes are occurring there as in the world at large.

Innovations in the fields of science and the practical arts commonly register in the field of population by disturbing its balance and producing a state of mobility and fluidity. So we have the great over-the-sea migrations, those between sections of a nation and those between town and country. In the United States we have a great kaleidoscopic spectacle of shifting currents of people between rural districts and cities and villages. So far as we can discover, there was a net transfer from rural districts to cities of about 4.5 million individuals between 1900 and 1910, and of some 6.5 million during the next decade. There were no data prior to 1920 from which to glimpse the current moving in the opposite direction, so we do not know what may have occurred of that nature before that date. But our national government has been sampling population movements since 1920 and giving us the results. Now we behold a cityward movement of over 12,000,000 persons during the six years 1922, and 1924-28 inclusive, and a farmward movement of 7,200,000 for the same years, a net gain for cities and villages of about 4.8 million, or 800,000 a year. Were this movement to continue at the same rate during a decade, the net gain to city and village population would approximate eight million people. It would seem that rural migration, the total movement from farms, has been greatly stimulated since the World War, no doubt owing, in part, to conditions brought on as a sequence of that great international disturbance.

That this trend toward urban districts is of long standing is now known. In his *Constructive Rural Sociology*, the present writer gave evidence that rural migration had been going on in certain parts of New England since 1820. Professor Bruce L. Melvin, in his study of rural, farm, and urban populations in New York, shows that it has taken place in that state since 1855. He finds that

the "rural" population decreased from 2,081,000 in 1855 to 1,795,000 in 1920, shrinking from 60 per cent to 17.3 per cent of the total population. The open country or farm population, likewise, underwent a contraction, declining from 1,153,000 in 1855 to 797,000 in 1920, or from 33.3 per cent to 7.7 per cent of the state's population.

The change is also evident in new agricultural states. Let us note North Dakota, as a sample. Its farm population decreased from 394,500 in 1920 to 372,886 in 1925, or from 61 per cent to 58 per cent of the whole population.

It is interesting to study the urban migration, the movement from cities to farms, the 7.2 millions for the six years noted above. We find that these millions are mostly farming people who have previously gone to cities, become disillusioned, and returned to farms. The reasons they give for leaving the cities are various. They believe that the country is healthier, that the cost of living can be reduced thereby, that the farm is a better place in which to rear children, and that there is greater promise for an independent life out in the open spaces.

It would be possible to make a long list of consequences which follow from these population changes, but it will be our privilege to limit the discussion to a few. Two very obvious ones scarcely need mention, namely, the great increment to city increase and the equally great decrease in farm and rural population gains. During the decade 1910-20, over 40 per cent of the city increase was contributed by rural districts. Had the country not donated the 6.5 millions to urban districts, rural districts would have shown a greater rate of increase of population than the cities, whereas the rate of increase was only about a fifth of that of the latter. For the first time in the history of our nation, the nation has suffered an absolute loss in the number of its farming people. The relative decline has been going on since the beginning of the nation. In 1790 about 95 per cent of the population was agricultural, in 1920, about 30 per cent was on farms. But up to that time, there were always more farmers at the end of the decade than at the beginning. Since then, however, the farming population has fallen off several millions, a reduction from 31,400,000, in 1920, to about 27,511,000 in 1928.

Thirty-nine of our states decreased their farm population from 1.9 per cent to 22.4 per cent each during the five years 1920-25.

It must occur to everyone to inquire as to the effects of this great interchange between country and city on the rural or farm population. The writer discussed these in detail in his presidential address before the American Sociological Society last December, which readers may see in the publications of that Society, soon to appear. Here the main points of the discussion can receive only a bare enumeration. Because the statistics of crime, delinquency, insanity, dependency, and morbidity show that urban rates of these pathological phenomena are much higher than those of rural districts, it is rather evident that the backward, delinquent, and sub-normal classes generally are collecting in cities and that in the backward flow of people to the country there is little indication that these classes return to the rural districts. On the other hand, measured by education and achievement of the urban-industrial-commercial brand, urban districts have a much larger percentage of developed leadership than the country, indicating that such leadership courts cities and does not flow back to the country. Thus it would seem that the country population is benefitted by losing many of the pathological individuals and suffers by the loss of developed leaders; that is, it is losing at both ends of its curve of the distribution of ability, the portions where relatively few persons occur, and gaining in the great central part where the preponderating majority are found, the average but normal human beings. What the effect of this may be upon the potential supply of leadership, of inborn capacity out of which leaders might be developed, given the opportunities, cannot receive discussion now, however inviting.

Probably in no aspect of rural life are more pronounced changes taking place than in neighborhood and community affairs. Both specialized investigations and wide observation support the statement that the old local communities are undergoing disintegration and are disappearing in many portions of the nation. Professor J. H. Kolb has found this to be true in Dane County, Wisconsin, and my colleague, Mr. John Johansen, discovers the same trend in the numerous townships he has surveyed in Grand Forks County, North

Dakota. In an address at the University of North Dakota recently, Governor George F. Shafer stressed the revolution going on in our state in that direction. In fact, in this state and neighboring states one may observe the doors and windows of stores and shops boarded up as an indication that the small trade villages have gone out of business. Neighborliness and friendliness, nearby visiting and intimacies of farmers have declined. One of our students from the farm told me that at his home they recently found out that a neighboring farmer had been ill for months without their knowledge, a thing unthinkable in the older days. Farming people are more and more establishing more distant associations for educational, religious, cultural, and recreational purposes. Professor Walter Burr tells of a Kansas farmer who goes fifty miles rather frequently to attend the meetings at a new community hall ("Quality Reaches the Farm," *Nation's Business*, July, 1928). In the district from which this is written, it is the usual thing to find farmers and villagers from fifty to a hundred miles away attending some event in Grand Forks in the evening.

Of course the chief causes of the disorganization of the old plan of local community are the mobilization of country populations, the coming of improved highways, automobiles, auto busses, and radios. Surfaced highways increased from about 61,000 miles in 1918 to 521,000 in 1927. In 1920, nearly 31 per cent of farms had automobiles, but the proportion in 1925 owning motor vehicles was almost 71 per cent, 63 per cent having automobiles. Kansas boasts of 1.5 cars per farm, some farmers having two or three cars. Auto busses are penetrating in every direction. They pick up and let off passengers anywhere along the route. Country people make wide use of them for trading, visiting, school attendance, and other purposes. There were 1,251,000 radios on farms April 1, 1927, an increase of 128 per cent since 1925. It would not be surprising if there were twice that number now. In order to be enjoyed, radios do not require association of people. Owners are inclined to remain at home in the evening and pick their lectures and entertainment out of the air. It was found that 662, out of the 2,384 farmers questioned, listened daily to the lectures given on farming by radio from the State Agricultural College at Manhattan, Kansas.

The tendencies manifesting themselves now in agricultural regions are the formation of larger associations on the basis of interests rather than locality, the dependence on urban and village facilities for cultural and recreational satisfactions, the construction of more good highways and the ownership of more automobiles, and in a few cases resorting to the use of airplanes. Roger Babson's prophecy probably is true that we are bound to come to the use of a helicopter-auto-pontoon airplane for city uses and that farmers will participate in this and become still more independent of locality. There is also a manifest tendency toward better farm homes, better conveniences, and toward electrification of homes and barns. This is noted to be the case in Washington, North Dakota, Kansas, and other states. Kansas contains 900 electrified farms.

It is a well-known fact that marital conditions in the United States have become increasingly unstable for many years. Thus the ratio of marriage to divorce changed from 17.3 marriages to one divorce in 1887, to 6.75 in 1926. It is also noteworthy that urban rates are higher than rural rates, "rural" here meaning village as well as farming populations. As to whether divorce is increasing among farmers we do not have statistical proof, but it is possible to study comparative urban and agricultural rates. While we cannot secure statistics of marriage and divorce for farming people exclusively, we are able to approach them closely by using data from the more agricultural counties, those having a minority population of villagers.

Table I exhibits the results, for the nation and the nine divisions, of our own study we have just completed. The data are too extensive to be given for all the states.

It is observed that the big city ratio is 80 per cent above that of farming districts for the nation as a whole. The greatest difference is found in the South Atlantic division, where divorces are three and a half times as frequent in city as in country. The New England and Middle Atlantic divisions are the only ones where the agricultural rate is higher than the urban. But it is most obvious that farming people are far more stable in family matters than are city dwellers.

In the field of education, there is a great need of improvement

in country schools, and it is possible to record some advances. Consolidation, with its many advantages in plant, grounds, equipment, increased attendance, grading, offering high-school work, and so on, is gradually taking place. Nevertheless, the preponderating majority of the schools of farmers are one-room, one-teacher institutions. The qualifications of the elementary teachers of the nation have varied inversely with the size of the school, the rural schools being located at the lowest point. Even in New York and Pennsylvania,

TABLE I  
MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE IN URBAN AND NON-URBAN DISTRICTS OF THE  
UNITED STATES AND RATIO OF MARRIAGE TO DIVORCE FOR  
THE FOUR-YEAR PERIOD 1922-25\*

DIVISIONS	NON-URBAN COUNTIES			LARGEST CITIES		
	Marriages	Divorces	Ratio	Marriages	Divorces	Ratio
New England.....	63,204	7,713	8.2	164,182	19,833	8.3
Middle Atlantic.....	21,154	1,488	14.2	409,613	26,296	15.5
East-North Central.....	12,675	1,705	7.4	399,786	87,473	4.1
West-North Central.....	11,974	1,196	9.9	183,760	51,799	3.5
South Atlantic.....	31,058	1,205	25.8	179,582	24,009	7.5
East-South Central.....	16,053	1,342	11.6	126,340	23,850	5.3
West-South Central.....	14,121	1,538	9.2	137,687	41,714	3.3
Mountain.....	15,147	2,597	5.8	70,685	20,024	3.8
Pacific.....	3,815	659	5.0	163,984	43,780	3.7
Total.....	189,201	19,443	9.7	1,835,613	338,777	5.4

\*Compiled and estimated from United States Census publication, *Marriage and Divorce*, for the years indicated. The estimates for the states were made by O. N. Olson, student in the University of North Dakota.

investigations of a few years ago showed that 10 to 25 per cent of rural elementary teachers had no secondary training and only a small percentage had professional schooling. But during the past few decades there has been a constant tendency to raise the educational prerequisites of such teachers. Most states now demand the completion of high school and two years of college work, a part of which shall be in professional courses. We would expect this requirement to become universal in the near future.

One of the new developments in rural education is the establishment of the liberal arts college. Professor E. S. Bogardus writes me: "We have a number of county junior colleges which are not agricultural colleges, but classified as Liberal Arts institutions. In

one or two instances, two or three counties are going together and establishing a junior college. The rural college thus is following in the footsteps of the rural high school." Probably a far more important trend is the multiplication of agricultural high schools under provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act.

The wages of rural teachers are low. Thus 91 per cent of teachers in one-teacher schools receive less than \$1,000 a year, 22.7 per cent less than \$600; 79.5 per cent of those in two-teacher schools receive under \$1,000 and 35.3 per cent under \$600; 30 per cent of those in three-teacher schools and 9.2 per cent of those in consolidated schools receive under \$600 a year. There has been a recession in many districts from the higher teacher wages which developed during and immediately following war times.

Economically farmers continue to occupy a disadvantageous and dubious position. Their total wealth has been stationary since 1913, on the average, while it registered a 27 per cent loss between 1920 and 1925. To be set over against this is the fact that the national wealth just about doubled between 1913 and 1928, the gains evidently accruing to urban populations. It is made plain by H. C. Taylor and Jacob Perlman that farmers' portion of the national income has approximately been cut in two. In the pre-war period, 1910-14, when farmers formed about one-third of the population, their total net income was over 20 per cent of the "current income" of the nation, but by 1925, when they were about one-fourth of the population, their net income had shrunk to 10.2 per cent of the national income. Had they continued to share the same proportion of the nation's income, their net income would have been over 15 per cent of the total in 1925. ("The Share of Agriculture in the National Income," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, October, 1927.)

For a long time, farms and farm land in many of our most productive states have ceased to have a commercial selling value. There is almost no movement in farm land. The records of the United States Department of Agriculture inform us that, for the year 1927, only 2.8 per cent of the farms of the nation exchanged owners by means of voluntary sales. The Pacific division was highest in this, with 3.6 per cent, and the West North Central was lowest, with 2.3 per cent of farms so exchanged. Forced transfer of the

land comprised 2.3 per cent of all farms, the Mountain division standing highest with 4.5 per cent, West North Central next with 3.2 per cent and the Middle Atlantic lowest with 1.2 per cent of farms conveyed in this manner. The price of land at forced sales is tragically low. In southern Wisconsin, during 1928, good farms were closed out at cost of improvements. A friend tells me that he could not sell at \$100 an acre his land in Indiana which a few years ago would have brought three times that amount. In the northwest Central States land is static or staggering. Most land owners regard their farms as liabilities rather than as assets.

The critical position of many farmers and farm laborers exhibits itself in another way. In the country they are faced with the results of improved farming, which increases products, and with international competition in agriculture, which keeps down the prices of farm products. These conditions release and reduce the number of farmers and agricultural laborers and tend to drive them to the cities. In the cities they confront unemployment caused by the introduction of improved machinery. Hence there is a lessening demand in cities for the labor of migrants from farms.

There is some drift toward an industrialized system of farming. Larger aggregations of capital are being used in production and distribution. A third or more of Canadian wheat is marketed by the agrarian wheat pool. Professor E. S. Bogardus informs me that the California Fruit Growers' Exchange did nearly a hundred million dollar business for its 206 local units during the year ending October, 1928. The heavy investment of capital in power machinery proceeds apace. As a sample, witness the increased use of tractors from 131,000 in 1920 to over 500,000 in 1925. Kansas has over 30,000 in use and Professor F. R. Yoder writes me from Washington that they are being adopted rapidly in that state. Also note the speed with which farmers resort to harvesting their grains by means of the "combine." Kansas employed 14 of these machines in 1918, 2,796 in 1922, and nearly 12,000 in 1928. That state had invested over fifty million dollars in tractors and combines up to that date. North Dakota used 3 combines in 1925, 30 in 1926, and some 400 in 1928. The use of tractors and combines usually means big farming of the so-called capitalistic sort.

Extensive adjustments to meet changed conditions are being

made all over the United States. In the northwest central area, the trend is away from single crop and small grain systems toward diversification, including stock-raising and dairying. Professor C. C. Taylor of North Carolina writes me that readjustments in his section are away from exclusive cotton culture toward swine and dairy production. Agricultural leaders in North Carolina hope to supplant the cropping system by a well-balanced agriculture.

A letter from Professor Dwight Sanderson contains the announcement of "the appointment by the governor-elect (of New York), Franklin D. Roosevelt, of an Advisory Committee on Agriculture composed of representatives of all the leading farmers' organizations of the state, the agricultural press, and of this institution (Cornell University)." After several meetings where agricultural policies were discussed, measures have been prepared and placed before the Legislature "dealing with roads, rural schools, taxation, etc."

## THE FAMILY

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ERNEST R. GROVES

Research Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina

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### ABSTRACT

The history of the American family for 1928 records nothing spectacular. The statistics reveal that divorce is still increasing and from some cities come reports of a decline in marriage and in births. There has been an increase in scientific investigation of the family and evidences of a growing appreciation among thoughtful people of the difficulties that marriage and the family are meeting in this period of transition. Europe like the United States is feeling the influences of modern life that play upon family experience.

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The reporting of the changes that occur in the family has not been very fully developed. The author, however, has endeavored to collect from different sources and with various aids<sup>1</sup> a number of facts regarding the family for the past year in different states, for the nation as a whole, and for certain European countries. These changes are recorded in a number of different groupings in the pages that follow.

### STATISTICS

On account of the time that is required to tabulate statistics having to do with the family, the more important tabulations have to be one year behind. Therefore our record for the country as a whole is for the year 1927. An effort has been made to gather the marriage and birth records of 1928 from representative cities. Although the press has reported these statistics, especially in several cities where there is said to have been a noticeable decrease in marriages and births during the year, it has not as yet been possible to obtain official statements and the newspaper reports are of course not acceptable authority.

The Department of Commerce announces that, according to the

<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to thank the correspondents who have reported material from their various sections; especially does he wish to recognize the contributions of Miss Ruth Lindquist, of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina; and of Miss Flora Thurston, of the National Council for Parental Education.

returns received, there were 1,200,694 marriages performed in the United States during the year 1927, as compared with 1,202,574 in 1926. These figures represent a decrease of 1,880 marriages, or about one-fifth of one per cent.

During the year 1927 there were 192,037 divorces granted in the United States, as compared with 180,853 in 1926, representing an increase of 11,184, or 6.2 per cent. There were 4,252 marriages annulled in 1927, as compared with 3,825 in 1926.

The estimated population of continental United States on July 1, 1927, was 118,628,000, and on July 1, 1926, 117,136,000. On the basis of these estimates the number of marriages per 1,000 of the population was 10.12 in 1927, as against 10.27 in 1926, and the

TABLE I

	1927	1926	PER CENT OF INCREASE	NUMBER PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION	
				1927	1926
Marriage.....	1,200,694	1,202,574	-0.2	10.12	10.27
Divorce.....	192,037	180,853	6.2	1.62	1.54

number of divorces per 1,000 of the population was 1.62 in 1927, as against 1.54 in 1926.

The Department of Commerce announces that birth-rates<sup>2</sup> for 1927 were lower than for 1926 in 23 of the 33 states for which figures for the two years were complete. The highest 1927 birth-rate (28.8 per 1,000 population) is shown for North Carolina and the lowest (13.6) is for Montana.

Death-rates for 1927 were lower than for 1926 in 28 of the 33 states shown for both years. The highest 1927 death-rate (13.9 per 1,000 population) is shown for Vermont and the lowest (7.1) for Idaho.

Infant mortality rates for 1927 were lower than for 1926 in 30 of the 33 states shown for both years. For states the highest 1927 infant mortality rate (125.8) appears for Arizona and the lowest (47.5) for Oregon.

<sup>2</sup> For the registration area exclusive of Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Utah, from which complete transcripts for 1927 have not been received.

According to press reports various cities, including New York and Philadelphia, recorded a decline in marriages and in births for 1928. Tables III-V give the only official statements obtainable at this time.

TABLE II

	TOTAL NUMBER RECORDED IN 1927			RATE PER 1,000 ESTIMATED POPULATION				INFANT MOR- TALITY (DEATHS PER 1,000 BIRTHS)	
	Births	Deaths		Births		Deaths			
		All Ages	Under 1 Year	1927	1926	1927	1926		
								1927	1926
Birth registra- tion area.....	1,763,035	981,725	113,391	20.4	20.6	11.4	12.1	64.3	73.3

TABLE III  
BALTIMORE

YEAR	NUMBER PER 1,000 POPULATION		
	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1924.....	10.19	22.50	14.41
1925.....	9.75	21.28	14.63
1926.....	9.56	20.41	15.12
1927.....	8.94	19.90	14.14

TABLE IV  
CHICAGO

Year	Population	Marriages	Births	Deaths
1924.....	2,939,605	42,299	58,900	32,918
1925.....	2,995,239	41,080	59,639	34,318
1926.....	3,048,000	42,323	60,200	35,623
1927.....	3,102,800	40,688	60,888	35,758
1928.....	3,157,400	40,570	59,016	39,562

In 1927 the total number of marriages was 7,323 while in 1928 the total number was 6,680, an absolute decline of about 9 per cent.

## BOSTON

The Boston Health Department reports that its birth-rate dropped from 25 per 1,000 in 1927, to 23 per 1,000 in 1928, while infant mortality remained the same—76 per 1,000.

Figures for marriage and divorce are not yet available.

The estimated increases in population from year to year are all made by the United States Bureau of the Census. Of this increase considerably more than half is evidently due to influx into the city from outside, as the average excess of births over deaths is only 24,993 while the average increase in population is 54,449.

TABLE V  
MILWAUKEE

Year	Population	Marriages	Births
1924.....	490,000	4,464	11,793
1925.....	520,000	4,506	11,706
1926.....	530,000	4,615	12,027
1927.....	550,000	4,588	12,373
1928.....	560,000	4,568	12,495

#### STUDIES

Among those reports and investigations of special interest published in 1928 are reports concerning the *Investigation of Eugenic Sterilization in California*, by Paul Popenoe; *Domestic Discord*, by Ernest R. Mowrer and Harriet R. Mowrer; *Family Life Today*, edited by Margaret E. Rich, papers presented at a conference in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of family social work in America held at Buffalo, October 2-5, 1927; *Report of the Home Problems Conference*, held at the Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit, Michigan; *American Marriage and Family Relationships*, by Ernest R. Groves and William F. Ogburn. A study of the Protestant church view of sex, love, and marriage was carried on by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, which was reported early in 1929.

Some of the important research projects on the family in progress during 1928-29 are the following:

"The Cost of Babies," by MARY LOUISE MARK, Department of Sociology, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

"The Development of New Attitudes toward Marriage and Divorce as Revealed in Soviet Russia, and in the Rise and Revolt of Modern Youth in Germany, England, and the United States," by V. F. CALVERTON, Editor of the *Modern Quarterly*, 2110 E. Pratt St., Baltimore, Md.

- "The Factors which Make for Success in Family Life: A Study of the Family Background of Two Hundred and Fifty Successful Men and Women," by MRS. CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE, Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.
- "Methods of Getting a Contraceptive Technique to Rural Communities in England," by NORMAN E. HIMES, 23 Holden Green, Cambridge, Mass.
- "The Pecuniary Valuation of Housewives' Services," by HILDEGARDE KNEELAND, Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.
- "Personality Problems in the Coeducational College," by WILLIAM KIRK, 705 Indian Hill Blvd., Claremont, Calif.
- "The Revolutionary Effect of the Work of a Massachusetts Doctor upon the Decline of the British Birth Rate," by NORMAN E. HIMES, 23 Holden Green, Cambridge, Mass.
- "A Study of the Problems and Practices in Home Management and Child Development as seen by a Selected Group of Homemakers," by RUTH M. LINDQUIST, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
- "A Study of Successful Families." "Successful" family is defined as one in which the husband and wife have worked out a satisfactory all round adjustment to each other, to the children, and to the community. By MRS. CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE, Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.
- "Successful Marriage," by ERNEST R. GROVES, Chapel Hill, N.C.
- "Use of Time by Homemakers," by HILDEGARDE KNEELAND, Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

MOVEMENTS FOR FAMILY CONSERVATION AND EVENTS OF INTEREST  
FOR STUDENTS OF THE FAMILY

Although returns are slow in coming in from correspondents at distant points, the widespread interest in family and marriage problems makes it difficult to select the activities and events occurring in 1928, concerning the family, of greatest interest to students.

A Parents' Exhibition, the first at least in the United States, was held in New York in the spring of 1928. This was largely attended and demonstrated the rapidly developing resources available for those concerned with home, child, and parenthood responsibilities.

In April in New York City, there was a conference of those interested in the organization of a family consultation service. Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer was made chairman of a committee which is

continuing to study the possibility of organizing some sort of family clinic.

In October at Washington was held a conference under the auspices of the National Committee on Employer-Employee Relations in the Home. A permanent committee was established to promote research.

An important event during the year was the inauguration of the work of the Institute of Women's Professional Relations, with Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse managing director, with headquarters at Greensboro, North Carolina.

A most interesting and perhaps unique experiment in family reconstruction was made by the Mount Pleasant Congregational Church at Washington, in its Life Adjustment Institute, which offered free to the citizens of Washington an opportunity to receive expert counsel in personal and family problems from medical, psychiatric, social, and educational experts.

The fortieth anniversary of the Child Study Association was celebrated in New York in a program that attracted national attention and illustrated the development in child care that has taken place during the activities of that organization.

The Social Science Research Council appointed a committee on the study of family and sex with Mr. Clark Wissler, chairman. This committee held in December at Detroit a conference devoted to research in the family and sex.

Important contributions were made during 1928 by Better Homes in America, James Ford, Executive Director, with headquarters at Washington; The Smith College Institute for Co-ordination of Women's Interests, Ethel Puffer Howes, Director, Northampton, Massachusetts; the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Mrs. A. H. Reeve, President, Washington, D.C.; the National Council of Parental Education, Flora M. Thurston, Executive Secretary, New York City.

#### PARENTHOOD CONFERENCES DURING 1928

Special Evening Conference Series held by the Child Study Association of America at its headquarters in New York City:

January 9, Subject, "Discipline," leader, DR. L. G. LOWREY

January 16, Subject, "The Use of Money," leader, DR. E. A. KIRKPATRICK

- January 23, Subject, "Self-Reliance and Responsibility," leader, DR. LEONARD BLUMGART  
 January 31, Subject, "Sex Education," leaders, DR. F. E. WILLIAMS and DR. B. C. GRUENBERG  
 February 6, Subject, "The Parent-Child Relationship," leader, DR. BERNARD GLUECK.

Other Conferences held by the Child Study Association of America are:

- January 10, Subject, "Character—What Factors Determine It?" leader, DR. HUGH HARTSHORNE  
 January 24, Subject, "Teaching Music to Little Children," leader, MRS. SATIS N. COLEMAN  
 February 7, Subject, "The Gestalt Theory of Psychology," leader, DR. KURT KOFFKA  
 February 14, Subject, "Thumbsucking and Its Allied Habits: Their Relation to the Problem of Nervousness in Children," leader, DR. DAVID M. LEVY, Chief of Staff at the Institute of Child Guidance, New York City  
 February 21, Subject, "Mental Hygiene of College Students," leader, DR. KARL A. MENNINGER, Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas.  
 Progressive Education Conference, New York City, March 5-10, 1928  
 Parents' Exposition, April 16-28, 1928  
 Nursery School Conference at Vassar College, February 6 and 7, 1928  
 Teachers College Conference on "Parental Education and the Public Schools," July 24, 25, and 26, 1928  
 Special Conference, Child Study Association, New York City, March 20, 1928: Subject, "Nature as a Part of the Child's Education," leader, DR. BERTHA C. CADY  
 Conference, Child Study Association, New York City, March 27, 1928: Subject, "Religious Training for Children," leader, MRS. R. J. LEONARD  
 Conference, Child Study Association, New York City, Subject, "Youth Movement in Europe," leader, DR. ELIZABETH ROTTEN  
 Fortieth Anniversary Conference and Dinner, Child Study Association of America, November 20, 1928, at Hotel Pennsylvania, New York  
 National Council of Parent Education, Atlantic City, New Jersey, November 14-17, 1928, leader, MR. E. C. LINDEMAN

#### LEGISLATION

Only a few of the state legislatures met during 1928. In New York two bills were passed making the annulment of marriage possible on the grounds of incurable insanity and lunacy. The minimum marriage age was raised for boys from fourteen to sixteen and for girls from twelve to fourteen in the Philippines, by a new law that went into effect early in 1928.

The most important ecclesiastical legislation was that of the Methodist Episcopal Church North, allowing the remarriage by the church of persons who obtained divorces on grounds that in the opinion of the minister are the full moral equivalent of adultery.

Legislation was proposed which expressed what appears to be an increasing desire for further restriction of those who may marry and those who may solemnize marriages. This will appear in bills introduced in the state legislatures during 1929.

#### EUROPEAN CONDITIONS

*Germany.*—The transition through which the family is passing in Europe is perhaps most impressive in Germany. Lindsey's *Companionate Marriage* has had a large popular reading and is calmly spoken of as the American marriage solution. A book by Charlotte Buchow Homeyer entitled *Temporary Marriages* has also excited interest. She suggests that temporary wives be paid a salary in addition to their keep, this money to accumulate and become the wife's absolute property in case the union is dissolved.

*Italy.*—Benito Mussolini has during the year stated that the Italian policy is utterly opposed to divorce, any form of experimental marriage, and birth-control. In Italy, the only country which has compulsory maternity insurance, the number of insured women has increased from 640,000 in 1922 to 900,000 in 1927. In 1927 the number of women receiving benefits was more than 40,000.

*France.*—Provisional figures for the infant mortality rate in France for 1927 show the lowest rate ever recorded in that country—83 per 1,000 live births. The rate for 1926 was 97. The provisional birth-rate in France for 1927 is 18.1 per 1,000 population, as compared with 18.8 in 1926.

*England.*—Divorce has continued to increase. Over three thousand divorces were granted in 1927, the greatest number recorded except in 1921 when many war unions were dissolved. In the mining regions there has been much suffering of families, leading both to temporary aid and to the effort of the government to transfer workers to other places and train them for new occupations.

*Turkey.*—Turkey requires health certificates for marriage, and

the law, which is enforced by the governors of the provinces, is exacting in its details.

## COMMENT

The welfare agencies report that unemployment has been a major family problem during the last year.

In Massachusetts there has been some agitation for the adoption of a popular policy with reference to birth-control, but little progress has been made in any open recognition of birth-control or in any trend toward more favorable legislation.

The newspapers revealed during 1928 an increasing interest in marriage and family matters by their willingness to print such material, and on the whole there appears to be a more constructive attitude on the part of the press toward marriage and family affairs.

Although general interest in the Lindseyan marriage scheme has abated, it is the belief of correspondents that there has been in some of our cities an increase in sex alliances of more or less permanent character as a substitute for matrimony, and this opinion is shared by the author.

There has been no decrease in the interest of mothers in the science of child care, and there is some indication that more fathers are becoming concerned with problems of parenthood.

Outside of a few colleges and fewer churches, there is little interest shown in marriage and parenthood preparation by the unmarried.

It is with regret that we record the death of Mary E. Richmond, whose long-continued interest in family matters, especially along the line of legislation, gave her in her generation the same commanding leadership that Dr. Samuel Dyke had in the preceding period.

## CRIME

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C. E. GEHLKE

Professor of Sociology, Western Reserve University

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### ABSTRACT

*Developments in the field of statistics of crime and criminals.*—Figures issued by the U.S. Bureau of the Census show an increase of 7 per cent in the number of admissions to prisons in 26 states in 1927 over 1926, and an increase of 8 per cent in the population of prisons January 1, 1928, over January 1, 1927. Further statistical studies of the operation of criminal courts in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee reveal tendencies already noted in earlier surveys. The basic studies for a system of police statistics are making headway. New York State improved its system of collecting statistics of crimes and criminal justice. *Crime Commissions.*—In New York and Pennsylvania the commissions appointed by the legislatures were active in study of the conditions accompanying crime. The Illinois Association for Criminal Justice has practically completed its survey. *Probation.*—Slow but noticeable progress is being made in the fields of federal and state probation systems.

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Much of the material relating to crime in 1928 is at the date of writing (late in February) still unavailable in printed form. Reports and publications for a given year do not usually appear within two months of the close of that year.

### I. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELD OF STATISTICS OF CRIME AND CRIMINALS

*The United States Census of Prisoners.*—On February 27, 1929, the Census Bureau had issued summaries for twenty-six states in the form of newspaper releases. The complete report was not yet published. The tables here presented (Table I and Table II) indicate the tendencies probably as well as the completed data will, since a large part of the population of the United States is here included.

The significant parts of Table I are obviously columns *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g*. The change from 1926 to 1927 seems by no means to be in one direction. Of the twenty-six states, twelve show a decrease in the number per 100,000 from 1926 to 1927; fourteen an increase. The maximum increase is in New Hampshire (with only fifty ad-

missions during the year) where the ratio of 1927 to 1926 is 151.5 to 100.0; the minimum South Dakota, with 78.6 to 100.0. Of the five largest states (in 1920), Illinois (104.2), Ohio (112.5), Pennsylvania (112.6) show increases in the per 100,000 rate; Massa-

TABLE I  
PRISONERS RECEIVED FROM THE COURTS DURING THE YEAR

State	Number Received			Per 100,000 of General Population			Percentage Column d is of Column e
	a	b	c	d	e	f	
	1927	1926	1923	1927	1926	1923	
California.....	2,050	1,849	1,570	46.2	42.8	40.4	107.9
Illinois.....	1,821	1,728	1,387	25.0	24.0	20.2	104.2
Iowa.....	760	665	753	31.3	27.4	31.2	114.2
Louisiana.....	755	765	559	39.0	39.9	30.0	97.7
Maine.....	182	210	202	23.0	26.6	25.9	86.5
Maryland.....	2,239	1,882	1,390	140.2	119.1	91.6	117.6
Massachusetts...	752	826	693	17.7	19.7	17.1	89.8
Michigan.....	3,510	3,040	1,996	78.2	69.2	49.4	113.0
Minnesota.....	827	822	659	30.8	31.0	26.1	99.3
Missouri.....	1,758	1,609	912	50.1	46.0	26.4	108.9
Montana.....	273	277	243	38.2	39.9	38.9	95.7
Nevada.....	112	123	75	144.7	158.9	96.9	91.1
New Hampshire..	50	33	35	11.0	7.3	7.8	151.5
New Mexico.....	230	193	164	58.7	49.7	43.7	118.1
New York.....	2,917	3,290	2,666	25.5	29.1	24.5	87.6
Ohio.....	3,640	3,180	2,264	54.2	48.2	36.6	112.5
Oklahoma.....	2,078	1,680	1,711	87.2	71.7	78.1	121.6
Oregon.....	368	332	262	41.3	37.9	31.5	108.9
Pennsylvania....	1,739	1,531	1,256	17.9	15.9	13.7	112.6
Rhode Island....	196	197	294	27.8	28.4	45.0	106.2
South Dakota....	236	297	185	33.9	43.1	27.8	78.6
Utah.....	145	155	186	27.8	30.2	38.5	92.1
Virginia.....	904	844	608	35.5	33.5	25.1	106.0
Washington.....	789	827	750	50.5	53.8	51.7	93.8
West Virginia....	853	854	772	50.3	51.2	49.2	98.2
Wisconsin.....	783	817	532	26.8	28.3	19.3	94.5

chusetts (89.8) and New York (87.6) show declines. Throughout any consideration of figures of this kind, it should be kept clearly in mind that the number admitted to prisons is not an indicator of the amount of crime, nor of the number of convictions. For example, of the five largest states New York and Massachusetts are generally regarded as using probation most effectively of all the states in the Union: they show a decline in the proportion received from the courts.

It is impossible, therefore, from these figures to show any clear tendency one way or the other. The total received by these states in the year 1927 was 29,967; in 1926, 28,026; in 1923, 22,124. The ratio of 1927 to 1926 is 106.9 to 100.0. But this does not take into

TABLE II  
PRISONERS PRESENT JANUARY 1

State	Number Received				Per 100,000 of General Population				Percent- age Column e is of Column/ f
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	
	1928	1927	1926	1923	1928	1927	1926	1923	
California.....	6,328	5,898	5,285	3,837	140.6	134.8	124.4	100.5	104.3
Illinois.....	6,379	6,038	5,293	4,416	86.8	83.3	74.0	64.9	104.2
Iowa.....	2,157	2,044	2,018	1,794	88.9	84.3	83.4	74.3	105.5
Louisiana.....	1,743	1,686	1,575	1,593	89.7	87.5	82.5	86.1	102.5
Maine.....	384	412	432	379	48.4	52.1	54.8	48.7	92.8
Maryland.....	2,095	1,921	1,886	1,483	130.3	120.9	120.1	98.4	107.8
Massachusetts....	1,886	1,923	1,769	1,448	43.7	45.6	42.4	36.0	95.8
Michigan.....	6,338	5,168	4,687	3,641	139.4	116.3	108.0	91.3	119.9
Minnesota.....	2,167	2,240	1,906	1,634	80.1	83.9	72.4	65.3	95.5
Missouri.....	3,624	3,442	3,059	2,205	103.0	98.2	87.6	64.0	104.9
Montana.....	471	437	420	331	85.8	62.0	61.4	54.0	138.4
Nevada.....	190	232	203	174	245.5	299.7	262.5	224.8	81.9
New Hampshire....	126	133	150	138	27.7	29.3	33.1	30.8	94.5
New Mexico.....	381	358	353	239	96.7	91.8	91.5	64.1	105.3
New York.....	7,531	7,298	6,820	6,316	65.5	64.2	60.7	58.4	102.0
Ohio.....	7,531	6,209	5,398	4,234	111.2	93.3	82.6	69.1	119.2
Oklahoma.....	3,278	2,677	2,513	1,799	136.2	113.3	108.4	83.1	120.2
Oregon.....	629	572	478	406	70.2	64.7	54.9	49.2	108.5
Pennsylvania.....	4,505	4,170	3,960	4,298	46.0	43.1	41.5	47.2	103.5
Rhode Island.....	364	388	315	466	51.2	55.5	45.9	72.0	92.2
South Dakota....	420	469	445	326	59.9	67.7	65.0	49.2	88.4
Utah.....	208	210	206	200	39.5	40.5	40.5	41.8	97.5
Virginia.....	2,135	1,979	1,920	1,960	83.3	78.2	76.7	81.6	106.5
Washington.....	1,484	1,552	1,504	1,010	94.2	100.1	98.7	70.3	94.1
West Virginia.....	1,561	1,799	1,768	1,628	91.2	106.9	106.9	104.8	85.3
Wisconsin.....	1,601	1,494	1,356	1,158	54.5	51.5	47.3	32.2	105.8

consideration the increase in population, which would probably reduce this figure somewhat. It is not probable, however, that the population of these twenty-six states grew in one year 6.9 per cent. So it is likely that the number per 100,000 for the twenty-six states did increase slightly.

In sixteen out of the twenty-six states the number per hundred thousand of the population in prison on the 1st of January, 1928, was greater than a year before. The range of the ratio of 1928 was

from 81.9 (in Nevada) to 138.4 (in Montana). In 20 cases out of 26 the ratios for admissions change and for population change were in harmony; i.e., either both were above 100 or both were below 100. In thirteen of the states, the population ratio (of 1928 to 1927) was greater than the admissions ratio (of 1927 to 1926), and in thirteen, it was equal or smaller. Only Massachusetts, of the five

TABLE III  
COMPARATIVE TABLE OF DISPOSITIONS OF FELONY CASES IN  
SIX JURISDICTIONS (1925 AND 1926)

	New York State 1926 (Six Months)	New York City 1926 (Six Months)	New York City 1925*	Pennsylvania (4 large cities) 1926	Illinois State 1926	Chicago and Cook County 1926	Milwaukee 1926	Cincinnati 1925-26
Total arraigned . . . . .	12,147	8,144	19,084	31,439	16,812	13,117	1,838	1,445
Percentage eliminated pre- liminary hearing . . . . .	52.6	58.7	58.1	74	43.7	48.5	17.4	55
Percentage eliminated grand jury . . . . .	10.7	10.3	12.5	3	12.1	11.5	.....	12
Percentage eliminated trial court . . . . .	18.6	20.0	8.5	10	23.7	20.4	19.0	8
Percentage in which guilt was established . . . . .	18.1	11.0	21.0	12	20.6	19.7	63.6	25
Percentage sentence sus- pended . . . . .	5.4	1.7	5.3	4	5.1	4.7	27.6	10
Percentage punished . . . .	12.7	9.3	15.7	8	15.5	15.0	36.0	15

\* Report of the Crime Commission of New York State. Report to the Commission of the Sub-Commission on Statistics (1927), p. III.

largest states, showed a decline in the population of prisons in 1927 to 1928.

The total prison population in 1928 was 65,496; in 1927 was 60,749, an increase of 8 per cent.

*Recent Studies by Crime Commissions.*—The Crime Commission of New York State analyzed the results in 12,147 cases of felony charges arraigned in the second half of the year 1926.<sup>1</sup> Some of these figures may be compared with those of the preceding study of cases for the whole year 1925 in New York; with the *Summaries by the Pennsylvania Crime Commission* (published January 1, 1929<sup>2</sup>);

<sup>1</sup> Crime Commission of New York State. *Report of the Commission of the Subcommission on Statistics* (1928), pp. 21, 59.

<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Report to the General Assembly Meeting in 1929 of the Commission appointed to study the laws, procedure, etc., relating to crime and criminals* (January 1, 1929).

with certain summary data from the survey of the *Illinois Survey of Criminal Justice* (in press); and with data from the *Cincinnati Study*.<sup>3</sup>

These figures (the most recent in this field of study) indicate clearly one uniformity: the very great importance of the preliminary hearing in weeding out felony cases; (excepting the case of Milwaukee, which deviates at every point); and a considerable diversity in the percentage found guilty, ranging from 11 to 25 per cent, again excepting Milwaukee's 63.6 per cent. A startling change in the New York City figures is the reduction of guilt established from 21.0 per cent in 1925 to 11 per cent in 1926.

*Juvenile Court Statistics*.<sup>4</sup>—The plan of the Federal Children's Bureau for uniform juvenile court statistics is going forward. An increasing number of juvenile and children's courts are using the uniform statistical cards and report blanks first put into use in 1926. In April, 1928, it was reported that 74 courts were using the cards, and 30 more were believed to be using them; a total of 104. The Children's Bureau proposes to publish reports based on these cards.

*Police Statistics*.—The Committee on Uniform Crime Records of the International Chiefs of Police presented as the first fruits of its research a pamphlet entitled, *A Uniform Classification of Major Offenses*. Four groups of major offenses—felonious homicide, rape, robbery, and burglary—were selected as a beginning. The statutes of thirty states were carefully analyzed with reference to these types of offenses, and under each of the four classes were grouped those which it seemed best there to allocate. The purpose of this procedure was to secure, not an absolute uniformity, but a rough approximation, so that it would be known what was included in any state under the general heading of, e.g., burglary. For each of the thirty states studied the report presents just what charges are to be classified under each heading. This scheme is to be extended to all

<sup>3</sup> *What Happens to Felony Cases in Cincinnati?* Cincinnati Bureau of Municipal Research (May, 1928), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Alice Scott Nutt, *Report on Progress of the Children's Bureau Plan for Uniform Juvenile Statistics: Proceedings of the National Probation Association* (1928), pp. 168-78.

the states. The ultimate use will be found in keeping and publishing of records of criminal complaints and data concerning persons taken into custody, with such a degree of uniformity that the significance of such data will be as great as possible.

The committee has also published a suggested form for a uniform annual report of a department of police.

*Improvement of New York State Criminal Statistics.*—In New York State the Crime Commission was able to secure the enactment of a law (Chapter 875, Laws of New York, 1928) providing in a very specific way for the improvement of the identification of all persons arrested, charged with a felony or with certain other offenses, and for the collection, analysis, and publication of statistics of crimes reported, arrests made, bail, trial and disposition, probation, parole, commitments and releases from penal institutions, etc., involving the mandatory co-operation of local officials by a regular reporting system.

## II. CRIME COMMISSIONS

*New York.*—Reference is made, in the section on criminal statistics, to the results of the study of 12,147 felony cases in New York in the second half of the year 1926, and in the section on probation, to the passage of acts improving the administration of probation. Altogether the Commission secured the passage of thirteen acts, touching on receiving of stolen property, bail, parole, the state department of correction, criminal identification, records and statistics, and probation (see below).<sup>5</sup>

In addition to these the Crime Commission (continued by the Legislature of 1927) has published other studies, such as those on the causes of juvenile delinquency, and the state of the penal institutions.

In a conference with the Crime Commission, Governor Smith recommended taking away from judge and jury all authority relative to the sentencing of persons convicted, leaving them only the ascertainment of guilt. Treatment of convicts should be determined by a highly paid impartial board of experts, including psychiatrists,

<sup>5</sup> Crime Commission of New York State, *The Crime Laws*, advocated by the Crime Commission of New York State (Albany, 1928).

alienists, lawyers, and students which would also determine parole and release.<sup>6</sup>

*Pennsylvania.*—The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania appointed May, 1927, a "commission to study the laws, procedure, etc., relating to crime and criminals." Its activities are recorded in a *Report to the General Assembly Meeting* in 1929. They consisted in calling a conference of those judges of the state having contact with criminal cases, which formulated certain procedural and penal recommendations to the legislature; the convocation of a similar district attorneys' conference; a discussion of the need of adequate judicial statistics; recommendations on parole administration and on legislation concerning firearms and fourth offenders. An important part of the work of the commission consisted of a statistical analysis of what happened to 43,919 criminal cases resulting from arrests made in 1926 for 29 major crimes in the 67 counties of the state, some results of which are discussed in the section on criminal statistics.

*The Illinois Association for Criminal Justice.*—This body continued its survey, which was scheduled to go to press early in January, 1929.

### III. PROBATION

The year 1928 marked the fiftieth anniversary of probation in the United States. By that year all states except Wyoming had adopted juvenile probation, and thirty-three states and the District of Columbia now have adult probation laws. However, only nine states can be said to have state-wide systems of adult as well as juvenile probation. The Secretary of the National Probation Association, Mr. Charles L. Chute, estimates the number of persons placed on probation in 1928 at 200,000. The number of salaried probation officers in the courts of the United States is 3,191.<sup>7</sup>

The development of probation in the Federal Courts since its introduction in 1925 has been slow. Only six probation officers in six District Courts are being employed, the result of lack of appropriations by Congress.

<sup>6</sup> *Report of the Crime Commission of New York State* (1928), p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Probation*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (December, 1928).

In New York State the State Crime Commission supported, and secured the passage of three measures concerning probation:

1. Increased the powers and staff of the State Probation Division, a part of the State Department of Correction.
2. Raised the qualifications for probation officers, providing that hereafter they must be high-school graduates; and that cases must be investigated before being placed on probation.
3. Gave power to judges in four county courts to appoint and fix salaries of probation officers.

Advanced probation legislation was introduced in New Jersey, but postponed till 1929. In Massachusetts, legislation to limit probation was killed in committee. The report of the secretary of the National Probation Association (in the 1928 proceedings of that organization) indicates widespread activity in the extension and improvement of probation in states which have already adopted it.

## RELIGION

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ARTHUR E. HOLT

Professor of Social Ethics, Chicago Theological Seminary

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### ABSTRACT

Diversity and decentralization are the notable characteristics of American religious life. Freedom for marginal groups to develop in accordance with their own genius is more to be cherished than any kind of standardization. The United States Census of 1926 shows both processes—increasing diversity and increasing centralization—at work. There are new sects not appearing before; there is a growth of the larger denominations, which are absorbing some of the smaller ones. Both processes are to be encouraged. The largest growth in numbers is in the South, a condition to be attributed to the advantage which a religious group has where the population is homogeneous and the birth-rate fairly high. An increasing religious group consciousness and an increasing participation of religious groups in social action characterized this last year.

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The statistical picture of American religious life which has during the past year come from the census bureau is published here without deletion. It is customary to lift out of such a picture the Roman Catholics, Jews, and certain major Protestant denominations and on the basis of these discuss tendencies in American religion. Such procedure is entirely erroneous. The picture loses richness of color. It falsifies the very genius of the American religious culture. It is customary on the basis of an assumed ideal unity to discuss the almost infinite diversity in this picture as though it represented human perversity; as though somewhere in the background there had been a Garden of Eden unity from which the American religious man had been cast out because of his sin and after being cursed by God, like Cain of old, he became the father of them that dwell in denominations. There never was such a religious Garden of Eden. American religious life has come up out of the woods, off the farms, and out of the cities. Unity, if it ever comes, will be an achievement built out of a conflict situation by those who have social imagination. Protestantism will always be ragged behind and in front. It is more likely to achieve standardization through competition than through overhead manipulation.

Any one reading this article is urged to read and pronounce aloud the whole list of American religious groups. It is necessary to do this to get the picture. Read over the list of Mennonite groups slowly enough to catch something of the meaning of that old European social protest group with the shaven upper lip—the protest against the military mustache—the loyalty to their agricultural economy, the acceptance of all of the processes of nature—the taboos on life insurance, lightning rods, and birth-control—or turn to see the church of the Latter Day Saints, severing all connection with other American groups, building up an empire out of a desert and making one of the greatest contributions ever made in America to the social ownership of a natural resource—water in the river for irrigation purposes. Read these and then realize that there are still foolish people in America whose ideal for American religious life is an economy standardized out of Washington or New York City. Let us thank God that the marginal areas of American religious life have still left enough freedom even sometimes to do foolish things.

The American religious economy is the product of the free self-chosen parish, the backwoods character of many of our groups, the black-land deep-rooted growth of others, the respectable minority groups, the spontaneous organization of new groups unmanipulated by overhead political organization, the survival of old European protest groups like the Mennonites and Brethren, and the gradual emergence of certain trunk-line groups which by their more rapid percentage growth promise to survive in the struggle for existence. The figures are given from the 1926 United States Census and the 1916 Census figures are given as basis of comparison. Thirty-two new denominations appear which were not enumerated in 1916. On the other hand, a number of significant mergers are under way.

As one studies the data, he is impressed with the fact that affiliation with some religious organization is a widespread phenomenon in American life. The 54,624,976 in most cases represents church membership, and, if we add the population which is the legitimate constituency of the membership, a very large section of American life is represented. Of the fifty-four million, 18,605,003 are Catholics and 4,087,357 are Jews, leaving 31,932,616. From these must

TABLE I

UNITED STATES CENSUS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES: SUMMARY OF MORE IMPORTANT  
STATISTICS BY DENOMINATIONS, 1926\*

DENOMINATION	CHURCHES		MEMBERSHIP	
	1926	1916	1926	1916
All denominations.....	231,983	226,718	54,624,976	41,926,854
Adventist Bodies:				
Advent Christian Church.....	444	534	29,430	30,597
Seventh-day Adventist Denomi- nation.....	1,981	2,011	110,998	79,355
Church of God (Adventist).....	58	22	1,686	848
Life and Advent Union.....	7	13	535	658
Churches of God in Christ Jesus (Adventist).....	86	87	3,528	3,457
African Orthodox Church.....	13	.....	1,568	.....
African Orthodox Church of New York..	3	.....	717	.....
American Ethical Union.....	6	5	3,801	2,850
American Rescue Workers.....	97	29	1,989	611
Apostolic Over-Coming Holy Church of God.....	16	.....	1,047	.....
Assemblies of God, General Council....	671	118	47,950	6,703
Assyrian Jacobite Apostolic Church....	3	15	1,407	748
Baha'is.....	44	57	1,247	2,884
Baptist Bodies:				
Northern Baptist Convention.....	7,611	8,319	1,289,966	1,244,705
Southern Baptist Convention.....	23,374	23,580	3,524,378	2,708,870
Negro Baptists.....	22,081	21,071	3,196,623	2,938,579
General Six Principle Baptists....	6	10	293	456
Seventh Day Baptists.....	67	68	7,264	7,980
Free Will Baptists.....	1,024	750	79,592	54,833
United American Free Will Baptist Church (Colored).....	166	169	13,396	13,362
Free Will Baptists (Bullockites)....	2	12	36	184
General Baptists.....	465	517	31,501	33,466
Separate Baptists.....	65	46	4,803	4,254
Regular Baptists.....	349	401	23,091	21,521
United Baptists.....	221	254	18,903	22,097
Duck River and Kindred Associa- tions of Baptists (Baptist Church of Christ).....	98	105	7,340	6,872
Primitive Baptists.....	2,267	2,142	81,374	80,311
Colored Primitive Baptists.....	925	336	43,978	15,144
Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestina- rian Baptists.....	27	48	304	679
Independent Baptist Church of Amer- ica.....	13	.....	222	.....
American Baptist Association.....	1,431	.....	117,858	.....
Brethren, German Baptists (Dunkers):				
Church of the Brethren (Conser- vative Dunkers).....	1,030	997	128,392	105,102
Old German Baptist Brethren.....	62	67	3,036	3,399
The Brethren Church (Progressive Dunkers).....	174	201	26,026	24,060

\* Used by permission of World Almanac Publishing Company.

TABLE I—Continued

DENOMINATION	CHURCHES		MEMBERSHIP	
	1926	1916	1926	1916
Brethren, German Baptists (Dunkers)— <i>Continued</i>				
Seventh Day Baptists (German, 1728).....	4	5	144	136
Church of God, New Dunkers.....	9	13	650	929
Brethren, Plymouth:				
Plymouth Brethren I.....	166	161	4,877	3,896
Plymouth Brethren II.....	307	129	13,497	5,928
Plymouth Brethren III.....	24	17	684	476
Plymouth Brethren IV.....	47	72	1,663	1,389
Plymouth Brethren V.....	83	80	2,152	1,820
Plymouth Brethren VI.....	6	10	88	208
Brethren, River:				
Brethren in Christ.....	81	72	4,320	3,805
Old Order or Yorker Brethren.....	10	9	472	432
United Zion's Children.....	28	31	905	1,152
Catholic Apostolic Church.....	11	13	3,408	2,768
Christadelphians.....	134	145	3,352	2,922
Christian and Missionary Alliance.....	332	163	22,737	9,625
Christian Church (General Convention of the Christian Church).....	1,044	1,263	112,795	118,737
Christian Science Parent Church.....	29	.....	582	.....
Christian Union.....	137	220	8,791	13,692
Church of Armenia in America.....	29	34	28,181	27,450
Church of Christ, Holiness.....	82	.....	4,919	.....
Church of Christ, Scientist.....	1,913	.....	202,098	.....
Church of God.....	644	202	23,247	7,784
Church of God (Headquarters, Anderson, Indiana).....	932	.....	38,249	.....
Church of God and Saints of Christ....	112	92	6,741	3,311
Church of God in Christ.....	733	.....	30,263	.....
Church of the Nazarene.....	1,444	866	63,558	32,259
Churches of Christ.....	6,226	5,570	433,714	317,937
Churches of God, Holiness.....	29	.....	2,278	.....
Churches of God in North America (Gen- eral Eldership).....	428	440	31,596	28,376
Churches of the Living God:				
Church of the Living God, "The Pil- lar and Ground of Truth".....	81	38	5,844	2,009
Church of the Living God, Christian Workers for Fellowship.....	149	154	11,558	9,626
Churches of the New Jerusalem:				
General Convention of the New Je- rusalem in U.S.A.....	85	108	5,442	6,352
General Church of the New Jeru- salem.....	13	15	996	733
Communitic Societies:				
Amana Society.....	7	7	1,385	1,534
United Society of Believers (Shak- ers).....	6	12	192	367
Congregational Churches.....	5,028	5,900	881,696	809,236
Congregational Holiness Church.....	25	.....	939	.....

TABLE I—Continued

DENOMINATION	CHURCHES		MEMBERSHIP	
	1926	1916	1926	1916
Disciples of Christ.....	7,648	8,396	1,377,595	1,226,028
Divine Science Church.....	22	.....	3,466	.....
Eastern Orthodox Churches:				
Albanian Orthodox Church.....	9	2	1,993	410
Bulgarian Orthodox Church.....	4	4	937	1,992
Greek Orthodox Church (Hellenic).....	153	87	119,495	119,871
Roumanian Orthodox Church.....	34	2	18,853	1,994
Russian Orthodox Church.....	199	169	95,134	99,681
Serbian Orthodox Church.....	17	12	13,775	14,301
Syrian Orthodox Church.....	30	25	9,207	11,591
Evangelical Church.....	2,054	2,592	206,080	210,530
Evangelical Congregational Church.....	153	.....	20,449	.....
Evangelical Synod of North America....	1,287	1,331	314,518	339,853
Evangelistic Associations:				
Apostolic Christian Church.....	53	54	5,709	4,766
Apostolic Faith Mission.....	14	24	2,119	2,196
Christian Congregation.....	2	7	150	645
Church of Daniel's Band.....	4	6	129	393
Church of God as Organized by Christ.....	19	17	375	227
Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association.....	14	12	495	352
Metropolitan Church Association....	40	7	1,113	704
Missionary Church Association....	34	25	2,498	1,554
Missionary Bands of the World....	11	10	241	218
Pillar of Fire.....	48	21	2,442	1,129
Church of God (Apostolic).....	18	.....	492	.....
Federated Churches.....	361	.....	59,977	.....
Free Christian Zion Church of Christ....	5	35	187	6,225
Free Church of God in Christ.....	19	.....	874	.....
Friends:				
Society of Friends (Orthodox).....	715	805	91,326	92,379
Religious Society of Friends (Hick-site).....	128	166	16,105	17,170
Orthodox Conservative Friends (Wilburite).....	41	50	2,966	3,373
Friends (Primitive).....	1	2	25	60
Holiness Church.....	32	33	861	926
Independent Churches.....	257	613	34,501	56,757
Jewish Congregations.....	2,953	1,615	4,087,357	357,135
Latter Day Saints:				
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.....	1,275	965	542,194	403,388
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.....	592	565	64,367	58,941
Liberal Catholic Church.....	39	.....	1,799	.....
Liberal Churches.....	3	.....	358	.....
Lithuanian National Catholic.....	1	7	492	7,343
Lutheran Bodies:				
United Lutheran Church in America	3,650	3,559	1,214,340	763,596
Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America.....	1,180	1,165	311,425	204,417

TABLE I—Continued

DENOMINATION	CHURCHES		MEMBERSHIP	
	1926	1916	1926	1916
Lutheran Bodies— <i>Continued</i>				
Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of America.....	4,752	3,620	1,292,620	777,701
Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other.....	3,917	.....	1,040,275	.....
Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other.....	709	.....	229,242	.....
Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the U.S.A.....	55	.....	14,759	.....
Norwegian Synod of American Evangelical Lutheran Church.....	71	.....	8,344	.....
Norwegian Lutheran Church of America	2,554	2,740	496,707	318,650
Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States.....	872	826	247,783	164,968
Lutheran Synod of Buffalo.....	41	42	9,267	6,128
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (Eielsen Synod).....	15	20	1,087	1,206
Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and Other States.....	873	977	217,873	130,793
Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.....	96	101	18,921	14,544
Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America.....	14	14	2,186	1,830
Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America Suomi Synod.....	185	134	32,071	18,881
Lutheran Free Church.....	393	376	46,366	28,180
United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.....	190	192	29,198	17,324
Finish Evangelical Lutheran National Church of America.....	70	64	7,788	7,933
Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church	138	47	24,016	6,664
Church of the Lutheran Brethren in America.....	26	23	1,700	892
Evangelical Lutheran Jehovah Conference.....	3	6	851	831
Independent Lutheran Congregations.....	50	.....	11,804	.....
Mennonite Church:				
Mennonite Church.....	295	307	34,039	34,965
Hutterian Brethren, Mennonites...	6	17	700	982
Conservative Amish Mennonite Church.....	7	13	691	1,066
Old Order Amish Mennonite Church	71	88	6,006	7,665
Church of God in Christ (Mennonite)	26	21	1,832	1,125
Old Order Mennonite Church (Wisler).....	19	22	2,227	1,608
Reformed Mennonite Church.....	31	29	1,117	1,281
General Conference of Mennonite Church of North America.....	136	113	21,582	15,407
Defenseless Mennonites.....	10	11	1,060	854
Mennonite Brethren in Christ.....	99	108	5,882	4,737

TABLE I—Continued

DENOMINATION	CHURCHES		MEMBERSHIP	
	1926	1916	1926	1916
<i>Mennonite Church—Continued</i>				
Mennonite Brethren Church of North America.....	61	53	6,484	5,127
Krimmer Brueder—Gemeinde.....	14	13	797	894
Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde.....	4	3	214	171
Central Conference of Mennonites..	29	17	3,124	2,101
Conference of the Defenseless Mennonites of North America.....	9	15	818	1,171
Stauffer Mennonite Church.....	4	5	243	209
Unaffiliated Mennonite Church....	5	.....	348	.....
<i>Methodist Bodies:</i>				
Methodist Episcopal Church.....	26,130	29,315	4,080,777	3,717,785
Methodist Protestant Church.....	2,239	2,473	192,171	186,908
Wesleyan Methodist Connection (or Church) of America.....	619	579	21,910	20,778
Primitive Methodist Church in the United States of America.....	80	93	11,990	9,353
Methodist Episcopal Church, South	18,096	19,184	2,487,694	2,114,479
Congregational Methodist Church..	145	197	9,691	12,503
Free Methodist Church of North America.....	1,375	1,598	36,374	35,291
New Congregational Methodist Church.....	26	24	1,229	1,256
Holiness Methodist Church, Lumbbee River Conference.....	7	6	459	434
Reformed Methodist Church.....	14	.....	390	.....
African Methodist Episcopal Church	6,708	6,633	545,814	548,355
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.....	2,466	2,716	456,813	257,169
Colored Methodist Protestant Church.....	3	26	533	1,967
Union American Methodist Episcopal Church.....	73	67	10,169	3,624
African Union Methodist Protestant Church.....	43	58	4,086	3,751
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.....	2,518	2,621	202,713	245,749
Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Church.....	48	47	4,538	3,977
Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal Church.....	25	27	2,265	2,196
Independent African Methodist Episcopal Church.....	29	.....	1,003	.....
<i>Moravian Bodies:</i>				
Moravian Church in America.....	127	110	31,699	26,373
Evangelical Unity of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren in North America.....	34	23	5,241	1,714
Bohemian and Moravian Brethren Churches.....	3	3	303	320
New Apostolic Church.....	25	20	2,938	3,828

TABLE I—Continued

DENOMINATION	CHURCHES		MEMBERSHIP	
	1926	1916	1926	1916
Old Catholic Churches in America:				
Old Catholic Church in America...	9	12	1,888	4,700
American Catholic Church.....	11	3	1,367	475
North American Old Roman Cath- olic Church.....	27		14,793	
The (Original) Church of God.....	50		1,869	
The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World	126		7,850	
Pentacostal Holiness Church.....	252	192	8,096	5,353
Pilgrim Holiness Church.....	441	169	15,040	5,276
Polish National Catholic Church.....	89	34	60,974	28,245
Presbyterian Bodies:				
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.....	8,947	59,773	1,894,030	1,625,817
Cumberland Presbyterian Church..	1,097	1,313	67,938	72,052
Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church.....	178	136	10,868	13,077
United Presbyterian Church of North America.....	901	991	171,571	160,726
Presbyterian Church in the United States.....	3,469	3,365	451,043	357,769
Associate Synod of North America (Assoc. Presbyterian Church)..	11	12	329	490
Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church.....	143	133	20,410	15,124
Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America.....	89	103	7,166	8,185
Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America, General Synod	13	14	1,929	2,386
Protestant Episcopal Church.....	7,299	7,345	1,859,086	1,092,821
Reformed Bodies:				
Reformed Church in America.....	717	715	153,739	144,929
Reformed Church in the United States.....	1,709	1,758	361,286	344,374
Christian Reformed Church.....	245	226	98,534	38,668
Free Magyar Reformed Church in America.....	11		3,992	
Reformed Episcopal Church.....	69	74	8,651	11,050
Roman Catholic Church.....	18,940	17,375	18,605,003	15,721,815
Salvation Army.....	1,052	742	74,768	35,954
Scandinavian Evangelical Bodies:				
Swedish Evangelical Mission Cove- nant of America.....	357	324	36,838	29,164
Swedish Evangelical Free Church of the U.S.A.....	107	102	8,166	6,208
Norwegian and Danish Evangelical Free Church Assoc. of North America.....	41	32	3,781	2,444
Schwenkfelders.....	6	6	1,596	1,127
Social Brethren.....	22	19	1,214	950
Spiritualists:				
National Spiritualists' Association..	543	343	41,233	23,197
Progressive Spiritual Church.....	9	11	7,383	5,831

TABLE I—*Continued*

DENOMINATION	CHURCHES		MEMBERSHIP	
	1926	1916	1926	1916
Spiritualists:— <i>Continued</i>				
National Spiritual Alliance of the United States of America.....	59	.....	2,015	.....
Temple Society.....	2	2	164	260
Theosophist Society of New York:				
Theosophist Society of Indiana.....	1	1	55	72
American Theosophist Society.....	223	157	7,448	5,097
United Brethren & Theosophist Society	1	.....	50,000	.....
Unitarians.....	353	411	60,152	82,515
Unitarian Brethren:				
Unitarian Brethren in Christ.....	2,988	3,481	377,436	348,828
Unitarian Brethren in Christ (Old Consolidated).....	372	408	17,872	19,106
Unitarian Christian Church.....	15	.....	577	.....
Universalists.....	498	643	54,957	58,566
Vedanta Society.....	3	3	200	190
Volunteers of America.....	133	97	28,756	10,204
Other denominations.....	.....	144	.....	30,492

be deducted about a million for the Eastern Orthodox church and Church of Latter Day Saints, and the Protestant membership remains about 30,640,000. Difference in methods of computing prevents the Catholic and Protestant from being comparable, since the Catholics include all baptized children and the Protestants only

TABLE II

Denomination	Percentage of Increase
Southern Baptist Convention . . . . .	30.1
Northern Baptist Convention . . . . .	3.6
Methodist Episcopal (South) . . . . .	17.6
Methodist Episcopal (North) . . . . .	9.7
Presbyterian Church (South) . . . . .	22.1
Presbyterian Church (North) . . . . .	16.4

such as are members. Of the Protestant group eleven major groups account for about 80 per cent of the total.

The relative rates of growth from 1916 to 1926 of the various groups is shown in the following comparisons: Roman Catholic, 18.3 per cent; average of major Protestant groups, 19.5 per cent.

The difference in the rate of growth of the southern branches and the northern is very noticeable in every case; the growth of Protestantism in the South seems more rapid (Table II).

The difference in rate of growth between the large and small denomination in the same area is interesting: Methodist Episcopal (North), 9.7; and Congregational Churches, 8.9.

The rate of growth exhibited in these data raises the whole question as to why churches grow. Without denying that zeal and a firm belief in correctness of doctrine may play a part, it seems pertinent to point out that sociological factors play as large a part as theological factors in governing rate of growth. All the larger denominations seem to be growing at greater rate than the small denominations similarly placed. But this greater rate of growth can easily be accounted for by the fact that given the same rate of social mobility, the loss of the small denomination will be greater than that of the large well-distributed organization because the more adequate distribution of the large denomination guaranties against the loss of its members through moving. The homogeneous character of rural and urban population in the South would also account for the high rate of growth of the denominations in the South fully as much as the reported orthodoxy of the South.

Most of the major denominations show fewer churches and more church members, which is a favorable sign. We are evidently moving toward fewer and better churches. The same condition accounts for the continued abundant supply of ministers even though there is a percentage decrease in the relative number of students studying for the ministry.

The amount expended for salaries, repairs, payment on debts and benevolences was \$328,809,999 in 1916 but, in 1926, had risen to \$814,371,529, a more than one hundred per cent increase. The value of church edifices in 1916 was \$1,676,600,582, while in 1926 this had risen to \$3,842,577,133. The per capita giving increased 41.6 per cent more than cost of living. These sums could hardly have been anticipated when the churches renounced state aid and relied on the voluntary support of the people. The churches are growing more rapidly than the population. From 1915 to 1927, the population increase is estimated as 20.01, while the increase in Protestant church membership for the same period was 23.39 per cent.

## ORGANIZATION OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES

During the past year the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America held its quadrennial meeting in Rochester, New York. This gave a chance to assess again the Protestant movement toward union. Twenty-eight denominations representing by far the larger part of the Protestant church membership are represented in the Federal Council. In addition to this delegated representation, the Council co-ordinates the activities of certain home and foreign missionary agencies, such as the following: Federations of Women's Boards for Foreign Missions, the Council of Church Boards of Education, the Home Missions Council, the International Council of Religious Education. The American Bible Society, the National Council of the Y.M.C.A., the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. have co-operative or consultative relationship to the Federal Council. The Council is also represented in local areas by state or county or city federations.

In order to understand the nature of Protestant unity, it is necessary to understand the difference between a hierarchy and a federation. The distinctive difference lies in the fact that a hierarchy has executive authority in itself and can assume the allegiance of all its parts, whereas a federation is compelled continually to re-define its objectives, since unity and authority are dependent upon common consent and common agreement. Many writers refer to the Federal Council of Churches in the same terms that they would use in referring to a hierarchy, but in doing so they completely ignore the social realities in the case.

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTION OF RELIGIOUS BODIES IN 1928

The year 1928 saw a participation of religious bodies in social and political action which will make the year noteworthy. It will be sufficient here to call attention to these and to emphasize certain characteristics of this movement.

The nomination of a Roman Catholic by one of the major parties at the national election introduced the religious issue in the campaign. The political leaders appealed to religious prejudice with a zeal not less than that of the clergy who asserted it. Democratic candidates shouted defiance in the face of religious prejudice

and thereby consolidated their own religious following back of themselves. The campaign abundantly demonstrated that when religion becomes a political red herring, it easily leads human beings astray in their pursuit of the goal of human welfare.

Of another character has been the participation of major religious groups in various kinds of social action both local and national. Here it is necessary to distinguish between direct and indirect participation on the part of religious bodies. It is also necessary to distinguish that kind of participation which seeks the advantage of the religious group and that participation which seeks the furtherance of some social cause. Most of the participation which has attracted public attention has been the indirect participation of Protestant groups, acting through federations and non-partisan leagues, which have sought the advancement of some social cause.

The above statement needs amplification. If the nature of this participation were better understood there would be fewer newspaper editorials about "Clerical Dictatorship in Politics."

The limits of this article do not permit of adequate exploration of this subject, but the following facts are to be kept in mind. There has grown up in this country a series of non-partisan, non-denominational agencies like the Anti-Saloon League, the Better Government Leagues, the Industrial Welfare Leagues, which are self-perpetuating; they have no organic relationship either to the churches or to the political parties, they have no authority except as they express and focus public opinion, they go out of existence when they have performed their function. These agencies are a part of the working economy of a free church in a free society; they have no authority except their ability to gather and focus public opinion. They can bludgeon and appeal to fear, but this is bad action on their part and it is not a necessary characteristic of them.

Because these organizations have been organized around a social betterment cause, they have not except in the case of the Ku Klux Klan sought the direct advantage of any religious group. This kind of action is to be distinguished from any historic attempts at ecclesiastical domination of the state; it is entirely consistent with the theory of a free church in a free society where both church and other institutions exercise autonomy.

Most of these non-partisan organizations have some kind of liaison relationship with Protestant, Jewish, and sometimes Catholic churches. Their authority is very intangible, they are continually compelled to redefine their objective, and maintain themselves only by their ability to commend themselves to that body of religious opinion alongside of which they exist. As one looks at the diversity of American religious life represented in the statistical chart, he feels confident that no agency will be able to make good on the claim that it represents fifty-four million church members unless its cause is of such a fundamental nature that it appeals to a vast majority of the American people.

## RACE RELATIONS

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MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Northwestern University

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### ABSTRACT

The problems of race which confront this country may be divided for consideration into three sections: the Indian, the immigrant, and the Negro. All of these must be recognized as being deeply imbedded in the historical past of the United States. In the case of the Indian, the most important development during the past year has been the publication of an investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its methods of dealing with the Indians. As a result of the inadequacy of the Bureau's management, radical changes were suggested, which, however, have not been instituted as yet. The attitude toward immigration represents the response of the descendants of the original English stock to the challenge of the more recently arrived peoples, and has taken the form of more and more severe restrictions as to who shall settle in this country. The "National Origins" provision, unless postponement by Congress is brought about, will go into effect July 1, 1929. The matter of Negro-White relationships stands about where it has stood for the past few years, little change toward greater tolerance or toward more severe oppression being noticeable. In all, only those tendencies which might have been predicted are to be noticed in changing race relations in this country.

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It is well to recognize that the problems of racial relations in this country lie deeply imbedded in our historical development. The descendants of aboriginal Indian tribes, of white settlers, and of Negro slaves, all contribute to the perplexing puzzles of integration with which we are confronted, while to these have been added problems introduced by the advent of vast groups of persons more recently arrived from Southern and Eastern Europe and the Scandinavian peninsula. The supremacy of the descendants of the earliest group of whites had never been seriously challenged until recent times. Intrenched as the first to come, their ideals and traditions eagerly accepted by those who came after, it is only lately that they have taken alarm and have attempted to consolidate their position. That it has been challenged by the Germans, the Irish, and the peoples from the littoral of the Mediterranean; that the descendants of the slave population of earlier times have developed until they are claiming a kind of recognition which the whites are most reluctant to concede; and that the contemporary representa-

tives of the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent present problems which now press for solution, are the outstanding developments in the field of racial relations in this country during the past decade. In discussing any changes which have occurred during the past year, therefore, the historical background must be kept in mind; and since the problems naturally fall into a threefold division, they will be taken up separately.

#### THE INDIAN

Realization that the Indian population of the United States is greater at the present than it ever has been comes with a shock to most of us. Yet we place the number of these people living in this country today at between 300,000 and 350,000, and the most liberal estimates for the time of the discovery of America arrive at a figure considerably below this. In the main, the Indians have been removed from the locale of their aboriginal habitations. As the pressure of population became greater and the lands went by right of conquest to the better-equipped whites, the vast stretches of territory necessary to a nomadic hunting-folk, and the large areas required by primitive agricultural communities, were preempted by the invading aliens. Falling short of extermination, the Indians were removed to lands especially reserved for them. That these lands were perhaps the least valuable available, that they comprise mainly desert or other regions difficult to work, has contributed to the resulting breakdown of the aboriginal civilizations.

The attitude that these people are "wards of the government" has come more and more to prevail and this, actually, is the legal status of vast numbers of them. The administration of their property, which in the case of a few individuals and tribes on whose land mineral resources have been discovered, amounts to considerable fortunes, has been left in the hands of civil service employees who are under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, and more directly under the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Persons who have visited reservations and have had contact with the Indians have, from time to time, issued statements of a disquieting nature regarding the manner in which the government has discharged the obligations of its guardianship. Stories, some of in-

competence and others more serious in their nature, began to be heard, and the announcement in 1926 that Secretary Hubert Work had requested the staff of the Institute for Government Research to make an impartial investigation into the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs came as welcome news.

The publication of this report<sup>1</sup> on February 21, 1928, must be regarded as the major event of the year on this phase of the race problem. It more than confirms our worst fears of the manner in which Indian affairs are handled; the very detached and cautious nature of its wording gives added weight to the conclusions. First in summary, and then in detail, its findings are discussed. The poverty of the Indian resulting from unsatisfactory lands allotted to him, the fact that where land is of possible fertility through irrigation, and irrigation has been carried through, this land has been acquired by whites, and the remoteness of the reservation from sources of employment, are all discussed as basic. The manner in which the Indian has been pauperized by the short-sighted policy of rationing, by the lack of vigor in teaching adequate agricultural methods, by allowing lands to be sold or leased with the result that the Indian lives on the unearned increment, as well as the evils resulting from the handling of the Indians' funds by the agents, are set forth. The lack of any considered, broad educational program is stressed, as also the utter inadequacy of the Bureau's attempt to cope with the serious incidence of trachoma and tuberculosis.

The Indian boarding school, with its policy of attempting to stamp out aboriginal civilizations by rearing children in an environment foreign to their tribal cultures; the manner in which the Indian children in these schools are exploited or underfed (11 cents a day for rations besides what the farms, worked by the children themselves, produce, is all that is allowed in some cases); and the poor adjustment of the Indian child when he is returned to his parents are all described. That language as strong as this is used: "The survey staff finds itself obliged to say frankly and unequivocally that the provisions for the care of Indian children in boarding schools are grossly inadequate," is an earnest of the seriousness

<sup>1</sup>Lewis Meriam and Associates, *The Problem of Indian Administration*: Report of a Survey made at the Request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him February 21, 1928. Baltimore, 1928.

of the findings. The lack of appreciation on the part of the government, "of the fundamental importance of family life and community activities in the social and economic development of a people" gives rise to serious disturbances in the social life of the Indians, while "both the government and the missionaries have often failed to study, understand, and take a sympathetic attitude toward Indian ways, Indian ethics, and Indian religion."

Present space does not allow us to go into the details of the situation, but the recommendations of the investigators call for fundamental changes in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A "scientific and technical Division of Planning and Development," controlling permanent and temporary positions is advised so that further study may be made; an adequate statistical division so that the Indian Bureau may know the facts that are being dealt with; the strengthening of the personnel in immediate contact with the Indians by raising the present insufficient salaries; changes in the school system and the institution of an adequate medical service, are all held imperative needs. It is regrettable that this commission included no ethnologist, and failed to recommend one for the staff of the Bureau as envisaged. The experience of colonizing governments as to the value of a trained student of aboriginal cultures as an expert adviser in matters of policy dealing with the natives is not to be disregarded, and many of the problems which puzzled the excellent staff gathered to make this study would without doubt have been clarified had an ethnologist been included in its number.

It need only be added that Dr. Work, to my knowledge, did nothing to carry out the recommendations submitted to him. Certainly unsavory accusations such as are contained in the Barnett affair, now under investigation by a committee of the Senate, point to exploitation of the Indian not only by the government but perhaps also by one of the mission societies, and emphasize the need of a drastic revision of our methods of dealing with our "wards."

#### THE IMMIGRANT

Immigration, strictly speaking, is not a "race problem." Indeed, the misuse of the term "race" and the manner in which it is applied to national groups, persons coming from various geographical divisions, or linguistic stocks is notorious. This is never

so apparent as when we read the minutes of the meeting of the various committees which have held hearings on the problem as to what groups are to be regarded as desirable for citizenship in the United States and what ones undesirable. However, the current misuse of the term is so deeply rooted in everyday speech that a discussion of immigration must inevitably be a part of any consideration of the race problem in America.

In 1928, 500,631 aliens were admitted to this country compared to 538,001 the previous year. In 1928 274,356 aliens departed, as against 253,508 in 1927, leaving a net gain of 284,493 foreigners to our population for 1927, to be compared with one of 226,275 for 1928. During both years the males outnumbered the females except in the case of some countries of Southern Europe, where wives of foreign-born American citizens were admitted as non-quota immigrants. There were 73,154 persons admitted from Canada, and 59,016 from Mexico. There are no quota restrictions for either of these countries, and their contributions totalled 43 per cent of the entire immigration for the year, 153,513 persons having come from Europe during this period. The drop in number since 1913, when there were practically no restrictions and Russia alone sent us 291,040 immigrants, is striking. During 1928 11,625 aliens were deported.

Nothing could be more significant, when we consider the development of attitudes in this country toward foreigners and especially toward immigration, than the increasing general conviction that the time has come when this country may no longer regard itself as one in which those seeking new settings for their lives are welcome. Indeed, the feeling is such that, to quote Albert Johnson, chairman of the Immigration Committee of the House of Representatives, ". . . we are rapidly approaching the time when a suspension of immigration will be demanded." "The country wants more and more restriction," he says. "Both Senate and House will give substantial majorities to a long-time suspension bill."

For many years there has been a gradual tightening of the requirements for admission, but no very serious bars were raised until the end of the war, when a quota system was devised for restricting the number of immigrants who might come to this coun-

try in any one year. At first based on the principle that 3 per cent of the 1910 population of the foreign-born representatives of any country of Europe (Orientals being entirely barred, and there being no restriction on immigrants from the independent nations of the Americas) might be admitted to the United States in any one year, the law was further tightened in 1924 so as to admit only "2 per cent of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in continental United States as determined by the United States Census of 1890," with a minimum quota of 100 for any one country. This, of course, shifted the percentages from the "Alpine" and "Mediterranean" stocks to the North European groups, the East and South European immigrants not having reached any appreciable number by 1890. However, objections were raised to the time-base which had been chosen, and, therefore, the "National Origins" provision was incorporated in the bill to become effective July 1, 1927.

Postponed until 1928 and again until 1929, this measure should, unless action is taken for further postponement, become operative on July 1, 1929. As this is being written, President Hoover, who is known not to favor the clause, is seeking advice on whether proclamation of its provisions is mandatory or not. As passed, it is as follows, and deserves quotation:

The annual quota for any nationality for . . . . each fiscal year . . . . shall be a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 having that national origin . . . . bears to the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920, but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100.

The problem, obviously, is that of determining the "national origin" of the present population. As directed by law, a committee was appointed, composed of the Secretaries of State, Commerce, and Labor, each of whom selected two representatives on another committee which actually did the work. In their first report, dated January 3, 1927, the Secretaries state:

Although this is the best information we have been able to secure, we wish to call attention to the reservations made by the committee and to state that in our opinion the statistical and historical information available raises grave doubts as to the whole value of these computations as a basis for the purposes intended. We therefore cannot assume responsibility for such conclusions under these circumstances.

And in transmitting their second, a year later:

We wish it clear that neither we as individuals nor collectively are expressing any opinion on the merits or demerits of this system of arriving at the quotas. We are simply transmitting the calculations made by the departmental committee in accordance with the act.

The effect of the findings, if carried out, will be materially to increase the proportions of immigrants admissible from Great Britain and northern Ireland, to decrease those from the Irish Free State, Germany, and Scandinavia, and, although increasing by small amounts some of the quotas from other countries when they are compared to the numbers they are allowed at present, to restrict the immigration from each of the Eastern and Southern European nations to a few thousands annually, as a maximum. Agitation is now being carried on to extend the quota restrictions to immigration from Mexico and the South American countries.

The facts are too well known to need exposition here. The point of interest to the student of social processes is the attitudes behind the passage of this measure and the mechanisms by which these attitudes have come to prevail. I feel that in this legislation there are manifested to a surprising degree the effects of a movement which, for lack of a better term, may be called the Nordic agitation, which has been outstanding in the discussions of race in this country in late years, and which is associated in the lay mind with the term "Anglo-Saxon." Backed by patriotic societies, eugenists, and other similar groups, the doctrine of the special adaptability of the North European, particularly the "Anglo-Saxon," for the culture of this country became widely accepted. The findings of the army psychologists, who, by the use of what is termed "intelligence" tests, found that late comers to this country tested lower than did the descendants of the original inhabitants, and newly-arrived British and Scandinavians higher than recent immigrants from Southern and Eastern European countries, gave this doctrine the validity of scientific truth. Nor is it strange that these results should constitute persuasive arguments, for the figures are decisive, and require some analysis before the factors of opportunity and differential environmental background become apparent as the decisive ones in making for the results, rather than innate "intelligence."

As we have seen at the beginning of this paper, it is only within the last generation that the supremacy of the descendants of the earliest settlers has been challenged. We are dealing with economic imponderables as well as purely social forces, and the members of non-North European nations who have obtained substantial footholds undoubtedly affected, albeit unconsciously, the traditional attitude of the dominant descendants of the English colonists that the United States should be a land where anyone might come to settle. Further, the heightening of the emotional tone of our feeling for our country and against the foreigner and "hyphenate" which resulted from the war and the "Red hysteria" strengthened the belief in "America for the Americans," and we thus arrive at the present situation.

Whatever the socio-economic merits or demerits of the case, it is well to recognize that the forces involved are so intricate, and the problems to be solved so complex, that further study of them will do no harm. From a strictly anthropological point of view, any correlation of physical stock with cultural ability is inadmissible. However, the general tendencies remarked above are so strong, and the trend so obvious, that we look with certainty to the proclamation, sooner or later, of some form of quota restriction which will favor the North Europeans and follow the popular feeling that the East and South Europeans—the so-called "Alpines" and "Mediterraneans"—are unfitted to provide the "racial" basis for our future stock.

#### THE NEGRO

On the subject of Negro-white relationships, nothing has occurred during the past year which would disturb the opinions of those who are either optimists or pessimists. Perhaps the only generalization that might be permitted would be the statement that a shade more liberality is apparent in the South, and a shade more slackening of the traditional feeling in the North that the rights of the Negro should be recognized. It must not be forgotten that, unlike other problems arising out of differences of cultural background or language, or of submission to the conqueror, there is the further factor of skin-color in the case of the Negro. It is quite true that there are many sociological Negroes who cannot be dis-

tinguished from whites—from blond Europeans, perhaps, but certainly not from Spaniards or Italians. But for the majority, skin-color instantly marks the Negro, and it may perhaps be laid down as a principle that whenever increasing numbers of this readily identifiable group threaten the economic position of the dominant whites, prejudice will increase.

Certain facts of Negro-white relationships in the South may be mentioned. There were fewer lynchings during 1928 than for many years—eleven in all. One of them, occurring as it did during the assembling of the Democratic National Convention at Houston, Texas, created an unusual stir, but unfortunately had no effect in rousing that party from its traditional position on the Negro. On the other hand, certain legal decisions are to be noted. Segregation ordinances in several cities were declared illegal. The attempt of the Democratic party in Texas to make the Democratic primary, victory in which is tantamount to election, a matter for whites alone, was frustrated, and similar decisions regarding primary voting in Richmond and other cities followed the decree of the Supreme Court. Interracial groups continue to function, and white southern writers seem to have reached a point where they attempt to portray the Negro as he actually lives and do not caricature him in the traditional manner. On the other hand, grave charges have been made regarding the conduct of the Red Cross in discriminating against Negroes in relief after the Mississippi flood of the spring of 1927, charges which have not been seriously denied. The Ku Klux Klan, torn by internal feuds and disclosures of unpleasant dealings, has apparently lost the tremendous hold which it had a few years ago.

In the North, the story comprises a similar balancing. The complete indifference, if not open hostility, of organized white labor to attempts to form Negro labor unions or to the attempts of individual Negro workers to join existing unions continues. In Negro labor circles, the outstanding event of the year was the virtual collapse of the Pullman Porters' Union, following a strike threat which was withdrawn on the eve of the strike. It illustrates again the difficulty of organizing a calling where the psychology of servitude bulks as large as it does among these men, and where in-

grained habits of obedience and assured social position among the Negroes themselves must contend against discontent with an economic situation. The "strike" of the white students in the Emerson High School of Gary, Indiana, against Negro students attending this school occurred in the fall of 1927. It resulted in victory for the strikers, and the promise of the school board to build a separate school for Negro students. Early in 1928, however, the building of this school was stopped by an injunction, giving temporary victory to those who oppose segregation. In Cleveland there has been agitation against a Negro's owning a house in a white neighborhood, comparable to the famous Sweet case in Detroit, although not so serious. In Chicago, the death of Congressman Madden made available a place in the House of Representatives which was filled by a Negro, Mr. Oscar de Priest, the first of his group to be elected to Congress for many years. In New York, the Sloane Maternity Hospital refused a Negro graduate nurse the opportunity of taking its post-graduate course because of her color, and in the same city the opening of the Dunbar apartments, a co-operative venture in Harlem housing, and of a Negro bank, the Dunbar National, both financed by Rockefeller funds, are to be remarked.

The establishment of elementary schools throughout the South under Rosenwald grants has continued, as well as the drive of the Negroes for higher education. This, of course, reflects the increased social surplus and the added social leisure of the Negroes, as does the manner in which a small but significant number of younger Negroes have taken to literary production in the past five years. There was an increase in the enrollment of Negro colleges of 10,567 in 1928 over that of 1927, in addition to the substantially larger numbers of Negroes attending white universities. A new Negro hospital in Nashville, which will give much-needed facilities for clinical training for Negro medical students, is another incident in the development of Negro education to be signalled. In December, 1928, a National Interracial Conference was held in Washington, largely attended by those who are interested in attempts to solve the Negro problem, or particular phases of it. There was frank discussion of such topics as health, industry and agriculture, law

observance and the Negro, housing and recreation. No permanent organization was effected, but the consensus of opinion seems to be that a stimulating interchange of opinion resulted. Another conference, much smaller and more concerned with research than amelioration, met in the same city in March. It was called jointly by the National and Social Science Research Councils, and was occupied entirely with discussions of the problems of racial differences and the manner in which they may be scientifically investigated.

It would be futile to evaluate gains or losses for the year as far as the conflicts of racial groups are concerned. Certainly that our attention has been directed to the wretched conditions of the Indians is clear gain, and a step in a new direction. For the rest, it may merely be stated that predictable tendencies continued as might have been expected.

## EDUCATION

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ARTHUR J. KLEIN  
United States Bureau of Education

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### ABSTRACT

The control of education in the United States is local. It was demonstrated during the past year, however, that it is possible for the federal government to co-operate in the promotion of education without encroachment on local autonomy or authority.

Two outstanding examples of such co-operation were nation-wide surveys conducted by the Bureau of Education, one of Negro universities and colleges, financed through private sources, the other of land-grant colleges, the cost of which was defrayed through federal funds provided by Congress. Encouraged by the success of these two undertakings, a survey by the Bureau of Education of secondary education was initiated and Congress has appropriated the necessary money.

The Bureau's survey of Negro universities and colleges revealed the tremendous progress being made in Negro higher education in the United States and emphasized the need for the development of teacher-training. The land-grant college survey is significant for the extensive co-operation developed in the collection of data under the leadership of the Bureau of Education. The study of secondary education is to be the most widespread ever undertaken, touching directly or indirectly every community in the country.

Progress has also been made during the year in the co-ordination of fiscal and educational conditions in the states, largely through the state departments of education. Another significant development was the severe criticism of the formal standards set up by regional accrediting agencies at the meeting of the North Central Association, which is undertaking to study the situation for the purpose of improving educational service.

In the field of the organization of the educational process, Professor Thorndike's studies of adult learning ability as compared with the learning ability of youth were of vital importance as they tended to indicate the need of a complete revision of the present program not only for adult education but for the period of youth as well.

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The resignation of Dr. John J. Tigert as United States Commissioner of Education in September, 1928, gave occasion for renewed emphasis upon the fact that administration and control of education in the United States is essentially local. That the United States Commissioner of Education should see opportunities for greater influence and usefulness as the head of a state university than as the head of the Federal Bureau of Education is entirely consistent with allegiance in the United States to the principle of local responsibility in education. Nevertheless, certain sections of the

educational press took the opportunity to lament that this relative emphasis is still the fact.

Regrets on this score came alike from advocates of a federal department of education after the European model and from educators who are not interested in the special form of the federal educational office but who feel the need for the aid that co-ordinated study under national auspices may give in the solution of local educational problems. Congressmen and federal budget directors are likely to fear that advocates of a federal department of education are inspired by desire to dip their fingers into the honey pots of the federal treasury. They have been likely to regard those who seek federal aid upon the problems of educational administration and theory as visionary, impractical and, of course, as relatively unimportant vote-makers. Since, however, the leaders in Congress are not uninterested or unintelligent in regard to education from any standpoint other than that of the professional educator, Dr. Tigert's greatest service as United States Commissioner of Education was probably the contribution made under his administration to the definition and the demonstration of functions that may be performed by the United States Bureau of Education without encroachment upon local autonomy and without money subsidy to local activity. Three examples of such service belong to the year 1928. They are named in the message of former President Coolidge to Congress delivered upon December 4, 1928. He said in his message:

While this province [education] belongs peculiarly to the States, yet the promotion of education and efficiency in educational methods is a general responsibility of the Federal Government. A survey of Negro colleges and universities in the United States has just been completed by the Bureau of Education through funds provided by the institutions themselves and through private sources. The present status of Negro higher education was determined and recommendations were made for its advancement. Following the invitation of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, the Bureau of Education now has under way the survey of agricultural colleges authorized by Congress. The purpose of the survey is to ascertain the accomplishments, the status and the future objectives of this type of educational training. It is now proposed to undertake a survey of secondary schools, which educators insist is timely and essential.

The importance of these activities to better definition of legitimate federal activities in education becomes manifest by consideration of their significance in the restricted areas of educational interest immediately affected.

#### NEGRO EDUCATION

Almost 10 per cent of the population of the United States is colored. "The total accumulated wealth of the Negroes of the country now amounts to \$2,000,000,000. There are 700,000 Negroes who own homes, 232,000 who own farms, 1,000,000 who have the full responsibility of operating farms, and 70,000 who either own or conduct business enterprises." The welfare of this "educationally disadvantaged" portion of our citizenry concerns the nation as a whole. To relegate the solution of this phase of our educational problem to missionary effort is an impertinence. Yet almost the only facts about Negro educational conditions available to educators, until the *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities* by the United States Bureau of Education, were the facts collected over ten years ago.

The responsibility for educating 5,000,000 Negro youths under nineteen years of age rests upon approximately 47,000 Negro teachers; less than one teacher to every 1,000 pupils. More teachers and better training for those already employed are needed. The only place where teacher-training can be secured is in the Negro colleges and normal schools of the South and in the institutions of the North. The Negro colleges of the South must have teachers with graduate training if they are to perform their task. Admission to graduate schools or even to advanced undergraduate standing is now a highly technical and safeguarded process. It is fundamentally based upon the standing and rating of the institutions from which students come. Students who came in recent years from the Negro colleges and normal schools seeking admission to more advanced work found their way blocked or made difficult since the universities and colleges that offer the better type of training still rated the preparation of Negro students upon the basis of what the Negro colleges were doing in 1915. The Bureau's survey of 79 Negro universities and colleges, published in 1928, attempted to bring

up to date the information that the universities and colleges must have if high standards of admission are to be maintained. Many registrars and other admission officers are now using the *Survey* report as a guide in determining the qualifications of those who come from the Negro colleges of the South. The Negro colleges themselves have clearly before them a disinterested presentation of what must be done if they are to provide training that will open further educational opportunities to their graduates. Agencies which control financial resources are enabled to determine better where expenditures and support will accomplish the most.

At least two years of college work in an institution of accepted educational standards is a prerequisite to admission to medical schools in the United States. There is one colored physician to every 3,343 Negroes, as compared with one white physician to every 553 white persons. In large sections of the country no physician is called in or available for attendance at the birth of Negro children. Unscrupulous white "Docs" prey upon the need and thrive upon the ignorance of uneducated Negroes. There is only one Negro dentist to every 10,540 Negro inhabitants. The need for Negro physicians and dentists is evident. It would seem that educators and the medical profession would have recognized the pressing need of providing for entrance, as rapidly as possible, of able Negroes to medical colleges. The American Medical Association recognized this need and classified the Negro colleges for purposes of admission to medical school into Classes I, II, and III. Class I ranking meant that the work of the college would be accepted year for year for purposes of admission; Class II rating meant that students coming from these institutions would be required to present 50 per cent more work for admission than would those from Class I; while Class III rating made it necessary for students to present twice as many credits for admission as those from Class I institutions. Yet at the beginning of 1928 this classification was based for the most part, on the facts concerning Negro colleges as they existed in 1915, and there were but two Negro colleges with Class I rating. One purpose of the *Survey of Negro Colleges* was to provide the information which would enable rating agencies to reclassify Negro colleges for the purpose of preparation for medical schools, to bring

the classification into better accord with the facts and to remove the handicap imposed on students in Negro colleges that, since 1915, had raised their standards of equipment, personnel, and instruction. In harmony with this purpose the American Medical Association in the summer of 1928 designated a committee to reclassify Negro colleges. Two of the members of the committee are members of the Bureau's survey staff and the third is a well-known member of a great Southern university. Few would question that the *Survey of Negro Colleges* by the Bureau of Education is a practical demonstration of the exercise of legitimate federal functions in the educational field or that the *Survey* itself and the action of the American Medical Association are of significance in the field of Negro education.

#### SURVEY OF LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

There are 69 land-grant colleges in the United States. They range in size and importance from those like the Universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota to the small agricultural and mechanical colleges for Negroes in Kentucky and Delaware. The survey of this group of institutions now being carried on by the Bureau of Education is not mentioned because of any important influence that the survey itself has exercised as yet upon these universities and colleges. It is merely in process. Its importance for this discussion lies in the fact that it marks a step in the further definition and development of the functions of the federal Bureau of Education in national educational life.

As noted by former President Coolidge, the survey of Negro colleges and universities was conducted by the Bureau's regular staff and from its current funds supplemented by the contributions of the institutions surveyed and by private funds. Congress made no special appropriation for the purpose. The land-grant college survey, however, was undertaken upon the request of the association of these institutions and is financed by means of funds specifically requested of Congress by the Bureau and set aside for the purpose. This fact represented a new development in the relations of the federal government to local educational agencies. It opened the way to national co-operation upon specific educational projects

desired by important factors in our national educational life. Although the appropriation was made to the Bureau of Education and is entirely subject to its direction, the actual organization of the survey preserves and emphasizes the essentially co-operative character of the enterprise. Approximately seventy committees consisting of over 700 persons drawn from every state in the Union and in large part from the land-grant colleges themselves are engaged upon the survey. The institutions are contributing services that in terms of money would be many times more than the amount appropriated by Congress for the work. In other words, the congressional appropriation is merely a fund that serves to release and to co-ordinate the energy of the local and institutional agencies interested in the survey.

#### SURVEY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The appropriation of money by Congress for the land-grant college survey was a practical demonstration of the fact that necessary funds could be secured from the federal government for studies and projects requested by a considerable group of educators in the interest of their local educational welfare. The organization of the survey as a great co-operative venture under the direction of the commissioner of education demonstrated that the Bureau had no desire to utilize money thus secured to approach such work in the spirit of superior inspection or governmental investigation.

The organized educational agencies of the country, therefore, following the suggestion and leadership of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, in 1928 requested that Congress appropriate funds for a three-year study of secondary education in the United States. The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the National Education Association, the National Council of State Superintendents and Commissioners of Education, the American Council on Education, the American Association of Teachers Col-

leges, and the Department of Secondary School Principals joined in this request for a national study of secondary education. Never before had so many agencies of so wide geographical distribution, so authoritative in the educational life of the nation, united to demand leadership and co-ordination of effort under the Bureau of Education. Former President Coolidge referred favorably to it in his message of December, 1928, and the Congress that he addressed made provision for the study. The fact is significant with reference to the development of federal functions in education in the United States. It is far more significant in that the study will touch directly or indirectly every community in the United States and bring together in a common co-operative effort more interests, more educational ability, and more institutions than have ever before been united upon solution of a definite series of educational problems.

#### UNITY OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

No feature of the political life of the United States is more interesting than the maintenance of a common social culture and of a dominant national loyalty under forty-eight separate political units, each exercising, independently of the others and of the national government, powers of direction and control within areas that largely determine trends of social character. National control of the schools and of the educational system is, in Europe, quite generally regarded as essential to maintenance of unified culture and of national consciousness. In the United States educational development and direction are among the powers of government reserved to the states. That this fact has not resulted in wide divergence of social development and attitude between the states or even in great differences in school organization and methods is due to a number of causes. Migration from state to state is easy; a single lifetime habitation seems essential to the happiness of a relatively small proportion of our people. Voluntary educational and professional organizations cut across state lines and provide interchange of ideas and knowledge between those who are actually carrying on teaching and school administrative functions. The state educational offices themselves are associated in such a voluntary relationship

and for many years the chief educational officers of the state governments have met to exchange news, views, and ideas. Further, the federal government without exercising control does exert considerable influence upon development and unity by means of direct promotion of certain types of education and by assistance rendered to voluntary state efforts at co-ordination and standardization. The year 1928 was marked by important measures that illustrate these two types of federal influence.

#### FEDERAL SUBSIDIES

Through special grants of money to the states the federal government has for many years sought to encourage agricultural extension work in the land-grant colleges and vocational education in the public schools. Acceptance of these aids is entirely subject to state determination but acceptance carries with it compliance with certain conditions. The most important of these conditions are appropriation by the state of an amount equal to the federal grant and submission to approval by the agents of the federal government of the plans for the expenditures of the joint fund thus provided. It is frequently asserted that the so-called 50-50 provision tends to distort the educational programs of individual states because it tempts states to devote money to aspects of education for which federal aid is provided that should be spent upon other phases of educational development. Whatever the validity of this objection, it has not as yet secured sufficient public backing to effect a change in the federal policy with respect to grants for the encouragement of vocational and agricultural extension education. Congress has passed two measures that were before it in 1928 which provide additional sums for these two activities in the states upon the 50-50 basis. One of the acts authorized for the further development of vocational education "for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, the sum of \$500,000 and for each year thereafter, for four years, a sum exceeding by \$500,000 the sum appropriated for each preceding year." The other act provides \$20,000 per year for each state and in addition, after the first year, \$500,000 per year for distribution among the states for the further development of agricultural extension work.

## STATE AND FEDERAL CONFERENCES

Of quite different character is the influence of the federal government exercised through association and co-operation with the voluntary efforts of the state educational offices to profit from exchange of experience and from common counsel on the problems of standardization and stabilization. In December, 1928, the chief educational officers of the states and representatives of their offices met upon their own request with the United States Bureau of Education to consider methods of standardizing the collection of educational statistics and to discuss the desirability of asking the Bureau to undertake a nation-wide study of the methods of financing public education in the states. It is significant for the development and maintenance of national unity through such unforced and voluntary means that the state officers voted to meet regularly in this way every alternate year with the Bureau of Education. There was thus established in 1928 an extra-legal, but permanent and effective instrument through which state and federal governmental agencies of education may co-operatively develop broad policies and practical procedures of national significance. It is probable that this relatively unknown action will have wider influence upon the future educational life of the nation than will other more spectacular and immediate accomplishments of the year.

## PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE STATES

Discussion of the dominance of local control over education in the United States quite frequently assumes that the state educational office exercises power over the schools of the state comparable to that of national departments of education in some European countries. In fact, although the authority of the chief state educational officers varies greatly, the principle of town, city, and school district responsibility is in general maintained. Nevertheless a tendency to greater centralization about the state educational office is evident. The complication of the educational organization and of educational processes accounts in large part for this trend.

In order to meet their educational problems, local school units need increasingly professional aid and guidance that can best be furnished by the central state office serving all the local districts.

In meeting this need the influence of the state educational office has been exercised during 1928 as in preceding years, by careful studies of the curricula, frequently of such co-operative character as to enlist the interest and aid of local school officials; by studies of measures to promote the effectiveness of supervision of school activities; and to a rather unusual degree by attention to facilities and standards for the training of teachers. Studies and measures of this kind in many states have tended to promote the influence of the state educational office.

The outstanding instrument in the development of centralized state influence over local school units, however, is state control of funds intended to equalize educational opportunities within the state. This tendency is illustrated during 1928 by the extensive plans for such financing developed by Connecticut and Alabama. These plans tend to increase the influence of the state education offices and are also significant as practical demonstrations of how adjustment may be provided for the unequal abilities of local communities to furnish public educational opportunities. The situation in Connecticut is chosen for brief description.

In 1907 the state of Connecticut was paying through grants to local communities, approximately 17 per cent of their current school expenses. By 1927 the towns were meeting approximately 94 per cent of the expense and the state only 6 per cent. Differences in the abilities of the local communities to provide similar educational opportunities had become, during the twenty years, more and more striking, while the contributions of the state, intended to adjust these differences of ability, had become less and less important. In 1927 the wealth of the towns as measured by "the grand list" varied from \$1,400 to \$80,000 per child. During the same year the federal government collected \$29,000,000 of income tax from Connecticut, which was \$7,000,000 more than the entire cost of the elementary and secondary school program. In other words, as compared with the general tax power, the towns could do little more than tap by taxation the resources of the state.

Connecticut attacked the situation by careful study to determine fair and legitimate measures of the educational need and of the ability of the local political school units to meet this need. A

reasonable minimum amount required for the education of each child was determined. "Child" in this case does not represent a census figure but is, as expressed by Dr. A. B. Meredith, Commissioner of Education in Connecticut, "a measure of the educational task which considers in addition to average daily attendance, the fact that it costs more to educate a pupil in small than in large schools and to educate a pupil in high than in elementary schools." Estimate of the ability of the local school to provide the funds needed to furnish this minimum support for the education of each child is based upon the proportion of the total tax income.

Under the Connecticut plan, if application to school purposes of 34 per cent of a local unit's average tax income fails to provide the minimum amount per equated child adopted as standard, the state will grant enough additional to assure the standard support. The fact that this aid is a means of increasing state influence rather than state control is evident since participation in the benefits is entirely voluntary on the part of the local school units.

Commissioner Meredith indicates the general importance of the plan briefly in the following statement: "The proposal . . . represents a co-ordination of fiscal and education conditions, based upon fact and scientific procedure with the aim of developing a simple and comprehensive plan for the support of public education." Although political and school organizations and units, legal restrictions and tax systems vary greatly between the states, the situation in Connecticut exists in essentially the same form in other states and the measures adopted by Connecticut will probably strengthen the hands of other state educational officers who seek solutions to similar problems.

#### EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

The federal and state educational organizations exercise considerable influence upon and make important contributions to educational development. These agencies are more or less familiar. But the general public knows little about a third factor that exercises a kind of professional overlordship with reference to the educational standards of our high schools and colleges. Five regional and one national accrediting association determine the standards

that secondary and higher educational institutions must maintain if they are to be admitted into the company of the educationally respectable. For a high school not to be upon the accredited list of one of the regional accrediting associations makes difficult admission of its graduates to standard colleges and universities. For a college or university not to be accredited by one of these associations or by the Association of American Universities makes difficult the transfer of its students to another institution and the admission of its graduates to the graduate and professional schools.

The standards set up by these associations have exercised far reaching influence in stabilizing and raising the character of high-school and college educational opportunities. These standards are for the most part purely objective and tend to become entirely formal. In recent years, therefore, they have been subjected to severe criticism.

The number in the faculty and the number of organized departments, the number of units of credit for graduation, minimum permissible operating income, the number of volumes in the library, and similar definite means of measurement have been the basis upon which colleges have been accredited. To many, these matters have seemed entirely inadequate tests of the educational quality of institutional service. Since the adoption of these standards much new knowledge of the educational processes has been gained and means of testing the effectiveness of these processes have been devised. With this new knowledge has developed a tendency to experiment with new forms of teaching organizations and with new teaching methods. The traditional in organization, curricula, and method is being broken down all along the line from the elementary to the professional school. The formal standards of the accrediting associations no longer provide adequate measures for the work that the schools are doing to accomplish their real task of educating boys and girls.

Under these conditions it is of great significance that at its meeting in March, 1928, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the largest and most powerful of the regional accrediting associations, faced the situation squarely. Dr. Charles H. Judd stated in an address before the association:

Such associations as our own have certainly outgrown the methods and standards which were adequate a few years ago. When the North Central Association began to approve high schools and later when it prepared the first approved list of colleges there were no studies to guide its action. The Association did what was rational under the circumstances and formulated into standards the best experience that was available.

Time has passed and the educational situation has become enormously complex; a new era has arrived. Today no one has a right to say that a class of 30 is of the maximum size which can safely be tolerated. No one has a right to say that endowment is the safest indication of financial efficiency of a college. No one knows how many students are essential before an institution can properly conduct college work. The reason why these matters are in doubt is that we know more than we did when we originally adopted standards.

Dr. Judd's statement is a reflection of the tone and spirit adopted by the Association commissions on both higher and secondary education.

Powerful organizations firmly established and strongly entrenched in social respectability too infrequently show a disposition to take the lead in breaking down the rules that have become maxims in their guidance of affairs. The fact that this great educational organization thus recognized the inadequacy of its old rules is significant for education in the United States. Even more significant is the fact that the Association did not set its face in conservative or reactionary opposition to change, but rather turned to assumption of leadership in the quest for standards that will measure present and future educational utility. The dam erected by the Association to restrain the floods of quack or insecure educational ventures has not been swept away, but the organization at its meeting in 1928 definitely laid plans to utilize in an orderly and scientific way the energy of idea and experience that has developed both within and outside the customary tributaries to educational resources.

#### ADULT EDUCATION

Matters thus far mentioned are primarily concerned with educational administration and organization. They are important but their importance consists largely in providing the means for the operation of the psychological processes of learning and for the practice of methods of instruction. In the realm of psychology and

method education, the year 1928 has been marked by considerable activity but there are few outstanding and striking discoveries. Experimentation in the extension of the application of psychological principles already known and, indeed, the stretching of the boundaries of psychological knowledge have engaged much of the attention of school people and of education research. Of this work the most striking is that of Professor Thorndike and his colleagues, who completed in 1928 a three year study of adult learning.

Professor Thorndike carried on an extensive series of tests and reached conclusions which considerably modify the accepted conception of the curve that the ability to learn takes during life. If Professor Thorndike's conclusions are valid, and there seems to be every reason to believe that they are, the curve of learning ability rises to its height at about the age of 25 and then slowly drops until by 45 it corresponds to what it was at 18. Although Professor Thorndike's experiments did not fully establish the fact, it seems that the rate of decline after 45 is not much more rapid than the rate of rise from 5 to 18. In other words, it would seem that persons from 25 to 45 have about the same learning ability as people from 18 to 25 and that learning abilities before and after these two limits are not greatly dissimilar. Common experience has always afforded practical evidence of ability to learn after the first flush of youth, but Professor Thorndike's studies now afford the consolations of science to the uncertainties of common knowledge.

The importance of Professor Thorndike's *Adult Learning* lies not primarily in the field of adult education, which is now receiving so much attention, but in the emphasis it gives to the necessity of readjusting our conception of the profitable organization of the education process during life. We have in the past, because of our belief that youth was the best and easiest and most effective period for learning, concentrated our educational efforts largely in continuous periods during early life. Since this was supposed to be the period for learning, we have insisted that students learn a great many things that could not have immediate use. We have proceeded upon the assumption that if we did not teach the student when he was young, he would never be able to acquire the information and knowledge that in later life he would need. If the conclusions of

*Adult Learning* are accepted, the logical result will be an entire reorganization of the content of the material which is presented for learning to youthful students and the spreading out of the process in accordance with some rough plan whereby the individual will systematically continue to study and to acquire intellectual furniture throughout life. The time of acquisition will come very shortly prior to use. In other words, we will treat the mind less as a warehouse which must be filled for a lifetime, and organize the system of education more in analogy with the method through which we acquire meat and shoes and bedsteads as our need for them arises. Although it is, of course, an extreme view to suppose that this result will grow from the adult learning study in the immediate future, the way is opened for developments in this direction. If the first step should be, as current tendencies indicate is probable, provision of increased facilities for learning by adults and removal of the inferiority complex from which adults have frequently suffered because of age, the next and logical step will be to raise the question of "why give our children great portions of the formal training that we now acquire as we need it?" Popular forms of curricula construction look to analysis of life-activity for guidance. Unfortunately the life-activity is usually that of mature age, while the period of preparation for that life-activity is now concentrated in a period separated from use by many years. The limits of a brief review of this type do not permit a systematic analysis of the consequences of Professor Thorndike's experiments, but it should be apparent that they remove important barriers to revolutionary revision of every phase of educational life and activity.

As is evident, this review does not present a microcosmic picture made up of a mass of statistical data and recorded events derived from New Year's Day reviews of the Old Year. The choice of topics for discussion is entirely subjective. If someone with other experience and contacts had made the selection, it probably would have been different. There has been an attempt to record significant events of the year for educational progress. This review, therefore, has attempted to do no more than discuss these events from the standpoint of their influence upon restricted fields of education and to provide such interpretation as will be desired by persons who customarily browse in other intellectual pastures.

## GOVERNMENT

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J. P. CHAMBERLAIN

Professor of Public Law, Columbia University

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### ABSTRACT

The few states in session in 1928 show administrative devices applied in a period of development. The new field of jurisdiction, the air, seems to be falling under federal control in respect of air traffic as the legislation of 1927 showed to be the case in respect of radio. Centralization of state government shows advances, but, notably in those departments in which the sociologist is interested, the administrative or advisory committee persists as an instrument of administration. Judicial councils, representing the reaction against ineffective administration of the courts, were created in three states, an evidence of the seriousness with which is taken the demand for reform in court administration as necessary to any effective improvement in securing the rights of individuals through the judges. The movement for the centralization and better keeping of criminal records for the purpose and the use of that agency to aid local police officials in the detection of crime, found expression in the year under review.

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Interesting as it is, and important as is the rôle it plays in society, government is not an end in itself but is merely a means to an end. What that end is appears in other articles in this survey, discussing changes in social and economic interests during the year. All law, whether it deals with government or with private rights, should be envisaged as a solution of social difficulties, taking the word "social" in its broad sense. The social need or the social problem develops with the progress of society, and when the social groups affected, it may even be the whole of the community, believe that the solution of the problem must be established by public action through law and enforced through government, the legislature or the courts as lawmaking bodies are justified in trying to find the popular legal setting for the reform proposed.

It is in this sense that changes in government must be regarded, especially by students of social sciences; the efficiency of the governmental devices must be tested, not in the narrow field of administrative convenience or theoretical perfection, but in the broader field of giving satisfaction to recognized wants of the public. For example, the budget is socially important, not just to save money or

to offer a convenient way of bettering state administration, but as showing the objects for which the state is using its money and securing greater economy in state expenditure, in order that there may be more income left: to remedy great social needs, like social insurance, it would be argued by one group; or by another, to leave more money in the pockets of its citizens as the best social solution of the question of division of the income available to the people of the state.

#### FEDERAL LEGISLATION

The Federal legislation for 1928, while containing no fundamental changes in the administrative structure of the country, emphasizes interestingly some of the administrative devices used in the federal government. There are many instances of a technical commission being appointed to advise the president upon the facts in a situation prior to his taking action, and the seventieth Congress adopted this method to solve a difference which had arisen as to the plan for flood control on the Mississippi. The chief of engineers of the army reported a project which had been approved by the secretary of war and the president, providing for control of floods by means of spillways, flood ways, levee construction, and channel stabilization. The Mississippi River Commission had also prepared a plan which differed in important engineering details from that of the chief of engineers. Congress by 45 Stat. 534, adopted the engineers' project, but had its doubts in respect to the differences between the engineers' and the Commission's plans. It, therefore, appointed a board to consist of the chief of engineers, the president of the Commission, also an army engineer, and a civil engineer chosen from civil life by the president and Senate to study and, if necessary, to make further surveys and then to recommend to the president the action which it deemed necessary in respect to these differences. The president was then to make final decision. In fact, the Board unanimously indorsed the plan of the army engineers, so that there was nothing left for the president to decide. The prosecution of the project was committed to the Mississippi River Commission acting under the direction of the secretary of war and the chief of engineers. The Commission, created in 1879, consists of seven members appointed by the president and Senate. Three of

them are army engineers, one of whom is designated president, one an engineer of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and three persons appointed from civil life, two of whom shall be engineers, so that technical men are put in control of the operations. The chief debate on the act arose from the difference over the amount which should be contributed by the states affected. Congress finally declared its adherence to the principle of local contribution, but in view of the large amount of money already expended by the Mississippi Valley people, the whole cost of the project is to be defrayed from the federal treasury, if the states or levee districts give satisfactory assurance that they will maintain the works and provide all rights of way for levee foundations and levees on the main stem of the river.

Another evidence of the use of technical advisory boards is contained in 45 Stat. 1011, directing the secretary of the interior to appoint a board of five engineers and geologists to advise him in respect to the proposed Boulder Dam site on the Colorado River.

The use of existing human facilities to carry out new enterprises is rather strikingly illustrated in the new Workmen's Compensation Act for the District of Columbia. The United States Employees' Compensation Commission, established to administer compensation to employees of the government, and subsequently vested with the administration of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, is made the Compensation Commission for the District by 45 Stat. 600. The act is interesting in its brevity. It simply applies the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Act to employers and employees in the District. No state public fund is provided for the insurance of employees. The field is left open to private companies. Owing to the small size of the District, it would have been impractical to have any other than an exclusive public fund as in Ohio. The proponents of the bill wisely avoided setting up a competing public fund, such as exists in New York, California, and other states.

The device of corporations whose capital stock is owned wholly by the United States, a device much used during the war, has evidently proved of worth under some conditions. In 45 Stat. 978, the stock of the Inland Waterways Corporation was trebled and the

corporation directed to extend existing carrier service on inland waterways. The policy of congress, however, was declared to be to continue the government service only until private persons engaged in common carrier service on the rivers on which the corporation operates. The power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, furthermore, was extended over common carriers on the Warrior or Mississippi Rivers, or their tributaries. The protection of invested capital and going concerns is assured by the well-known device of requiring certificates of convenience and necessity from the Commission.

The shoe of the comptroller general has given much evidence of pinching till it hurts. In recent years his close control over expenditures has proved very trying to administrative officers and sometimes quite hampering to the carrying out of the law. Congress by 45 Stat. 248, authorizing the postmaster general to enter into contracts for airmail to foreign countries and insular possessions, expressly directed that, in the awarding and interpretation of the contracts, the decision of the postmaster general is to be final and not subject to review by the comptroller general. This will result from the words of the Act forbidding "review by any officer or tribunal of the United States, except the President or the Federal Courts." Another way to loosen the tight rein which the comptroller holds over public expenses is adopted by 45 Stat. 413 authorizing him to submit to congress a recommendation in respect to claims that may not lawfully be adjusted by the use of appropriations already made, but which "contain such elements of legal liability or equity as to be deserving of the consideration of Congress."

#### THE CONTROL OF THE AIR

In the review of 1927 legislation, attention was called to the "debatable land" of the air where separate jurisdiction of the federal government and the states might cause conflict. In respect to the operation of aircraft, there is a tendency among the states to give the practical control over airmen and aircraft to the United States as in 1927 the control of radio seemed to be passing to Congress. One group of states goes the whole distance—New York (Ch. 233), New Jersey (Ch. 63), Mississippi (Ch. 208), Illinois

(Special Session, p. 85). They require all aviators and aircraft flying in the state in any kind of aviation for which licenses would be required by the government, if the flying were interstate, to have federal licenses. "The public safety requiring, and the advantages of uniform regulation making it desirable, in the interests of aeronautical progress" that this be so is given as a reason by New York and New Jersey. These two states in their identical acts also introduce to the dictionary of statutes the word "avigation" as a substitute for "aerial navigation," but the purists of Illinois stick to simple "aviation."

The curious combination of Massachusetts (Ch. 350), and Virginia (Ch. 463), stood for modified state's rights. The "Old Dominion" allows a person with a federal license to "avigate" in their jurisdiction, but also provides for state registration. Massachusetts limits the right to fly with federal licenses in their jurisdiction to non-commercial flyers, and requires commercial flyers to have licenses from the registrar of motor vehicles, or, if licensed in another state, to file a declaration with the registrar if they fly in the state for more than ten days. There will probably be a general approval of the provision of Massachusetts that foreign aviators must appoint the registrar attorney to receive service in the event of any suit against them for damages caused by negligence in aviation, a provision quite common in respect to foreign automobilists. Airmen can get away quicker and farther than motorists, so that it is the more important that the injured Yankee find some way of bringing suit in his own state, if he is to have any redress.

#### STATE LEGISLATION

*Consolidation and concentration.*—The state of New York has continued the reorganization of its state government under close control by the governor on the general plan of a single-headed chief of a department whose commission runs for the same term as that of the governor who appoints him. Thus, the executive holds the control of the department through its chief and a clean slate of heads of departments is given to each new governor to fill out with men he trusts. True to type is the Department of Conservation (Ch. 242). Its chief is a commissioner appointed by the governor

with the advice and consent of the Senate, to hold office till the end of the term of the appointing governor. The principle of responsibility within the Department is observed through the power given the commissioner to appoint his secretary and deputy and other employees, especially the heads of each of the five divisions created in the department, and to fix their compensation within the amount appropriated therefor. Again, the insistence on responsibility of the chief and his independence within his department is observed by conferring upon him, subject to civil service law and regulations, the power of removal of all officers in the department, except the heads of the Division of Water Power and Control. This division is headed by an ex officio commission composed of the commissioner himself, the superintendent of public works and the attorney general, which in its turn has control of its subordinate appointees so that the power of the commissioner in respect to water power is only that of the *primus inter pares*. It is a general rule in the state reorganization to allow the head of a division to appoint his subordinates; for instance, in conservation, the chief game protector has this appointive power, so that here again he can fairly be made responsible for his division, since he is given the disciplinary power within it.

The Division of Parks is under an executive officer named by the commissioner, who is secretary of the Council of Parks, which makes the rules, acts as an advisory and planning body, and recommends a budget to the commissioner. The Council of Parks includes the chairmen of the different local park commissions in the state, including two county park commissions, the president of the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society, and the superintendent of Lands and Forests. The local interests were too strong to permit a central park authority fixing the budget and controlling the actions of the special park boards.

The Executive Department is built around the governor himself (Ch. 676). It has four divisions—the Budget, Military and Naval Affairs, Standards and Purchase, and State Police. The governor may establish, consolidate, or abolish additional divisions or bureaus. He appoints, to serve during his pleasure, the heads of the divisions of the Budget and of Standards and Purchase, thus keep-

ing within his hands the reins of these important financial bureaus. The adjutant general is the head of the military and naval affairs, and the head of the State Police is appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, removing him a little farther from the direct control of the chief. To administer relief to sick and disabled New York veterans, a bureau is continued in the Division of Military and Naval Affairs under the supervision of the adjutant general, who, subject to the approval of the governor, appoints the employees and also in each Assembly District of the State, a veterans' relief commission to investigate applications for relief and to fix the amount to be given. These officers serve without pay—a testimonial to the reliance on voluntary help in carrying out the relief functions of the state so common in this country.

The Department of Public Service (Ch. 732) has a hybrid organization. Its administrative head is the Chairman of the Public Service Commission, but its important judicial function is performed by two commissions: one for the City of New York, to consist of three members appointed by governor and Senate, who must be residents of the city and are appointed for nine-year terms; the other, the state division, consists of five members appointed by the governor and Senate, one of them designated as chairman, for ten-year terms. The independence of the Commission is emphasized by the length of the terms of its members, and by the fact that they are appointed for overlapping periods, so that at no one time is an opportunity given to an ambitious governor to impose his own point of view on the decisions of the commission which controls the utilities.

In the reorganization of the Charities Department (Ch. 859), the effort to isolate state aid from political influence is evident in setting up as its head a State Board of Charities composed of twelve members appointed by the governor and Senate for overlapping terms of eight years. Another interesting characteristic of many American commissions appears in the geographical distribution of membership, so that each section of the state will be represented in the body that manages the state welfare functions. The Board appoints its subordinates, a chief executive officer, the director of state charities, and the heads of divisions. The members

of the Board are paid a per diem instead of the regular salary which the Public Service Commission receives. Local rights as in the Division of Parks are respected through the local boards which still control particular institutions, but the superintendents of these institutions are appointed by the state board and are protected by civil service. They can effectively manage their own institutions through the power of appointment of subordinates.

The comptroller general of the state is properly not a member of the Executive Department of the government, but is the watchdog of the legislature upon it. In the reorganized state government of New York, this function is recognized by the election of the comptroller and his complete power of appointment and organization of the Department of Audit (Ch. 590).

Virginia has adopted the principle of the single head of the department in its Labor Department, which is under a commissioner. Chapter 19 extends his term of office from two to four years. In Chapter 140, the same state consolidates under the corporation commissioner the Bureau of the Commissioner of Insurance and other officials controlling banks and insurance. The corporation commissioner is authorized to exercise his new power over banks and insurance, through a commissioner of banking and insurance whom he may appoint in his department.

*Boards and commissions.*—The states that took action in 1928 other than New York and Virginia showed little respect for the theory of centralization of governmental functions. In a great industrial state like New York, the need for bureaucratic organization with responsibility in the chiefs of the departments to the governor and the public, and with that responsibility made possible through their power over their subordinate officers under civil service, has overcome the American reluctance to vesting power in a few hands. The need for a strong, well-organized body of permanent officers and clerks under responsible chiefs is not felt to the same degree in smaller communities. The tendency to make government more efficient and economical by grouping the state officers in a few great departments on the model of the federal government develops as government extends, and interferes more and more in the business of individuals, so that as taxpayers and as persons who

must conform to the orders of a state official, the citizens become more and more interested in efficiency in government. This need has not influenced deeply the laws of the less industrially developed communities. The old custom of creating boards and commissions to perform various duties of the state government, to make each one independent of the others and as independent as possible of the chief executive, still prevails. The legislatures reflect, furthermore, the opinion that the head of a department need not be a professional official, giving all his time to his work, and paid a salary, but that a group of well-disposed persons meeting a few times a year may direct many branches of the state service. This is particularly so in welfare work. Even in New York the State Department of Charities is under a large board with the executive control lessened by the interesting device of the overlapping term, and the power of appointment within the department. A certain degree of control will come from the governor's budget power in states which have introduced the budget system and in his power of investigation and discipline, but the governor can scarcely be held responsible for the administration of departments which are isolated so carefully from direct exercise of his authority.

The Louisiana Board of Health, Act No. 126, appointed by governor and Senate, is composed of the president and eight members with overlapping terms. It incorporates in addition the principle of geographical representation, as one member must be from each congressional district. Representation of interest, as well as geographical units, is evident since the Board contains five doctors, one dentist, one registered druggist, and one educator, who is in the public school system, the latter probably on account of the school medical service. A very important change in the finances of the Board was made in the reorganization. In addition to its independence of the executive through the method of appointment of its members, the old Board had a considerable income from taxes and fees which were by statute devoted to its use, so that it had economic independence. The new law makes all these fees and taxes payable into the state treasury, so that the Board will henceforth be dependent on annual grants from the legislature. Kentucky (Ch. 17), continued the care for children under a com-

mission of nine for overlapping terms, and requires not more than five of the nine members to be from any one political party. Perhaps one might say that the professional element is represented by requiring four of the members to be women. Mississippi (Ch. 149), and Louisiana (Act No. 101) create commissions for the blind containing at least one blind person. The commissioners are appointed for overlapping terms. It is interesting that in Louisiana the chairman is to be superintendent of the State School for the Blind, whereas in Mississippi the state superintendent of education and the secretary of the Board of Health are the official representatives. Virginia, by Ch. 220, changed her Department of Game and Fish from a single-headed department to one controlled by a commission of five members on a per diem, the chairman to be the administrative head with the right of appointing a paid executive secretary.

A few *ex officio* commissions were set up, notably one in Louisiana (Act No. 95), composed of the commissioner of agriculture, the president of the State Board of Health and the dean of the State College of Agriculture to make and administer rules as to the sale of milk; South Carolina (No. 623), which gives the Board of Trustees of the Clemson College, a state school, power of regulation over poultry, a control which they already exercised over other livestock. Thus direct political influence was again here widely removed from an important branch of the state administration.

*Guild control.*—Another form of the commission appears in the curious kind of modified guild organization which is rapidly increasing in different lines of occupation in this country, varying from doctors and lawyers to cosmeticians and barbers. The various groups are organized by the process of licensing by a commission composed of members of the group, and the discipline of the group is confided into the hands of the same body through their power to suspend and even take away licenses, with the right of an appeal to the courts. Mississippi (Ch. 133), sets up a state board of architecture of five practicing architects appointed by the governor for overlapping terms; and in Rhode Island (Ch. 1235), a state board of optometry of five members engaged in the practice of the profession, appointed for five years, one going out each year,

controls the profession. Mississippi (Ch. 131), and Louisiana (Act No. 253), create state boards of dentistry, each of five dentists, for overlapping terms; Kentucky, by Ch. 123, sets up a board of chiropractic examiners of three members for three-year overlapping terms, to be appointed from chiropractors now holding a license. Subsequent members must be graduates of chiropractic colleges giving a specified number of hours of instruction. The act defines chiropractic and authorizes the board to license and discipline chiropractors.

An interesting case of advance of guild control is the modified board of cosmetic therapy in Louisiana. The new board (Act 245), contains two licensed cosmeticians appointed by the governor, whereas the old board had but one. The president of the state board of health, and a member appointed from the employees of the board, show that the guild of cosmeticians has not yet freed itself from the control of the public health authorities, but it has made a step in that direction. The barbers in Louisiana run their own craft (No. 247). The three members of the board must be practical barbers. In most cases such boards have a per diem pay, but in Louisiana, one of the members may be elected secretary and will receive a regular salary. It may be doubted if the disciplinary function of these professional boards is very vigorously exercised, but the principle of democratic control of a profession through its own members, one of the oldest forms of social organization, in place of bureaucratic control, is evidently still in vigorous life.

*Investigating committees.*—The average American legislature sits only for a short time every two years, or even where it sits annually, it has little opportunity during its session to investigate carefully the questions presented to it for action. It is, therefore, quite common to have committees of investigation created which are sometimes members of the legislature, but frequently contain persons appointed by the governor from the public at large. These commissions are valuable, not only to collect information and digest it for the benefit of the hurried session of the legislature, but almost as much so as a means of finding out popular sentiment and, if that sentiment is vague or unformed, to lead it by discussion and hearing to a real consideration of a novel subject of legislation. In

Virginia four such commissions were created in 1928, all containing members appointed by the governor, one (Ch. 216), a commission to investigate freight rates, composed of citizens appointed by the governor, one from each congressional district, one from the state at large. Another (Ch. 509), was set up to study the extension of the principle of compensation to automobiles. It is usually wise to put members of each house of the legislature on such investigating commissions, so that their proposals will have informed and convinced friends among the lawmakers, but it is more essential that the governor have the appointment of experts who will force the work of the body. Mississippi (Ch. 352), created a number of these commissions, notably the one to investigate the tax system of the state, and another to recommend means of additional revenue, while Kentucky (Ch. 596), sets up a commission to investigate the Workmen's Compensation Act, but this time all the members are appointed by the speaker or the president of the Senate.

*Judicial councils.*—Three states set up judicial councils, Rhode Island (Ch. 1038), Virginia (Ch. 7), Kentucky (Ch. 20). In Virginia the president of the Supreme Court summons the Council, to consist of not less than three nor more than five circuit judges, not less than two nor more than three judges of other courts of record, and ten members of the Bar, one from each congressional district. The president of the Supreme Court is the presiding officer. Each judge must report annually the condition of business in his court to the Council. A report is made to the governor and the Supreme Court reviewing judicial business and recommending improvements, particularly needed changes in rules of practice and procedure. Kentucky puts on her Council the judges of the Court of Appeals and the circuit judges. She requires the Council to meet annually to study the judicial system, especially its procedure and practice and administration. The circuit judges must report to the Council, which itself reports biennially to the General Assembly. Rhode Island agrees with Virginia in joining members of the Bar to the Bench. Its Council is composed of the chief justice of the Supreme Court, a justice or associate justice of a District Court, and three attorneys appointed by the governor with the same powers as the other councils, except that in Rhode Island, the judges are

not required to make reports from the Council. The move to create a better judicial organization is bearing all over the country first fruits in setting up an organization for the purpose of preparing and carrying out reforms and in creating that organ as a guild organ of the lawyers of the state.

*Penal.*—The value of a State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation is being realized over the country. Louisiana (Act No. 99), creates such a bureau under a board of managers, the governor as chairman, a chief of police, and a sheriff. The Bureau is to be managed by a superintendent appointed by the governor with the approval of the other members. The superintendent is given considerable freedom. He makes rules with the approval of the Board and appoints, also with the approval of the Board, the assistant superintendent, while the other members of the Bureau, including three investigators, he appoints himself. The Bureau collects and keeps a permanent record of photographs, descriptions, and fingerprints of all persons convicted of a felony and of all well-known and habitual criminals. The important position in modern criminology of the receiver of stolen goods, innocent or not, is emphasized by the fact that the superintendent must require pawnshops and second-hand dealers to file with him daily a complete description of all articles bought or taken in pawn, including the serial number on the article, and a description of the persons "negotiating the deal." He also is required to broadcast by radio, mail, or in other ways information relative to lost property or fugitives wanted. Louisiana strikes out a new line by directing the superintendent to provide instruction for police officers in their powers and duties and in the use of approved and scientific equipment and methods for the detection of crime.

New York reorganizes its state system for probation and parole. By Ch. 313, it puts at the head of the Division of Probation a director to be appointed by the commissioner of correction. The director is protected by putting him in the competitive class of the civil service, and he is authorized to appoint three probation examiners who must also be in the competitive class. The director is given general control over probation in the state, including probation in the children's courts. The state was unwilling to let the

director operate without some control, so it continued the State Probation Commission of seven members, four to be appointed by the commissioner with the advice and consent of the governor, to hold office during the term of the commissioner, the other three to be the commissioner of correction, the director of probation, and one member of the State Commission of Correction designated by the commissioner. The duty of the Commission, which is unpaid, is to consult with the director. To pass on applications for parole, a semi-judicial duty, a Parole Board of three is created (Ch. 490), consisting of the warden of the prison in which the candidate for release is held, the commissioner of correction, and a full-time, paid member who shall be second assistant commissioner of correction. This officer is appointed by the commissioner for a term coterminous with his own, so that the same degree of professionalization resorted to in the case of the Division of Probation is not set up in the Parole Board.

*Public finance.*—Two states have taken interesting action in the field of public finance. New York (Ch. 232), which has lately adopted the executive budget, adds a control over the money which may be received by a department. It requires the head of each department to submit a statement of sources, amounts, and disposition of all money received by or through the Department to include any fund under the control of the department. A summary of the statements is to be transmitted to the legislature by the governor with the budget. Thus the annual financial project of the state will show the amount which has been received by any department, through fees, fines, or special taxes. The retirement and pension funds of state employees are exempted. New Jersey (Ch. 189), provides a way for discriminating between worthy and unworthy bidders for public work. Any branch of the government may require a prospective bidder to answer a standard form of questionnaire and financial statement before furnishing him with plans and specifications. If it is dissatisfied with his answer, it may refuse to furnish the plans and specifications and his bid may be disregarded. No action of any nature out of any court shall lie because of any such decision by the public authority.

## OCCUPATIONS

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W. F. OGBURN AND CLARK TIBBITTS  
Department of Sociology, University of Chicago

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### ABSTRACT

The statistics of occupations in the United States since 1850, 1870, 1910, and 1914 show cross-sections of our civilization and tell a story of the changes that are taking place. They show the changes in family life, the growth of recreation, the development of agencies of diffusion of knowledge, changes in our artistic, intellectual, and moral life, new habits and necessities, old habits that are being lost, the great growth of manufacturing and the decline of agriculture, the growing dependence on the machine, the rise of the higher-class services, and the decline of lower types of the service occupations.

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The statistics of occupations as they are reported from time to time throw much interesting light on the social changes that are taking place. Changes in consumption are shown, for instance, by the fact that the numbers occupied in producing silk goods in the United States are increasing much faster than are the numbers producing cotton goods.<sup>1</sup> Changes in habits of life are illustrated by the rapid increase in the number of plumbers. Occupation statistics provide us new facts concerning our social classes; the "white collar" class as measured by the professions and the clerical occupations is increasing more rapidly than the laboring class. The figures reflect changes, also, in certain of our social institutions. The domestic servants are becoming less numerous, while waiters are increasing in number.

It is apparent that some of our economic institutions are undergoing change as well. Public servants are increasing more rapidly than persons employed in private enterprises. Indeed, the

<sup>1</sup> Statistics of occupations are, however, quite difficult at times to interpret. For instance, diminishing numbers of employees might not mean reduced consumption of the commodity produced if power and machinery were taking the place of labor. This particular difficulty can, of course, be checked by production figures and power consumption, when such figures are available. Exports and imports must also be considered.

changes in occupations are interesting in themselves. Clergymen are failing to keep pace with the population in numbers, while dentists are outrunning it. Some trades, like that of the cooper and the cabinet-maker (hand), are disappearing. The losing struggle of the handicrafts is shown by the invasion of machinery into the tailoring trade, where the number of persons of that calling is decreasing.

These periodic statistics of occupations apparently indicate quite a variety of social changes. These changes will be shown more specifically in the paragraphs that follow.

#### THE OCCUPATION CLASSES

*The trend away from agriculture.*—We all know that men are leaving the farms for the cities; but how rapidly this movement is proceeding is not generally appreciated. In 1880 about half (49.4 per cent) of our gainfully occupied population were engaged in agriculture (plus lumbering and fishing), while forty years later only about one-quarter (27.2 per cent) were so occupied. In the decade ending with 1920, the population of the United States increased some 14 per cent, and yet there was an actual decline in the number of farmers and farm-laborers. From the point of view of our daily activities, we are far from being a nation of farmers when three-fourths of us follow activities that are not agricultural. This could hardly have been visualized by Thomas Jefferson. The census of 1920 showed that for the first time manufacturing claimed a larger part of the working population than did agriculture. About one-third of all who work are in manufacturing, mining, or mechanical pursuits.

*The great growth of the middleman.*—It is customary to think of our great occupations as agriculture and manufacturing. Our food is produced by farmers and the other commodities we use are produced by manufacturers. Forty-five years ago these two great fields of production employed 75 per cent of our working population. But today 40 per cent of us are occupied along other lines. What are these other occupations? They are largely trading, transporting, and clerical work. These three groups employ five times as many persons today (1920) as they did forty years ago, while all other occupations have just doubled. This is a reflection

of the greater specialization in industry, which makes for greater dependence upon trade and transportation. In addition we as consumers are demanding more speed and convenience in having brought to us the products of farms, mines, and factories, perhaps a good indication of a rising standard of living.

*Changes in two kinds of service.*—Domestic and personal service has barely held its own in the competition for workers. During the last half-century the percentage of all occupied persons who are in this field has remained about stationary. In the most recent decade for which figures are available (1910 to 1920) there was an actual decline in the numbers engaged in domestic and personal service. This decline should probably be attributed to the increase in the use of the machine and the decline of the family rather than to any curtailment of wants in these respects. While we have been releasing other people from rendering these lower-grade services, we have been availing ourselves to a greater extent of the higher-grade services which we call those of the professions. The ranks of those engaged in professional service increased three and one-half times between 1880 and 1920, and about 25 per cent between 1910 and 1920. This remarkable growth has been greater than in manufacturing, in trade, or in transportation since 1910. But the clerical occupations have outrun even the professions, with an increase of 80 per cent in a decade. Many of these clerical occupations, associated as they are with record taking and efficiency, represent higher skilled services. The advance of civilization is making us, therefore, more dependent on the highly trained, expert, and specialized services. There is every reason to think that this is a trend of civilization with its increasing wealth.

*The general trend.*—The movement in all of our great occupation groups may be seen in Table I, which shows the percentages of all the gainfully occupied who are in each occupation group. The three columns represent the percentages for 1880 and for 1920, and the percentage increase over the intervening period.<sup>2</sup> Table I shows the general trends over nearly half a century as they were previously indicated. Table II shows similarly the change within the decade 1910–20, with more refined and consequently

<sup>2</sup> *Commerce Yearbook*, United States Department of Commerce, 1928, p. 16.

more accurate classifications.<sup>3</sup> Certain adjustments were necessary in both cases in order to make the years comparable, and hence the two tables do not lend themselves to precise comparison.

TABLE I  
CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONS 1880-1920

OCCUPATIONS	PERCENTAGE OF THE OCCUPIED IN EACH GROUP		PERCENTAGE INCREASE 1880 TO 1920
	1880	1920	
All occupations.....	100.0	100.0	141
Agriculture, lumbering, and fishing.....	49.4	27.2	34
Manufacturing, mining, and mechanical pursuits.....	25.6	33.0	208
Trade, transportation, and clerical pursuits.....	12.2	24.8	389
Professional service.....	3.5	5.0	252
Domestic and personal service.....	9.3	9.9	156

TABLE II  
CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONS 1910-20

OCCUPATIONS	PERCENTAGE OF THE OCCUPIED IN EACH GROUP		PERCENTAGE INCREASE 1910 TO 1920
	1910	1920	
All occupations.....	100.0	100.0	100
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry.....	33.2	26.3	87
Extraction of minerals.....	2.5	2.6	113
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	27.8	30.8	121
Transportation.....	6.9	7.4	116
Trade.....	9.5	10.2	115
Public service.....	1.2	1.9	168
Professional service.....	4.4	5.2	127
Domestic and personal service.....	9.9	8.2	90
Clerical occupations.....	4.6	7.5	180

#### THE GREATER DEPENDENCE ON MACHINES

Our growing dependence on the machine has led some observers to say that we are all parasites of it, that the machine is dominating our whole social and moral life. More optimistic persons see no loss of liberty in this phenomenon, but evidence rather that man is gaining mastery over nature. The observation that we are using many machines is made every day. Measurement tells us how much and, when made over time, shows us trends.

<sup>3</sup> *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, 1924-26, p. 417.

The most striking phenomenon, of course, is the growth of manufacturing, which is largely the use of machines. We have seen that the numbers engaged in this pursuit have trebled since 1880 while agriculturalists have increased only a third. Most machines are operated by other than human power, and it is noted that there were twelve times as many miners in 1920 as there were in 1850, while the population was only 4.8 times as great.<sup>4</sup> But we use some coal to keep ourselves warm, and oil and hydro-electricity help to turn our machines. Engineers and firemen are thirty-three times as numerous today as in 1850, and the machinists have increased at a like rate. Nearly all machines are made from steel and iron, though much of these commodities is used for other purposes such as building. There were in 1920 some seventy-one times as many iron and steel workers as in 1850, an increase of 7,000 per cent.

These figures give some idea of the enormous growth in the use of machines since the middle of the last century, a growth little realized because few of us were living in 1850. While it is interesting to observe this long-time trend, we wish also to know what has been occurring in very recent years. Is the movement slowing up or exhibiting continued acceleration? There seems to be little evidence of any decline in this growing use of machinery. Workers engaged in the production of all kinds of machines (plus those employed in producing other parts of transportation equipment) have increased from 1914 to 1925 by 70 per cent, while the population increased less than 15 per cent. Many of these machines are used to make more machines. That is to say, machinery is replacing men not only in the production of the commodity to be consumed, but also in the manufacture of machines which will make other machines to produce the article for consumption. Hence the statistics of occupations showing men engaged in making machinery give an underestimate of the growing use of machines. Thus, while the increase in manpower making machines was

<sup>4</sup> Most of the figures showing comparisons with 1850 are taken from the *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, 1924-26, Bulletin No. 439 of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Other figures are taken from the volumes of the United States Decennial Census. The comparisons since 1914 are from the Biennial Census of Manufacturers, United States Bureau of the Census.

about two-thirds, the increase in the value of the machines produced was about two and a third times, in money of the same value. The increase in the numbers making machines was about twice as great (1914-25) as the increase in the numbers engaged in manufacturing, which is to say that the growth in the number making machinery is double the growth in the number using machinery. This is again indicative, apparently, of the extent of the replacement of men by machines.

It is interesting to note that the increase in those employed in making scientific instruments and instruments for the professions has increased at the same rate as in the production of the grosser machinery. All of these changes just mentioned have come about within one decade plus one year. Whatever may be the effects of machines, apparently we like them.

The machines are continuing to destroy particular trades and to reduce the number of craftsmen in a special trade by the substitution of machines. The boot- and shoe-workers, for example, have increased only about one-half as fast as the population. And so with the stone-cutters, whose comparative rate of increase has been about the same. Stone-cutting is now done increasingly by machines at the quarries.

#### HIGHER STANDARDS OF LIVING

The great wealth in the United States finds expression in more expensive standards of living. Our pioneer fathers were scarcely familiar with such things as dentists, bathrooms, refrigerators, and newspapers. Today we feel that they are necessities. The statistics of occupations reveal some striking trends of this nature. Since 1850 the number of plumbers, gas- and steam-fitters has increased 11,000 per cent, indicating wide diffusion today and but little in 1850. Dentists, having increased about four times as fast as the population, are nineteen times as numerous as they were in 1850. Barbers, manicurists, and hairdressers are so in demand that they have increased eight times as rapidly as the population over the same period. Upholstered furniture was rare in 1850, and the number of upholsterers has increased twenty fold. Since 1870 (to 1920) nurses (trained and otherwise) and midwives have increased 2,400 per cent. From 1910 to 1920 trained nurses alone

increased 100 per cent, partly no doubt because of the stimulus of the war. The number of physicians and surgeons has, however, fallen slightly behind the rate of increase of the population.

Between 1910 and 1920 the general population increased 14 per cent. The makers of soap, however, augmented their numbers by 40 per cent, the glove-makers by 1,000 per cent, the paper and pulp mill-laborers by 60 per cent, the plumbers, gas and steam fitters by 40 per cent, and the upholsterers by 46 per cent. Some soap was manufactured in the early days on the farm, and likewise gloves were knitted there. But the passing of such activities from the home would hardly account for such an increase in the decade ending in 1920.

During the eleven years from 1914 to 1925 there were some rather interesting increases in numbers of wage-earners in certain industries, indicating the development of tastes and needs that add to the family budget. In this period the number of wage-earners engaged in producing dental goods increased 72 per cent. At the same time the population probably did not increase more than 15 per cent. The workers engaged in making paints and varnishes became 59 per cent more numerous, and those in refrigerator factories increased 67 per cent. Furs have greatly increased in popularity. The wage-earners in the industry (fur goods and dressed furs) increased 100 per cent. There were three times as many wage-earners producing perfumes, cosmetics, and toilet preparations in 1925 as in 1914. The growth of export trade does not account for such increases.

The higher plane of living is even apparent in the greater expense of death and burial. From 1870 to 1920 the number of undertakers increased two and one-half times as rapidly as the general population.

These changes are indicative of higher levels of living, larger incomes, and consequently added ability of the people to satisfy their wants. Some of this new income goes for health and some for display; no doubt a fair picture of human behavior.

#### THE INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC LIFE

With the effective expansion of human wants, which has been ascribed to the growth of income and the development of culture,

how have intellectual and artistic wants fared? Statistics of occupations throw a small amount of light on this question. In days gone by schooling and reading were interpreted as an intellectual advance. Strictly speaking, though, the advance depends upon what people read and how they read. The statistics do show an increase in our reading habits. From 1870 to 1920 the newspaper carriers and newsboys increased 1,300 per cent, but the increase was not notable during the last decade of that period. The number of librarians during this time grew 8,000 per cent. Musicians and teachers of music were seven times as numerous in 1920 as in 1870, and artists and teachers of art are ten times greater in number. But there were only four times as many school teachers. However, the population in 1920 was only 2.7 times as great as in 1870. The increase in the number of clergymen just about kept pace with the growth of the population, there being two and nine-tenths times as many in 1920 as in 1870.

Within the decade from 1910 to 1920, artists, teachers of art, musicians, teachers of music, and the clergy have not grown numerically as fast as the population, but the librarians and the school teachers have. Compositors, linotypers, and typesetters have increased only 10 per cent, but the laborers and the semi-skilled in the printing and publishing industries have grown 21 per cent, perhaps an indication of a greater distribution. There were 55 per cent more persons engaged in making printers' ink in 1925 than in 1914. There were 11 per cent more wage-earners engaged in making phonographs.

#### NEW HABITS

New inventions and new wealth teach people new habits. The most conspicuous are those associated with the recently invented automobile. There were 500 per cent more chauffeurs in 1920 than in 1910, and 700 per cent more garage-keepers and managers.

It is also to be inferred that the consumption of sweets and candies is increasing greatly, for those who make confectionery have increased 23 per cent between 1914 and 1925 and the candy and confectionery dealers increased 26 per cent between 1910 and 1920. The number of wage-earners making ice cream increased 122 per cent in the last census decade.

The rapid growth of the use of electricity is shown by the fact that the number of wage-earners making electrical machinery doubled from 1914 to 1925. In 1925 there were very nearly 3,000 wage-earners making aeroplanes, indicating a sizeable industry. The use of rubber and oil continues to grow, partly owing to the automobile demand, the increase in wage-earners from 1914 to 1925 being 90 per cent and 157 per cent respectively. Aluminum ware is coming more and more into use in our lives, and as a result there were three times as many persons manufacturing it in 1925 as in 1914. The increased wealth may be responsible for more than doubling the number of stock-brokers from 1910 to 1920.

The spread of another interesting social habit is indicated by the great growth of social work and welfare work. There were 16,000 religious, charity, and welfare workers in 1910, and by 1920 the number was 41,000.

#### HABITS THAT ARE BEING LOST

Inventions bring new occupations, of course, but at the expense of others, and the course of events inevitably leaves many diminishing occupations. Such, for instance, are the blacksmiths, who declined 16 per cent from 1910 to 1920; midwives, who declined 23 per cent; carriage- and hack-drivers, 74 per cent; hostlers and stable hands, 70 per cent. The old-time boarding-house is giving way to the restaurant, for the number of boarding- and lodging-house keepers declined 20 per cent in this period.

Apparently we are using fewer firearms, for the number engaged in fabricating them in 1925 was 37 per cent less than the number in 1914.

The radio and the phonograph, it is supposed, are replacing the piano, for the decrease in the occupation of piano-making was 16 per cent in this period ending in 1925.

Statistics of occupations record the changes in styles of dress also. For instance, the numbers making combs and hairpins decreased 53 per cent between 1914 and 1925. Corset-makers dropped off 30 per cent, and the dressers of feathers and plumes 80 per cent.

The ancient occupation of wheelwright has almost disappeared, there being only about 12 per cent as many of them in

1920 as in 1850. Certain other woodworking crafts have fared likewise. The coopers during this time decreased 60 per cent. We use wooden barrels less, owing to the adoption of other types of containers. Cabinet-makers are meeting a similar fate, having increased only one-quarter as fast as the population. Cabinets are now being made in factories and of steel. Division of labor and new materials destroyed the old hand trade.

#### THE GROWTH OF COMMUNICATION

Data on occupations again and again reveal evidence of that most striking of modern social phenomena, the tremendous growth of the agencies of rapid and distant communication. Among the indices of this development is the increase in the number of telephone- and telegraph-operators. They were thirty-one times as numerous in 1920 as they were in 1870, while the female telephone-operators doubled in the last census decade. Stenographers increased in number 1,740 per cent within thirty years. The number of wage-earners employed in making typewriters and typewriter supplies was 35 per cent larger in 1925 than in 1914. The printing and publishing trades were five times as large in employees in 1920 as in 1870. The phenomena of the radio and the air mail are well known, while previous statistics show the rate of increase of the automobile and the newspaper. The increase in transportation by railroads has not been especially noticeable in recent years.

#### THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF RECREATION

In a highly developed money economy it is to be expected that recreation may be had for a price; indeed, that it should become organized like the trade in articles of commerce. Occupational data do not give a complete picture of this phenomenon, but they do point out the trend. For instance, those engaged in making playground equipment, toys, and games have increased rapidly in recent years, the growth amounting to 80 per cent in the eleven-year period ending in 1925. There were 56 per cent more makers of athletic and sporting goods in 1925 than in 1914. Between 1910 and 1920 the keepers of dance halls, skating-rinks, and billiard-rooms grew nearly 50 per cent in number. In the same period teachers of athletics and dancing increased 147 per cent.

Ushers in theaters of all kinds increased 129 per cent in that time, while the wage-earners making theatrical scenery and stage equipment grew 344 per cent over the eleven-year period covered by the census of manufactures. The number of actors grew, from 1870 to 1920, nearly three times as fast as the population. These statistics may not mean an expansion of recreation, though we might guess that such was the case because of larger income and more leisure. It may only mean a growing demand for costly recreation, which in turn may be a shift in the manner of spending leisure time.

#### CHANGES IN THE FAMILY

From the changes in occupations may be read the story of what has happened to family life on its productive side, at least in part, in recent years. The home is no longer the center of production, particularly in the cities. The factory, the shop, and the office have taken its place. These functional losses are by no means completed. In the twenty-year period from 1900 to 1920, the general population increased 39 per cent and the urban population 49 per cent, yet the number of waiters increased 113 per cent. During the latter half of this period, the number of restaurant-keepers increased 158 per cent. The decline of the boarding- and lodging-houses may have accounted for some of this shift, yet the absolute increase in the number of restaurants was greater than the decrease in both boarding- and lodging-houses. Many of the lodging-houses have changed their names to hotels. The delicatessen dealers increased about three times as fast as the population since 1910. Employees engaged in canning and preserving fruits and vegetables increased 37 per cent from 1914 to 1925, despite the growing use of machinery.

Power laundry operatives increased 25 per cent in the same time. The number of wage-earners making sewing-machines for factory and home use declined since 1919 (to 1925) about 25 per cent.

The growth of the number of school teachers is an evidence of the influences changing the home, for these school teachers are substitute parents for a time, and keep the child away from the

home. The number of parents has trebled since 1870, but the number of school teachers has increased six times.

The effective system of policing developed in modern times removes in part from the father and the adult sons and relatives a protective function that was very important for the family in American pioneer days and in feudal times in Europe. In 1910 there was 1 policeman (constable, sheriff, or detective) for every 240 families, while in 1920 the ratio was 1 to 220. The total increase in such police, guards, inspectors, soldiers, marines, firemen, and officials was 70 per cent from 1910 to 1920. Insurance is another form of protection which was formerly provided by members of the family. The number of insurance agents and officials has grown enormously in recent times. During the decade from 1910 to 1920, the increase was 36 per cent.

#### SUMMARY

A study of the statistics of occupations during the last seventy years and during the last decade yield much evidence of the changes that are taking place, and, when due regard is taken of the substitution of machines and of exports, rates can be measured with a fair degree of accuracy. We see the decline of agriculture, the great growth of the middleman, the decline of the lower grades of personal and domestic service, the rise of the higher paid services such as those of the professions, and the increase in governmental employees. There is no slackening in our growing use of machines. Our budgets are including more and more expensive items. With the new inventions we are acquiring new habits and losing old ones. Agencies of more rapid communication are developing at a phenomenal rate. The family continues to lose its functions to industry and the state, one of these functions being recreation, which is becoming a large commercial activity. These are some of the general trends, most interesting details of which are shown by the data of specific occupations.

## NEWS AND NOTES

*Membership of the American Sociological Society.*—The new members received into the Society since our last issue and up to March 31 are as follows:

Alihan, Milla Aissa, 149 Elm St., Northampton, Mass.  
Alinsky, Sol David, 5414 W. North Ave., Chicago  
Bantle, Florence O., Hamburg, N.Y.  
Bernard, Jessie, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.  
Blumenthal, Eveline E., 333 Daly Ave., Missoula, Mont.  
Bower, William Clayton, 1366 E. 57th St., Chicago  
Bowman, Claude C., 2223 Penn St., Harrisburg, Pa.  
Brown, Miss Gertrude, 24 The Roslyn Apartments, Cincinnati, Ohio  
Brown, Walter James, 1006 Wellington St., London, Ont.  
Browne, Bessie E., 515 S. 6th St., Columbia, Mo.  
Buckley, Lucy McGee, Spink Hotel, Indianapolis, Ind.  
Burroughs, Lisle, 44 Morton St., New York  
Cairns, Huntington, 1813 Bolton St., Baltimore, Md.  
Callis, Myra Colson, U.S. Veterans' Hospital, Tuskegee, Ala.  
Callison, I. P., Union, Wash.  
Coyle, Otto L., 3022 Kenwood Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.  
David, George Franklin, Wilberforce, Ohio  
Dunham, Lawrence B., 61 Broadway, Room 3012, New York  
Dysinger, Wendell S., 117 E. Market St., Iowa City, Iowa  
Falkenstein, Richard B., 1563 Fulham St., St. Paul, Minn.  
Felger, Mrs. Wilma, 225 West First St., Van Wert, Ohio  
Fujii, Yoshito, 423 Maynard Ave., Seattle, Wash.  
Gebhart, John C., 21 E. 40th St., New York  
Griggs, Mary Lee, 768 W. Washington Ave., Madison, Wis.  
Hall, Gladys E., Riley Hospital, Indianapolis, Ind.  
Hargan, James, 134 W. 15th St., New York  
Harris, Agnes Ellen, University, Alabama  
Horack, Katharine, 448 Main, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.  
Horne, Louis W., 212 N. 11th St., Lincoln, Neb.  
House, Samuel Daniel, 27 W. 74th St., New York  
Huber, George R., 343 Franklin St., Buffalo, N.Y.  
Jasper, Miss Clara, 108 Commerce Bldg., University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.  
Johnson, Miss Winifred B., 2160 Potter St., Eugene, Ore.  
Jones, Minnie Beatrice, 600 East Blvd., Charlotte, N.C.  
Kepner, Charles David, Jr., 62 Snell Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago

- Kimpel, Ben F., Apt. 405, 228 N. 12th St., Lincoln, Neb.  
 Koechling, Agnes, 509 S. Honore St., Chicago  
 Laing, James T., Indianola Court, Columbus, Ohio  
 Landis, Paul H., 530 Huron St., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Loebus, Curt W., 1432 Argyle St., Chicago  
 Lyons, James Stanley, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio  
 Maphis, Charles G., Box 149, University, Va.  
 Marrs, Mrs. S. M. N., 1608 Congress Ave., Austin, Tex.  
 Masley, Miss Anna, 1003 N. Richmond St., Chicago  
 Morse, Hon. Waldo G., 37 Wall St., New York  
 Mundie, Paul Joseph, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.  
 Nickson, Mrs. D. H., 4404 55 N.E., Seattle, Wash.  
 Painter, Hazel Zoca, 768 W. Washington Ave., Madison, Wis.  
 Pettengill, Robert B., Box 422, University Station, Tucson, Ariz.  
 Pleasant, H. H., Danville, Ind.  
 Post, Amy L., Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pa.  
 Robinson, Thomas Hoben, Box 327, Hamilton, N.Y.  
 Rorty, Winifred, R.F.D. No. 11, Westport, Conn.  
 Scott, Almere L., University Extension Division, Madison, Wis.  
 Selling, Lowell S., Bellevue Hospital, New York  
 Shelby, Thomas Hall, 409 W. 30th St., Austin, Tex.  
 Spalding, Helen E., 598 Maryland Ave., Detroit, Mich.  
 Swander, Thomas Lester, 1115 Charlotte St., Kansas City, Mo.  
 Towler, Mrs. Vance, 59 Tudor Court, Cincinnati, Ohio  
 Wackrow, Leona M., 129 S. Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Ill.  
 Wakeley, Ray E., 140 Union St., Hillsdale, Mich.  
 Wardlaw, Joseph Coachman, 188 S. Milledge Ave., Athens, Ga.  
 Winston, Sanford, 211 Groveland Ave., Raleigh, N.C.

*Social Science Research Council.*—At its recent meeting the Fellowship Committee of the Social Science Research Council awarded 27 research fellowships. The awards were distributed among the Social scientists as follows: anthropology, 3; economics, 5; history, 6; political science, 3; psychology, 3; sociology, 3; geography, 1; law, 2; miscellaneous, 1.

The three Fellows selected from the applicants in sociology are:

- BROWN, ESTHER LUCILE (PH.D., June, 1929, New Hampshire)  
 Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of New Hampshire  
 Project: "Lycanthropy—the Loup Garou"  
 Study in Canada and France
- LUMPKIN, KATHARINE DU PRE (PH.D. Wisconsin)  
 Instructor in Sociology and Economics, Mount Holyoke College  
 Project: "A Study of Social Situation as Related to Conduct Problem Children in Dependent Families"  
 Study in New York City

WIRTH, LOUIS (Ph.D. Chicago)

Assistant Professor of Sociology, Tulane University

Project: "Segregated Areas and Local Communities in German Cities: A Comparative Study in Methods of Social Research as Affected by Recent Developments in Human Ecology and Social Psychology"

These fellowships are designed to promote the development of research workers rather than to aid in the execution of specific research projects. It is hoped they may save to the field of productive scholarship promising Ph.D.'s whose zeal for research and writing has been gradually ebbing under heavy and diversified teaching schedules and routine administrative responsibilities. Or again, by affording a year of travel and investigation, the fellowships may broaden and enrich the scholarship of the young men and women who have just completed their Ph.D. work. Such a year may enable a Fellow to push further his researches in the field which his Ph.D. thesis has opened up. It may simply result in his digging deeper within the narrow confines of his own discipline. This in itself is worth while. It may, however—and the Committee hopes that this will frequently prove to be the case—enable him to broaden his approach to the problem of his special interest. He may elect to use the year to study such phases of other social disciplines as will enable him better to understand the ramifications of his own problem. In this way he will become not only a more effective economist or historian, for example, but also a more effective social scientist.

Awards are made once a year. Applicants should apply to John V. Van Sickle, Fellowship Secretary, 50 East Forty-second Street, New York City (after April 1, 230 Park Ave.) in time to get their formal applications in by December 1, for the awards beginning July 1 following. The Committee meets in January or early February, and the awards are made known around the middle of February.

The fellowships are open to men and women, citizens of the United States or Canada, who hold the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent and who are not over thirty-five years of age. These requirements are not absolutely iron bound but exceptions are more and more infrequent. The general term of the fellowship is one year, though in exceptional cases they may range from three months to two years. The stipend varies with the requirements of the Fellow, such as his present salary, number of dependents, amount of travel involved, etc.

*New program of the American Political Science Association.*—At its annual meeting in Chicago in December the American Political Sci-

ence Association adopted the report of its policy committee, which had completed, under a grant of \$7,500 from the Carnegie Foundation, a survey of the field of political-science activity and the present and possible future place of the Association therein. The survey included the following studies: conditions favorable to creative work in political science, C. A. Beard; research in politics, Charles E. Merriam; research in international relations, Pitman B. Potter; research in public administration, W. F. Willoughby; financing mature scholars, R. M. Story; publication (other than the *Political Science Review*), J. A. Fairlie; the *Political Science Review*, F. A. Ogg; instruction in colleges and universities, W. B. Munro; instruction in normal schools, engineering schools, etc., E. W. Crecraft; training for public service, Thomas H. Reed; Personal Service, William Anderson. The chief recommendations of the Committee on Policy were (1) provision for an executive director of the Association, with suitable compensation and clerical aid; (2) duties of the executive director should include, with the approval of the Committee on Research, proposing projects for research, receiving propositions for research, promoting research projects by co-operation with universities and other research agencies by raising funds for research projects not otherwise financed, keeping a record of research work in political science, studying opportunities for employment in official and unofficial public service as well as in colleges, supplying colleges and other agencies with information, and maintaining a roster of personnel available for such work.

*Social Science Abstracts.*—As the *American Journal of Sociology* goes to press it has received the first two issues of *Social Science Abstracts*, or those for March and April, 1929. The new journal is welcomed not only for the signal contribution that it will make as an indispensable aid to persons engaged in research, but as an evidence of the growing interest in the integration and interdependence of the social sciences as their fields of inquiry become more and more complex and specialized. F. Stuart Chapin, who from 1919 until recently was chairman of the Committee on Social Abstracts of the American Sociological Society, is the editor-in-chief, and W. I. Brandt and Robert M. Woodbury are associate editors. The editorial organization consists of a board of directors, an international group of advisory editors, a large number of consulting editors, and a central staff of eight specialists. The magnitude of the field covered by the staff with its co-operating force of eight hundred scholars may be gauged by the following extract from a recent announcement by the editors:

Since June 1, our editorial staff has listed over 2,600 journals in the social sciences. Of this number over 1,000 are systematically examined when received in the Columbia University Library. This partial list may be roughly classified by subject as follows: 361 journals in human geography, 77 in cultural anthropology, 600 in history, 700 in economics, 637 in political science, and 332 in sociology. These periodicals are published in the following twenty-two languages: Arabic, Bulgarian, Chinese, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Magyar, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish.

The subscription rate is six dollars a year including the annual indexes. Communications should be addressed to 611 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York.

*National Community Center Association.*—The officers for 1929 of the National Community Center Association are as follows: president, Jesse F. Steiner (Tulane University); vice-president, Arthur Evans Wood (University of Michigan), Robert E. Park (University of Chicago), Miss Mary P. Follett (Boston), John L. Gillin (University of Wisconsin); treasurer, Edward L. Burchard (Chicago); secretary and editor, LeRoy E. Bowman (Columbia University); Executive Committee, Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis (chairman), Miss Dorothy Enderis, Clarence A. Perry, B. L. Hummel, C. C. North, W. I. Newstetter, J. H. Montgomery, Walter Pettit.

*American Country Life Association.*—The next conference of the American Country Life Association will be held at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, October 17-20, 1929, on the general topic "Rural Organization." The Program Committee, of which W. H. Stacy, Ames, Iowa, is acting secretary, is developing a program based upon a combination of sectional meetings for open-forum discussion on the various phases of rural organization and general sessions, with prominent speakers of national repute. At the meeting of the Board of Directors, held on January 26, the following officers were elected for the year 1929: honorary president, Kenyon L. Butterfield; president, Frank O. Lowden; vice-presidents, Henry A. Wallace and Mrs. C. C. Schuttler; treasurer, Albert Shaw, Jr.; executive secretary, Benson Y. Landis; field representatives, Nat T. Frame, W. H. Stacy, and Henry Israel. Dean A. R. Mann, of Cornell University, was named chairman of the Executive Committee.

*International Conference on Country Life.*—The fourth International Conference on Country Life will take place at Budapest, Hungary, June 1-7. It is expected that several American delegates will be present. Arrangements have been made for the presentation of three main papers

by Americans. Any rural sociologists interested in this meeting can get detailed information about it by writing Mr. Asher Hobson, American Consulate, Geneva, Switzerland.

*Milford Conference Report.*—Publication by the American Association of Social Workers of the *Milford Conference Report*, by the subcommittee of which Porter Lee is chairman, was announced for April, according to Mary Van Kleeck, chairman of the Publications Committee. The *Report* is concerned with the answers to four questions of the most fundamental importance to social case-workers: What is generic social case work? What is a competent agency? What is a desirable division of labor among case-work agencies? What is adequate training for social case-workers?

*Russell Sage Foundation.*—Joanna C. Colcord has been appointed director of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, in succession to Mary E. Richmond. She will join the staff of the Foundation about July 1, 1929. Miss Colcord is well known to social workers through her book *Broken Homes* and through her articles on various phases of family social work.

*Brookings Institution.*—Frank Tannenbaum is in Porto Rico assisting in the survey of economic and social conditions which is being conducted by the Brookings Institution. Mr. Tannenbaum's book, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution*, prepared for the Institution, is now in press.

*American Orthopsychiatric Association.*—The Association held a convention in the city of New York on February 22 and 23. Several papers emphasized the significance of social factors in the causation of personality problems. Dr. S. M. Hartwell, of the Judge Baker Foundation, Boston, laid down the principle that in the child's environment the people whom he knows and responds to are more important as influencers of his behavior than material things and events. In a study of birth and nursing conditions and the personal history of the first two or three years of the child's life, Dr. Gerald H. J. Pearson, of the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, also found that parental attitudes have far more to do with the formation of the child's personality than actual happenings. In a paper on the play of social factors in personality integration, Dr. James S. Plant, of the Essex County Juvenile Clinic, Newark, New Jersey, gave the results of six years' study of 2,500 juvenile delinquents which led him to conclude that the decline of family life militated against adequate personality development and the proper satisfaction of the emotional life

that underlies it. In the face of this situation, he declared, the psychiatrist must turn to a study of social institutions and community life, and become less preoccupied with his studies of the individual, since he cannot integrate the personality of the individual without integrating the environment in which the individual lives, moves, and has his being.

An interesting study of crime in the Loop and adjacent districts in Chicago, showing the importance of environment over that of nationality, in juvenile delinquency, was described by Clifford R. Shaw, of the Institute for Juvenile Research of that city.

*Bowdoin College.*—An Institute of the Social Sciences is announced for April 29–May 11. The subjects included will be law, government, economics, and sociology.

*University of Buffalo.*—Professor Niles Carpenter has been granted an additional semester's leave of absence for service with the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, of which he is assistant director of study.

*Dartmouth College.*—Professor McQuilken DeGrange sailed for France on March 29 to be a member of the jury which passed on the thesis of M. Charles Mollon, a candidate for the D.ès-L. degree, at the Université de Claremont, on April 13. Professor DeGrange has returned to America, sailing on April 16. This is believed to be the first time that a member of an American faculty has been invited to cross the seas to serve as a member of such a jury at a French university. Professor DeGrange is one of the few Americans who possess the Doctorat d'Etat degree from a French university. This was granted to him at Claremont in 1923.

*Catholic University.*—Announcement was made in February by the Macmillan Company of the publication of *Social Problems of Childhood*, by Dr. Paul H. Furfey, author of *The Gang Age*.

*Clark University.*—Dr. S. J. Brandenburg returned in January, after seven months of study in Europe, principally in Berlin.

*Garrett Biblical Institute.*—Mr. Murray Leiffer, instructor in sociology at the Chicago Training School, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of sociology at the Institute.

*The University of Missouri.*—The Board of Curators has just approved a two-year curriculum in public welfare in the college of agriculture which will lead to the degree of Bachelor of Science in rural public welfare. The direction of this curriculum will be within the department of rural sociology. Professor Morgan believes this is the first college of agriculture to offer a degree in the social aspects of country life.

*New York School of Social Work.*—In March, The Inquiry published *Community Conflict*, which represents the middle stage of a study of the problem of cross-purposes and factional disputes in the local community, directed by Mr. E. C. Lindeman. The aim of this book is to evolve an approach to the handling of community problems which would prove of assistance both to persons engaged in community work and to those who teach applied sociology. A special paper edition for students is offered at one dollar a copy, in lots of ten or more. Address: The Inquiry, 129 East Fifty-second Street, New York.

*University of Pennsylvania.*—Dr. Donald Young, of the department of sociology, edited the November *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The issue is brought out as a separate volume, titled *The American Negro*. It is a symposium composed of nearly forty contributions from prominent authorities of both racial groups, and deals with manifold aspects of the interracial problem. Other publications from the Pennsylvania department of sociology are *Quantitative Methods in Politics* by Stuart A. Rice, published by Knopf, and a new and much enlarged edition of Carl Kelsey's *Physical Basis of Society*, Appleton. Dr. Thorsten Sellin addressed the National Interracial Conference in Washington in December on the subject of "The Criminality of the Negro."

Dr. Hugh Carter, of the department of sociology, has been on leave this year making a study of public poor-relief in Pennsylvania since 1875. His results are to be published this spring. The study is under the general direction of Mr. Ralph G. Hurlin, of the Russell Sage Foundation, and is financed by the Commonwealth Fund and the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania. Mr. Carter will again be on leave next year. He will be occupied with research with the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care. Mr. Harry H. Moore is the director of this Committee. Dr. Carter read a paper on "Fluctuations in Dependency in Pennsylvania since 1875" at a recent meeting of the Sociological Club.

A *Directory of State-Wide Welfare Organizations in Pennsylvania* has been prepared by Mr. Jacob J. Blair, instructor in the department of sociology, under the direction of Professor James H. S. Bossard, and under the active supervision of Mr. Arthur Dunham, secretary to the Child Welfare Division of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania. The *Directory* is being published by the Public Charities Association.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Conditioned Reflexes: An Investigation of the Physiological Activity of the Cerebral Cortex.* By I. P. PAVLOV. Translated by G. V. ANREP. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1927. Pp. xv+430. \$9.00.

Few men have given such definite direction to American psychology as has Pavlov. Oddly, there has been very little in English available from his pen. American students have gained their knowledge of his work mainly from his popularizers, among whom we must put the majority of professional psychologists. It seems clear that American understanding of Pavlov's work has been confined largely to the picture of the dog who came to secrete saliva at the ringing of the bell. Huge schemes of psychology have been erected on the notion of the "conditioned reflex" derived from this instance. The opportunity to gain a true picture of Pavlov's experimental achievements is given in *Conditioned Reflexes*.

This volume contains detailed accounts of the experiments made by Pavlov and his associates on the functioning of the cortex in dogs. Pavlov is a physiologist; his work gains its greatest significance if regarded as a study of the functioning of the cerebral hemispheres. His method of investigating cortical activity has been to use the conditioned reflex. His experimental work is based upon the use of two reflexes—the alimentary reflex and the mild defense reflex. The former operates when the dog is given food; the latter when it is given some acid or noxious substance. Both reflexes have two manifestations—a motor and a secretory. Pavlov has centered his attention on the secretory side. By a simple yet ingenious technique he is able to catch and measure the saliva which is secreted when the reflex is brought into action. This gives him a quantitative measure of the reflex. Through attention to the secretory aspect Pavlov has been able to trace the conditions under which conditioned reflexes develop, the different kinds of conditioned reflexes, and the conditions under which such reflexes are "extinguished." Space does not permit one to mention the ingenious experiments and interesting results which show these different aspects of the conditioned reflex. What is distinctly important is the work on excitation and inhibition. These are two cortical functions which are revealed by the conditioned-reflex proced-

ure. A copious secretion in connection with a reflex is a sign of an excitatory process; a very small secretion, or a failure to secrete, a sign of the inhibitory process. The use of different conditioned reflexes, their formation through different sense organs, and the variation of the conditions under which they appear made it possible for Pavlov and his associates to study very carefully inhibition and excitation. Pavlov is led to regard them as the fundamental functions of the cortex. Of decided interest and importance in his experiments is the clash of these two processes. Pavlov found in this conflict the source of neurotic behavior in dogs.

Pavlov's discoveries will stand forever as notable achievements in the physiological study of the brain. To what extent are they applicable to human behavior? The conception of human behavior as resulting from the mere conditioning of reflexes has become so imbedded in our psychological tradition that it might seem absurd to raise the question. Yet anyone who reads this book reflectively must become acutely aware of the speculative character of the efforts to interpret human behavior in terms of conditioned reflexes. Much of the carrying-over of the conditioned-reflex principle is distinctly rash. We are told that to form a conditioned reflex "the conditioned stimulus should begin to operate before the unconditioned stimulus comes into action" (p. 27). In current psychological explanation little attempt is made to adhere to this order. Also, Pavlov tells us, "We cannot proceed further than a conditioned reflex of the third order" (p. 34). Even this was true only in the case of the strongest reflex—a defense reaction against the stimulation of the skin by a strong electric current. Nothing in Pavlov's work warrants the popular view that reconditioning is almost endless.

Even though one follows Pavlov's tested conclusions in applying the conditioned-reflex concept to human conduct, certain important restrictions seem to be present. Outstanding is the inability of such a scheme to account for the appearance of new behavior. In the conditioned reflex old behavior is called out by a new stimulus. All that is new is the connection between the conditioned stimulus and the response of the unconditioned stimulus; no behavior is called out that was not already present in the organism. This is different from the development of a new act. To call such development "integration" is to label it not to explain it; to conceive of integration in terms of the conditioned reflex has its basis not in fact but in speculation. It is interesting to note that Pavlov says little of motor activity, but confines himself mainly to the secretory aspect of the reflex. The process of secretion is, of course, stable and not new.

The conditioned reflex seems scarcely to apply to the field of meaningful behavior, where one reacts not automatically but as a result of interpretation. Pavlov would bring this kind of activity within his scheme, yet his own descriptions and his facts seem scarcely to warrant such inclusion. A reflex is defined as "a necessary reaction following upon a strictly definite stimulus under defined conditions" (p. 24). While Pavlov speaks of conditioned stimuli as "signals" (pp. 16-17) the response to them is in the same direct, automatic way as is the unconditioned reflex. That human beings react in this manner in the field of temperament, skill, technique, and channeled habit is evident; but in the realm of interpretation it seems true that behavior is not automatic but checked—not direct but mediated. To interpret this latter form of behavior as a mere complex functioning of conditioned reflexes is again speculation not fact.

Pavlov, to be true, attaches great hope to the extension of his theories to human behavior and, indeed, is inclined to put all human behavior in this mold. But underneath his hopes and expectations he retains a sober and guarded view. He tells us in connection with his own work:

It would be the height of presumption to regard these first steps in elucidating the physiology of the cortex as solving the intricate problems of the higher psychic activities in man, when in fact at the present stage of our work no detailed application of its results to man is yet permissible [p. 395]. Perhaps enthusiastic psychologists and sociologists who use the principle of conditioned reflexes with such abandon may come to think in a similar sober vein.

To the reviewer this book of Pavlov cannot be praised too highly. It is thorough, full of adequate descriptions of many ingenious experiments, brilliant yet cautious in interpretation—in all an admirable picture of scientific research. The difficult task of translation has been splendidly accomplished by Dr. G. V. Anrep, student and collaborator of Professor Pavlov.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Readings in Public Opinion: Its Formation and Control.* Edited by W. BROOKE GRAVES, with an Introduction by CLYDE L. KING. PH.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1928. Pp. xxxiv+1281. \$6.00.

*The Public and Its Problems.* By JOHN DEWEY. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1927. Pp. vi+224. \$2.00.

There are two references in Professor Graves's *Readings in Public Opinion* to John Dewey's *The Public and Its Problems*. One reference calls attention to the fact that the volume was published in 1927, and the other states that it "deals especially with the problems of the public in the community." It seems unfortunate that Dewey's little volume was not published earlier. If it had been, the author of *Readings in Public Opinion* might have conceived his task differently. At any rate, what the volume seems to lack is any fundamental and consistent conception of what the public is; its relation to society on the one hand, and to government and the state on the other. Such a conception would have enabled the author to organize his materials in regard to public opinion in such a way as to give his readers something more than an elaborate picture of the existing disorder of popular thought on the subject. *Readings in Public Opinion* is an interesting scrapbook into which apparently everything, from Floyd H. Allport's observations on the "prepotent reflexes" to Calvin Coolidge's statements on "the president's signature and the Veto of Bills," finds a place. Public opinion, the press, the pulpit, moving pictures and the radio; the task of the publicity man, the demagogue, the reformer; the influence of chambers of commerce and improvement associations, and the legislative lobby on public opinion, freedom of speech, the conflict of color, and the administration of justice—all are represented in one or more of the "readings" in this interesting volume. Some of the observations reproduced, notably those by A. Lawrence Lowell, Walter Lippmann, Edward Alsworth Ross, Rollo Ogden, Ivy L. Lee, James Bryce, Graham Wallas, and Frank I. Cobb make real contributions to our knowledge of public opinion. Others, like those of Sigmund Freud in the Group Mind and John B. Watson in Behaviorism, are apparently intended to supply (what is certainly much needed) some scheme of fundamental explanation which might reduce to order and make intelligible the wide range of materials which the volume covers. A good deal of what is written about the press and public opinion is merely hortatory or cynical, depending upon the temper of the writer. This, too, has found a place in the *Readings* and serves at least to exhibit the attitude of our

intelligentzia toward the newspaper and other agencies through which public opinion finds expression. Some of the best things in the book are by the editor. Professor Graves's analyses and documents at the end of the chapters are particularly valuable and stimulating.

This book will raise more questions than it answers, and, in the present state of our knowledge, that is all that could be expected or desired.

John Dewey's *The Public and Its Problems* is less a discussion of the public and public opinion than actually an oblique attack on the problem of the state. It is an attempt to describe the state realistically as a going concern rather than a philosophical abstraction defined in legal and normative terms. "The state," he says, "is the organization of public opinion. . . . The obvious external mark of the organization of a public or of a state is thus the existence of officials."

The state is public opinion plus the formal organization through which, so to speak, public opinion is administered. Opinion, which may properly be called public, arises when some act of an individual or a group of individuals has consequences which affect others than those directly concerned. It arises when the acts of an individual or a group collide with the acts or interests of others. "Those indirectly and seriously affected for good or for evil form a group distinctive enough to require recognition and a name. The name selected is the public."

Anything becomes public when it seriously affects others than those directly concerned. Otherwise it remains a private matter. The state is, therefore, the institution that arises to deal with those matters which are public rather than private. The state is not a structure that is separated from public opinion. It is not something that is created out of hand, nor something divinely constituted, fixed, and unchangeable. "The belief in political fixity, of the sanctity of some form of state consecrated by the efforts of our fathers and hallowed by tradition, is one of the stumbling blocks in the way of orderly and direct change; it is an invitation to revolt and revolution."

The state is not to be identified with the form and the functionaries through which public opinion issues in action. On the other hand, this external and formal organization of public opinion and the legal and philosophical conceptions in which its functions are defined are no less a part of the state than the public opinion to which they give direction and expression.

The conception which men hold of the state is not something apart from the state itself, because the conception which men have of their relations to one another helps to make those relations what they are.

Ideas belong to human beings who have bodies, and there is no separation between the structures and the processes of the part of the body that entertains the ideas and the part that performs acts. Brain and muscle work together, and the brains of men are much more important data for social science than are the muscular system and the sense organs.

This means that the state, public opinion, moral ideas, and social attitudes are to be regarded as a part of nature. They are all parts of the cosmos, to be studied empirically, in all their changing forms and manifestations. As Dewey says, "By its very nature, a state is something to be scrutinized, investigated, searched for." The state is, to be sure, in part, at least, an idea, but ideas also have their natural histories.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*American Marriage and Family Relationships.* By ERNEST RUTHERFORD GROVES and WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928. Pp. xiii+497. \$4.50.

When one views the flood of recent literature concerning marriage and the family one naturally asks, To what end is another book written? Groves and Ogburn frankly face this situation and answer that there is need of a text for college students, one which will present "substantial factual evidence and scientific methods of study." For as matters stand, "there is danger of turning the whole study into one of superficial discussion or sensational debate and presentation."

Some books are made up largely of historical, others of ethnographic, data, usually stressing the family as an institution rather than as a social group. Other writers concentrate on "problems of the modern family." Groves and Ogburn do neither, but undertake to set forth significant facts about family life in America today and to offer some suggested interpretations. Two-thirds of the book is occupied by the results of Ogburn's exhaustive statistical study based largely on the United States Census of 1890, 1900, 1910, and 1920. One-fourth consists of "evidence gathered from many efforts and tendencies of the present era, and from case studies of successful marriage" by Groves. The last forty pages are a discussion of methods of study.

In point of view, this book is almost entirely free from the usual setting of norms, eulogizing of the family as a sacred institution, viewing of its decadence with alarm, and pious exhortation to return to the true

way of life. All these are completely absent from Ogburn's chapters. Occasionally Groves seems to slip back into subjectivism, but for the most part he, too, is exceptionally objective. He is at some pains to show the relativity of norms and their use for descriptive purposes rather than as bases for moral judgments. "It would be folly to set up exact norms and insist that all marriage or family life contrary to these is unwholesome (p. 94)." The book contains no trace of the old-fashioned praise of the family, though there is some effort to appraise it with a frank tone of optimism. "The new family will be more difficult, maintaining higher standards that test character more severely, but it will offer richer fruit for the satisfying of human needs (p. 16)." "The criticism and doubt of marriage are impressive, but they must not be thought of as a means of measurement. . . . This criticism is a better index of personal discontent than of the inability of marriage to attain its norms (p. 95)." Groves warns against "the impression that family discord is rare and necessarily bad. A family with no discord would be so highly abnormal as to be a social monstrosity (p. 78)."

Ogburn's chapters bring out clearly the hazards of assuming the truth of "what one would naturally expect" and of using such assumed facts as the basis of generalizations. Here are a few samples from chapter xxvii which upset popular presuppositions: The general population contains a higher percentage of married people than it did thirty years ago. The largest percentage of the population married is not found when the sexes are equal in number, but when there is an excess of men. Cities which have lower birth-rates also have on the average larger percentages of young persons married. Negroes report much the highest percentage divorced and immigrants the lowest.

All in all, this is a very interesting and useful book. But it will probably serve a larger purpose as reference work than as text. Its greatest weakness, in the reviewer's eyes, is the lack of concrete material in Groves's chapters. The dangers involved in using family histories are real; but it should be possible to duplicate what Eldridge and Clark have done in *Major Problems of Democracy*, where the first chapter contains a vivid narrative of a middle-class family whose identity is effectively concealed. Such case studies would help the student to appreciate the family "as a unity of interacting personalities" and to understand the series of crises and adjustments which are so significant a part of every family's history.

STUART A. QUEEN

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

*Recent Social Changes in the United States since the War and Particularly in 1927.* Edited by WILLIAM F. OGBURN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. Pp. xiii+230. \$3.00.

This collection of nineteen papers is already familiar to readers of the *American Journal of Sociology*, in which they first appeared (July, 1928). They are here reproduced as a volume, without substantial change. In consequence, attention to the factual material seems unnecessary in this review. The reviewer does feel called upon, however, for some appraisal of the enterprise, as a new and prospectively continuing venture in American sociology. We are evidently dealing with the first number of a *year book*. A similar assemblage of articles concerning social changes in 1928 appears in this issue of the *Journal* and will again be republished in a separate volume.

Social scientists of all descriptions, sociologists in particular, are in process of becoming specialists. Coincident with this process is a demand for aid in *keeping track* of at least the major developments within fields of social interest outside of the specialty. As one of these "aids" the present volume finds a legitimate *raison d'être*. We are all interested, or should be, in innumerable aspects of social change. Carefully assembled statistics are scarcely dry upon the pages of lecture notes or manuscripts before they are obsolete. While looking up new data in one field, we get behind the times in others. A year book which sketches in rapid fashion a number of the more important changes of the year should soften the way in the hopeless but useful endeavor to keep up to date.

The reviewer has read the compact pages of this little book with a cumulative impression of the imminence if not the concurrency of revolution in social life. Transformations are taking place all about us with a rapidity that is breath-taking. Who has been able to grasp the composite social significance of the changes taking place? The attempt to do so is wholesome, and the trail toward Whither from Whence may at least be intercepted at the signboard here set up. Two questions remain: Has the field for such a task been covered adequately elsewhere? Has the best advantage been taken of the space employed?

There is undoubtedly some overlapping in content between *Recent Social Changes* and the *American Year Book*. Such topics as Production, Foreign Trade, Foreign Policy, Labor, Wages, Education, and Religion, among others, are treated in both. It seems fair to say that among the articles by its 185 contributors, the *American Year Book* touches upon nearly all the topics discussed by *Recent Social Changes*. It does so, however, in more abbreviated fashion. Moreover, it presumes to deal with

"every field of endeavor" as "a presentation and interpretation of events and progress in America." Hence it deals, for example, with the physical sciences. The volume reviewed, being limited to social changes, is more compact, less expensive, and at the same time in some respects more comprehensive. It thus seems to have a place for itself beside, and not in conflict with, the older and larger publication.

Has the most effective use been made of space? The average level of the contributions in reference to their purpose is high. The announcement for the 1928 inventory includes all the 1927 and a few additional topics. If the series is continued, experience will probably disclose other desirable additions, and also some variations. The fact that a number of the first contributors found it necessary to describe social changes during 1927 as part of a process characterizing a number of consecutive years suggests that some topics might profitably be reviewed less often than annually. New topics might replace them in intervening issues.

The development of the project during the next and subsequent years will be followed with keen interest. Amid the innumerable changes of which it takes note, what will its own changes be?

STUART A. RICE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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*Field Studies in Sociology: A Student's Manual.* By VIVIEN M. PALMER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. xix+281. \$2.50.

A few years ago sociologists were insisting that theirs was a genuine science; more recently they have urged one another to become scientific; at last they are actually formulating methods of research. In this "student's manual" we have one of the few attempts to introduce beginners systematically to sociological research. There have been many textbooks on statistics which have been helpful to sociologists, but which left students to make their own applications to this field. There have been a few books on the technique of social surveys, but they have had more significance for social work than for social science. Schluter's *How to Do Research Work* outlined the procedure essential to any scientific study, but in a very abstract fashion. Bogardus' *The New Social Research* is less systematic, but is rich in illustrations and is distinctly sociological. Miss Palmer has produced a handbook for students of sociology which combines an orderly and detailed statement of methods with enough illustrations to make the whole thing clear and attractive.

The book is made up of four parts. The first discusses the objectives, methods, and basic assumptions of sociological research, marking off the field clearly from the other social sciences and from social work and social reform. The second part outlines in detail three types of case studies—one of a territorial group (community), one of an interest group (boys' gang), and one of an accommodation group (immigrant colony). Part three takes up the techniques of observation, interviewing, diaries, map-making, documentation, analysis, and interpretation. The Appendixes contain sample materials from studies actually made in Chicago.

This manual is based on several years of experience at the University of Chicago in directing field studies made by beginning students in sociology. It is "keyed" to several different elementary texts and is planned "in such a way that observations of group behavior in the field were timed to synchronize with the advance of the student in his reading of the textbook and in his class discussions." Frankly, the reviewer doubts the feasibility of this program for beginners, especially when they are below the rank of Juniors, and when the college or university is located in a small town. But the book can be most heartily recommended to every teacher and advanced student of sociology. It opens up the field of sociological research in a more satisfactory manner than any other book that has yet appeared.

STUART A. QUEEN

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

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*The Strike: A Study in Collective Action.* By E. T. HILLER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. xvi+304. \$2.50.

Many books have been written on "labor problems" in the past twenty years, including both propagandist tracts and important scientific and historical studies. The scientific books have been almost without exception written from an economic point of view; they have treated workers' organizations and their activities as forces affecting wages, hours, and other conditions of labor. Professor Hiller's *The Strike* is different in that it is an interpretation from a sociological point of view. The author has dealt with the strike and with closely connected phenomena not primarily with reference to their effects upon the labor contract, but as forms of collective behavior. For him the central problems relate to the causes of strikes, and to the varying patterns which they assume. He devotes much consideration to the strategy of strikes, both on the workers' side and on the employers' side; and he is reasonably successful in explaining strategy as a natural response of human nature and group interest to given types of situations.

An interesting feature of the volume is the interpretation of the strike as a political phenomenon—an interpretation which is developed through both a description of the manner in which strikes operate, eventually, to modify the constitutional law of a society, and through a comparison of ordinary labor strikes with other types of strike. The chapter "The Mythical General Strike," while not profoundly original in content, is interesting and thought provoking. In a stimulating brief Introduction, Professor Robert E. Park points out that this volume ought to be read in connection with Professor Lyford P. Edwards' *Natural History of Revolution*, which has previously appeared in the same series, since both deal with particular types of social movements which result in modifications of the political order.

The book is provided with a selected but unclassified bibliography of some two hundred titles, and with a rather complete Index. It is somewhat weakened by the use of terminology which savors of the seminar room, e.g., "groupal differentiation (p. 230)." It is probably desirable for the sound development of the social sciences that, for the present, writers should avoid as far as possible the introduction of new technical terms and phrases. On the whole, however, this is a readable and illuminating book.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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*The Child and the World.* By MARGARET NAUMBURG. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., Inc., 1928. Pp. xxiv+328. \$3.50.

*The Problem Child at Home.* By MARY BUELL SAYLES. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1928. Pp. x+342. \$1.50.

The history of education is full of protests against standardized schools. Margaret Naumburg's book is based upon her experience in building the Walden School in New York. It is a restatement of romantic individualism *à la Rousseau*. After declaring that no educational experiment is possible in the public schools, labor organizations, social settlements, or universities, the author takes a crack at objective statistical sociology, behaviorism, intelligence tests, and other educational fetishes. As might be expected, such unswerving faith in one's own idea produces overstatements and blind spots. Where, for example, does the author get the idea that all anthropologists and sociologists "now place

the undifferentiated primal horde as anterior in cultural evolution to the individual or family unit?"?

Miss Sayles's work is based upon a study of about two hundred case records of children treated at child-guidance clinics founded by the Commonwealth Fund. The author has endeavored to draw from the day-by-day experience of clinical workers in meeting parents and children principles which will help other parents to a more rational dealing with their own children. The first part of the book is an analysis of the emotional satisfactions which parents and children seek in one another; the second, to mistaken ideas which influence parent-child relationships. To a certain extent these chapters go over the ground covered by Miriam van Waters' *Parents on Probation*. For students of child guidance the twelve detailed cases narrated in Part III are the most valuable contribution unless it be the suggestions of a reading program for parents in general or parents who have special child problems. The common sense embodied in this book entitles it to wide circulation.

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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*Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples.* By W. D. HAM-  
BLY. London: Macmillan & Co., 1926. Pp. xx+432; 113 il-  
lustrations. \$9.00.

The announced purpose of this volume is to give a survey of moral, religious, physical, and social education among primitive peoples, but it by no means confines itself to this plan. Fully half the volume deals with such topics as pregnancy, childbirth, head deformation, tattooing, and circumcision; few, if any, of which are directly related to education. The remaining pages give a regional survey of the various ways in which a child becomes a recognized member of the group and through which he learns the customs of his people. This leads to an extended discussion of ceremonies of initiation and of the training of certain individuals for specialized functions of tribal life.

While acknowledging that analogies are by no means conclusive, the author leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that he considers Egypt the source of practically all the rites he discusses, for example:

Hypotheses supported by evidence suggest that from such a focus (Egypt) there radiated a complex of usages relating to social, magical, religious, and moral training. In all probability Polynesian migrations were mainly respon-

sible for disseminations of ideas and practices over wide areas, possibly to the shores of the American continents [p. 401].

Again:

It is unlikely that such methods and ideals as exist today in social groups at all cultural levels have arisen repeatedly and independently in all parts of the world. Similarity of emotion assists migration of ideas, and it may be true that the individual has a subconscious race memory, also that personal development in a measure recapitulates the psychic life of ancestral groups [p. 3].

To answer these assumptions of the author would be but to restate the objections of American anthropologists and of Malinowski to the Elliott Smith school of extreme diffusionists. The book is well written, has an excellent bibliography, and an unusually well-chosen set of illustrations.

FAY-COOPER COLE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Crossroads in the Mind of Man. A Study of Differentiable Mental Abilities.* By TRUMAN L. KELLEY. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1928. Pp. vii+238. \$4.00.

*Child Accounting Practice. A Manual of Child Accounting Technique.* By ABEL J. McALLISTER and ARTHUR S. OTIS. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Co., 1927. Pp. xii+196.

The first of these books is a theoretical discussion of mental measurements in terms of independent mental traits and such associated factors as race, age, and sex. Theoretical psychology has not been satisfied with a mere mass of separate investigations of disparate mental elements and related factors. Spearman, among others, over a generation ago, tackled the problem more systematically to see if some fundamental theory could not be worked out. On the basis of inter-correlation technique, he evolved his famous thesis of two factors in all mental life—one general, one specific. Since that time he and his students have modified this simpler theory to take in a number of general, quasi-general, and specific factors. Kelley here tackles the same general problem. He finds, in general, that mental traits tend to combine into general patterns, out of specific factors understood only in terms of hereditary and environmental conditionings. The author is particularly critical of Spearman's theories of a "central fund of intellective energy," or "gen-

eral ability," when we have not examined each particular patterning of mental traits in reference to maturity, race, sex, and environmental pressures. There is rapidly accumulating a great deal of statistical evidence that all these factors must be taken into account before we essay to lay down any psychological hypotheses in the Spearman manner.

The book by McAllister and Otis is merely a reflection of a general cultural trend toward cataloging every imaginable item in the school-child's behavior. Its principal value for the sociologist is an exhibit of the lengths to which the mechanistic, quantitative age is taking us in every department of our social organization.

KIMBALL YOUNG

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

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*Principles of Sociology.* By RUDOLPH M. BINDER. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1928. Pp. xvi+609. \$5.00.

In these days when textbooks for beginning college courses in sociology are appearing so rapidly, it naturally occurs to one that something might be gained for purposes of review by classifying them. *Principles of Sociology*, by Professor Binder, of New York University, would in that case be classed with those textbooks which emphasize the biological foundations of human association. It differs from other books which have that emphasis by the particular stress which it places upon the rôle of the endocrine system. While the author does not deny the importance of culture, he apparently feels that differences between individuals, classes, and races as to the organization and balance of the endocrine system are of fundamental importance, and there is in his discussion more than a suggestion that the treatment of endocrine disorders and deficiencies may be expected to remedy many social evils.

This volume is not lacking, however, in a theory of human motives. In fact, the author gives a prominent place to one desire which he regards as fundamental to all others, the "desire for completion," derived from a still more fundamental, organic "urge for completion," which seems to be a name for the generic tendency to act.

The book is divided into five main parts: I, "The Social Population"; II, "Social Motives"; III, "Social Processes"; IV, "Social Institutions"; and V, "Social Aims." In Part I, considerable emphasis is placed upon "facts" and an inductive approach to the study of sociology, but the author uses facts rather casually. It is difficult to make out any

coherent line of thought connecting one topic with another, and the volume leaves in the mind of the reviewer the impression of a hodge-podge. Obvious omissions can be detected in the index.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

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*Community Problems.* By ARTHUR EVANS WOOD, PH.D. New York: The Century Co., 1928. Pp. xiv+589.

This volume is distinguished from many other discussions of social problems in setting forth the material from the community point of view. The author's interest is in the struggle of communities to overcome ignorance and outworn habits of thought that retard efforts to improve community life.

Another significant feature is the concentration upon four major topics: housing, health, recreation, and Americanization. Obviously, there are other community problems, but fortunately the author broke with past precedent and declined to spread discussion over the wide range of topics that are usually included in books of this kind. By this plan, Dr. Wood was able to devote from 100 to 150 pages to the discussion of each of his principal subjects—a sufficient body of material to challenge interest. Courses in social problems would be less charged with superficiality if textbooks would follow Dr. Wood's plan of treating intensively a few topics. Such books, also, would be more authoritative, for no writer can be equally competent over a wide field of study.

The four topics considered are treated in a well-balanced and thorough manner, with a careful use of original sources. The discussion of housing is very timely, especially in view of its frequent neglect by other writers. In view of the low repute of the term Americanization, one wonders why assimilation or some other technical term was not used in its place. His treatment of this particular problem, however, is far removed from the superficial discussions that were so common during the war period. Each chapter is followed by a well-chosen list of references for reading and questions for class discussion. The book needs only an Index to make it one of the most satisfactory texts now available in the field of social problems.

J. F. STEINER

TULANE UNIVERSITY

*The New World: Problems in Political Geography.* By ISAIAH BOWMAN, PH.D., Director of the American Geographical Society of New York. Fourth edition, with 257 maps. New York: World Book Co., 1928. Pp. v+803.

The fourth edition of Isaiah Bowman's review of "present-day problems in political geography" is a book of some 171 more pages than that of the first edition, published in 1921. It has 42 new maps, which have replaced 65 photographic illustrations in the first edition. The book itself is very largely rewritten.

In all the movement and change of this modern world, geography is the most stable factor in the situation. All changes in political and social relations take place against a background of physical and political geography. Without a knowledge of geography we should be in danger of losing our reckoning altogether. But geography changes. New means of transportation and communication diminish the older distances, and any new change in geography brings new social changes and puts new strains on the old political boundaries. It is the purpose of Dr. Bowman's volume, in its separate editions, to keep us up to date in regard to the changes in the geography of the world and their repercussions, particularly in the political world. The new edition covers a considerably wider range of topics than the old. Recent events present the facts of a few years ago in a new perspective, and these changes in perspective are faithfully reflected in the introduction to the separate chapters. The volume gives us a large and luminous account of the present positions of things in the world so far as they are reflected in and affected by the political geography of the world. This is a volume for the student, but it is especially a book for the intelligent layman.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*The Psychology of Personality: An Analysis of Common Emotional Disorders.* By ENGLISH BAGBY. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1928. Pp. viii+236. \$2.50.

The title of this interesting little book is not altogether appropriate to its content. The author rather narrowly identifies personality with "persistent emotional tendencies." A writer is entitled to select and define his own terms; only in this case it leads to a conspicuous neglect of many substantial points of view concerning personality. Further, the

author gives not so much a psychological study as a therapeusis of emotional disability. His stated aims are to ascertain (1) the experiences leading to disabling emotions, (2) the techniques available for their elimination, and (3) the principles of training necessary for their prevention. The treatment of these three items is very simple, yet interesting. The author's point of view is that emotional disabilities are rooted in fear-producing experiences which the individual has failed to meet in a satisfactory manner. He has made adjustment, instead, through such inadequate forms as repression, rationalization, phantasy formation, and hysteria. Therapeusis consists mainly in training the individual to meet such emotional situations with frankness.

The reader need not expect to find in this book any original approach, nor any profound discussion, nor yet any exhaustive survey. But, if he is seeking a readable treatment of a few elementary emotional disorders sanely discussed and amply illustrated with concrete cases, his perusal of this volume will repay him.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*School and Society in Chicago.* By GEORGE S. COUNTS. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928. Pp. viii+361. \$2.50.

First telling the story of the ousting of Superintendent McAndrew from the Chicago school system, Professor Counts analyzes the social forces and the institutionalized groups which, after a generation of struggle and turmoil, focused their lines of pressure into the alignments resulting in the McAndrew incident. It is a story told in terms of social attitudes and movements, of philosophies of life as well as of education at war, of significant incidents only to be explained by the events and hatreds of decades gone by. In any American city the same factors might be found by delving below the surface of events. Chapters are given to the Association of Commerce and to the Federation of Labor, the women's civic clubs and the teachers' union, the church influence (the religious issue in politics), the city hall, and the daily press. The political science aspect of division of authority between state, municipal, and school-board officials is developed. Beyond and behind are conflicting philosophies of education and conceptions of the rôle of the teacher, the school administrator, and the lay board member.

Too often school administration has been taught as the applying of the sacred "principles" derived from philosophy and enshrined in textbooks of administration. Here the task of the administrator is revealed as

it really is, the engineer's creation of a going machine, but along lines laid down by social group interests and forces. This book carries the "case-book" method into a field hitherto much dominated by "introspective" philosophizings and generalizings.

JORDAN TRUE CAVAN

ROCKFORD COLLEGE

*Principles of Educational Sociology: An Outline.* By E. GEORGE PAYNE. New York: New York University Press Book Store, 1928. Pp. xi+169. \$1.25.

Since 1910 the author has been concerned in elementary instruction in educational sociology. This book represents the present state of that enterprise. Of special interest are the chapters on the relation of sociology to education, the expansion of the curriculum, and the reconstruction of educational institutions to meet changing social demands, the sociological significance of changes already affected in educational institutions, present problems in educational reconstruction, and surveys and measurements of the social results of education. Perhaps the most valuable chapters are on methods of research in educational sociology. In the chapter bibliographies the older "systematic" and "theorizing" references are interestingly mingled with newer concrete research reports. An index, general bibliography, and glossary are lacking, although the book is intended for beginning students.

To the reviewer this book shares with most of its competitors the weakness of seeming to be simultaneously aimed at graduate and undergraduate students, those well trained in sociology, and those just being initiated into it. As indicative of the change of educational sociology from general theorizing to concrete research, it seems most important.

JORDAN TRUE CAVAN

ROCKFORD COLLEGE

*Mary McDowell, Neighbor.* By HOWARD E. WILSON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928. Pp. xi+235. \$3.00.

This book is more than a biography of a well-known social worker and leader in civic reform. It presents also a vivid picture of the rôle of the social settlements in Chicago, a movement in which Miss McDowell has been an active participant for almost forty years, first as one of the early residents of Hull House and later as head resident of the Univer-

sity of Chicago Settlement. Always a vigorous if not militant personality, Miss McDowell boldly championed the cause of the lower economic classes at a time when there was little public interest in their problems. Her strong support of the laborers in the Stockyard Strike of 1904, her long struggle to improve the sanitary conditions in Packingtown, and her efforts to secure protection of women and children in industry, earned for her the fitting sobriquet "Fighting Mary." The story of Miss McDowell's life is so intimately bound up with the whole course of municipal reform in Chicago that the volume necessarily throws a flood of light on this interesting chapter in the history of the city. While the book is intended as a tribute to Miss McDowell rather than as a critical evaluation of her achievements, it is based on authoritative sources and bears evidence of painstaking work on the part of the author.

J. F. STEINER

TULANE UNIVERSITY

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*The Religion Called Behaviorism.* By DR. LOUIS BERMAN. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. Pp. viii+153. \$1.75.

This little book, while it contains thirty chapters, is hardly more than a bound pamphlet, since the chapters are very short. One of them has less than a hundred words. It seems to have been written to give notice that the author does not wish to be classed as a behaviorist, preferring to be a gestaltist. Behaviorism is called a religion because it consists of a self-conscious attitude toward life, appeals to invisible powers, and is mystic (*sic*). Polemic attacks on behaviorism are many, but this proposal to classify Dr. Watson's system in a theological pigeon-hole is an attempt to give the controversy a new twist. The argument is brief and fragmentary, and the appeal to religion seems irrelevant and unconvincing.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

## CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

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The summary article is omitted from this issue. The next issue will contain an article by Dr. Galen M. Fisher on "Current Research in Religion."

### CORRECTION

In the announcement of current research projects published in the January issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* several mistakes were made. On page 768 is a list of research projects which purport to be in the hands of Professor Dwight Sanderson. The first of these is "A Study from the Psychological Point of View in Leadership in Rural Primary Groups," in the hands of Professor R. W. Nafé. The second, "A Study of the Structure of Rural Community Areas of New York State," is in the hands of Professor Sanderson. The third should be divided into two parts. The first is "Rural Population of New York, 1855-1925," by Professor Bruce L. Melvin. The study was published in November, 1928. The second part is "Village Service Agencies of New York State, 1925," by Professor Melvin. The study is now completed and in the hands of the Committee on Publications. The fourth, "The Rural Communities of Schuyler County, New York," was a Ph.D. thesis by Professor R. E. Wakeley, completed in the summer of 1928. The work was done under the direction of Professor Dwight Sanderson. The fifth, "A Study of the Organizations, Social Situation and Relation of Farm People and Villagers in a Rural Area of Tompkins County," should be corrected, with the title as follows: "Social Relationships of Slaterville Springs and Brooktondale and Surrounding Area, Tompkins County, New York," by Glenn A. Bakkum and Bruce L. Melvin. The original of this was a Ph.D. thesis by Professor Bakkum under the direction of Professor Melvin. It has been completely revised and is now being typed for publication.

A study by Bruce L. Melvin, "Rural Population in Tompkins and Schuyler Counties, New York, 1925," was omitted. This study is now completed and in the hands of the Committee on Publications. A study by Gladys M. Kensler and Bruce L. Melvin, "A Partial Sociological Study of the Village of Dryden, New York," was also omitted. The original of this was a Master's thesis by Miss Kensler, made under the direction of Professor Melvin. Since its original completion the data have been revised and brought up to date and rewritten by Professor Melvin. The study is completed and ready for publication. Another study, "A Sociological Study of the Village of Marathon, New York," by Bruce L. Melvin, has been omitted. This study has been set up and part of the information collected.

On page 769 a research project is listed as "A Comparison of Urban and Rural Divorce Rates in Four Rural Counties," by Dwight Sanderson. This study was made as a Master's thesis by Blanche M. Melvin, under the direction of Professor Dwight Sanderson, and completed in the summer of 1928.

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